STORY OF AMERICA

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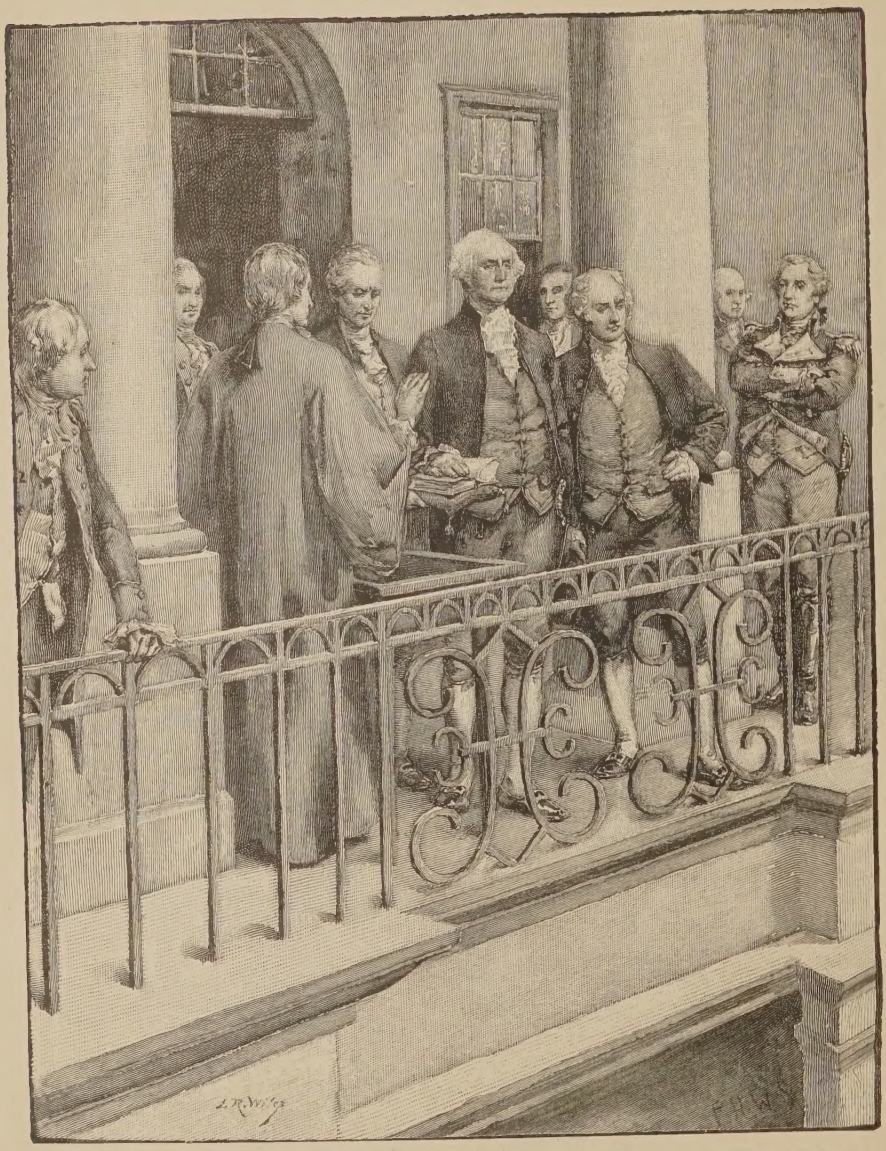

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WASHINGTON TAKING THE OATH AS PRESIDENT,

APRIL 30, 1789, ON THE SITE OF THE PRESENT TREASURY BUILDING, WALL STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

Virginia gave us this imperial man,
Cast in the massive mould
Of those high-statured ages old
Which into grander forms our mortal metal ran;
. . . . . .
Mother of States and undiminished men,
Thou gavest us a Country, giving him.

—JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

THE MEMORIAL

STORY OF AMERICA

COMPRISING THE IMPORTANT EVENTS, EPISODES, AND INCIDENTS
WHICH MAKE UP

THE RECORD OF FOUR HUNDRED YEARS

FROM

1492 TO 1892.

BY HAMILTON W. MABIE, LL.B., LIT.D.,

EDITOR OF "THE CHRISTIAN UNION," N. Y., "THE MAKERS OF AMERICA" SERIES, ETC.,

AND MARSHAL H. BRIGHT, A.M.,

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WITH SPECIAL CHAPTERS WRITTEN FOR THIS BOOK BY

HON. JOHN SHERMAN AND HON. J. K. UPTON, U. S. SENATOR HENRY L. DAWES.
BISHOP JOHN H. VINCENT, MISS FRANCES E. WILLARD, COL. A. K. McCLURE,
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PROF. T. S. DOOLITTLE, LL.D., ALBERT SHAW, LL.D., AND OTHERS.

WITH OVER 350 ILLUSTRATIONS,

MOSTLY BY NOTED AMERICAN ARTISTS.

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PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, LOOKING TOWARD THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON.

INTRODUCTION.

IT is four hundred years since Columbus caught his first glimpse of the western world, but it is only two hundred and seventy-five years since the work of making this continent habitable began. From Jamestown and from Plymouth the streams of exploration and colonization flow steadily westward and southward, gathering volume and momentum until they unite the great oceans and cover the continent. The story of this vast unfolding of life under new conditions is told in this volume by different pens, but with one controlling idea—to show how and by what means a great nation grew out of the few and scattered seeds of a small emigration from beyond the sea. The great English statesman, Burke, has said somewhere that to be a statesman one must not only master the different conditions and occupations of a people, but must so realize them through his imagination that he sees in them one unbroken life. This volume has been prepared in the hope that it will present the life of the American people so clearly, vividly and comprehensively that the unity and magnitude of that life will be more evident than they have ever been before. A great people in a great country has so many occupations, so many kinds of wealth, such differences of condition, that it loses at times the consciousness of its family ties and affections. There are so many kinds of Americans, they are

so widely scattered, and they are busy with such manifold interests, that the homestead is in great danger of being neglected by the children, and the sense of kinship is likely to be lost in the diversity of interests.

We talk a great deal about our power but we do not realize it; we cannot realize it until we understand what it is which gives us power. We use a great many figures to convey an impression of our acreage and crops; but it is the farmer, the mechanic and the merchant who are the real capital of the country. Their character, energy, intelligence, thrift and practical sagacity constitute our real wealth; the wealth which is not subject to the fluctuations of the market or the untimely conditions of the weather. This volume tells the story of material growth as fully and more comprehensively than most books; but it tells also the story of America as it is written in the life, character and habits of the American man and woman.

To know the American you must know his ancestry and how he came where he now is; that record is made here with a broad completeness which brings out the immense variety and volume of race force and character behind the people on this continent. To know the American you must know what religious, social and political influences shaped and moulded the lives of his forefathers; those influences are all marked and traced here. To know the American of to-day you must know what experiences have befallen him on this side the ocean, how he has fared and what he has accomplished; accordingly his history is fully spread out in these pages, and his explorations, settlements, wars, growth are told, not in detail but so as to cover the ground strongly and effectively. To know the American you must know what he is doing to-day; where his work is and how he does it; how he travels; what inventions he uses; what mechanical genius he displays; what books he reads; what church he attends; what schools he maintains; what his pleasures are; and how he employs his wealth. This volume answers these questions. It is at once a history, a story, an encyclopædia of national information, and a text-book of national character. It reports travels, describes settlements, gives account of wars, traces political ideas and growth, follows the lines of trade and of national prosperity, pictures what is going on in the shop, the office, the church, the school, the mine, the garden, the grain field, the home. It supplies the historic background of American life, and against this background it spreads out that life in broad, clear lines of growth and activity. It is the story of America, but it is still more the story of the American. Well-done or ill-done, it aims at nothing less than to show the American as he lives and works on the continent which he has conquered by sheer force of energy and intelligence.

There is no romance so marvelous as this record of fact; none so full of incident, adventure, heroism, and human vicissitude. From the voyages of the earliest Spanish, French, and English explorers to the inventions and discoveries

of Edison the story never fails of thrilling interest. It is a romance of humanity written by the hand of Providence on the clean, broad page of a new continent. It is a Bible for new illustration of the old laws of right and wrong which underlie all history; but it is a modern version of The Arabian Nights for marvels and miracles of human skill and achievements. The building of Aladdin's palace was a small affair compared with the building of some of our States; and the rubbing of Aladdin's lamp was but a faint burnishing compared with the glow of prosperity which hard work has brought out on the face of this continent. There is no romance so wonderful as the story of life told, not by novelists of varying degrees of skill, but by great multitudes of eager, energetic men and women. It is doubtful if any country has ever developed greater energy of spirit or greater variety of character than this; and this is the chief reason why our history has such significance and such fruitage of achievement.

To know this history is a duty and a delight. A man whose brave ancestors have carried the name he bears far, and made it a synonym for courage and honor, is rightly proud of his descent and gets from it a new impulse to bear as brave a part in his own day. Americans can honestly cherish such pride; it is justified by what lies behind them. No man can be truly patriotic who does not know something of the nation to which he belongs, and of the country in which he lives. Such knowledge is a part of intelligent citizenship. In this country, where the government rests on the intelligence and virtue of the entire population, such a knowledge is a duty and a necessity. Men who reach eminence in their professions invariably have large ideas of those professions; they know the history of the profession and the names of those who have advanced its influence and secured its honors. A man of business who takes the lead in his particular line of trade is uniformly distinguished by his superior knowledge of business problems and conditions. He studies his business in its large relations to the business of the country; he looks at it with the eyes of a statesman. The intelligent American cannot be ignorant of the great history in which he has had so vital an interest, or of the life of his country to-day. Not to know these things is to miss a noble and inspiring landscape which we might see simply by the lifting up of the eyes.

It is for the family that this volume was primarily prepared. America is pre-eminently the country of homes; that is the country which, by its free institutions and its large social and industrial conditions, makes comfortable homes possible to its entire population. These homes are not only the sources of happiness and the nurseries of purity and prosperity; they are also the schools of citizenship. From these schools are graduated year after year, in unbroken and never-ending classes, the men and women who continue and enlarge the work and the influence of the nation. The Bible has been and will

remain the great text-book in these schools; but other books are needed, and this book aims to take its place as an indispensable book of instruction and entertainment. The history of a race is the best possible material for the education of the children of that race. We know this by instinct, and we act by instinct when we hold up constantly the lives and achievements of our great men as illustrations of honor, honesty and capacity. No teaching is so effective as that which flows from persons and characters rather than from abstract principles and statements. Few boys care for patriotism as a quality of character, but every boy knows on the instant what patriotism means when the names of Washington and Lincoln are spoken in his hearing. These great men render through character an even higher service than they render through sacrifice and action. They embody great virtues, they stand for great principles, they illustrate noble qualities. Being dead they still speak with voices whose range and power are denied to teachers who impart truth but do not live it on a great scale. Alfred the Great has been and still is one of the most persuasive and inspiring teachers England has ever had. His name brings instantly to mind the noblest traits of English manhood, the grandest type of English citizenship. To tell his story to a boy is to teach him the deepest lessons of life while he does not suspect anything more enduring than the entertainment of an hour. History is summed up in great men, and every virtue, every vice, every decisive popular movement is identified with or incarnated in some great man. The name of Washington is a most familiar name for truthfulness and integrity, that of Arnold for baseness and treachery, that of Jefferson for the democratic idea, the rule of the people. These names are always in the air because they have their general and enduring meanings; and no man can estimate their educational value to the country. They are heard on every political platform, but they are heard still more frequently in the school room, and they are of more use there than most text-books.

It was the custom among some nations of antiquity to repeat to each fresh generation the noble deeds of their ancestors, thus making history a great oral tradition, and turning it from a dead record into a living romance. Real education is not knowledge of books but knowledge of life, and books are useful only so far as they lead us to this kind of knowledge. What men have been and have done is the best material for the education which trains one in courage, honesty, and energy as well as in mental quickness and skill. The Athenian boys learned Homer by heart; the "Iliad" and "Odyssey" took the place of the pile of books which the school-boy of to-day carries under his arm when he sets his "morning face" schoolward. In this way boys learned beauty and eloquence of speech, and imbibed the spirit of art while they were yet at their games. But they learned even greater things than these; they grew up with the heroes of their race and took part in their great deeds. The bravest and

most poetic things which their race had done were familiar and became dear to them while their natures were most receptive and responsive. The past was not dim and obscure to them as it is to too many Americans; it was a living past, full of splendid figures and heroic deeds. To boys so bred in the very arms and at the very heart of their race it was a glorious privilege to be an Athenian; to share in a noble history, to be a citizen of a beautiful city, to have the proud consciousness of such place and fame among men. It is not surprising that as the result of such an education the small city of Athens produced more great men in all departments in the brief limits of a century than most other cities have bred in the long course of history. There was a vital, inspiring education behind that splendid flowering of art, literature, philosophy and statesmanship.

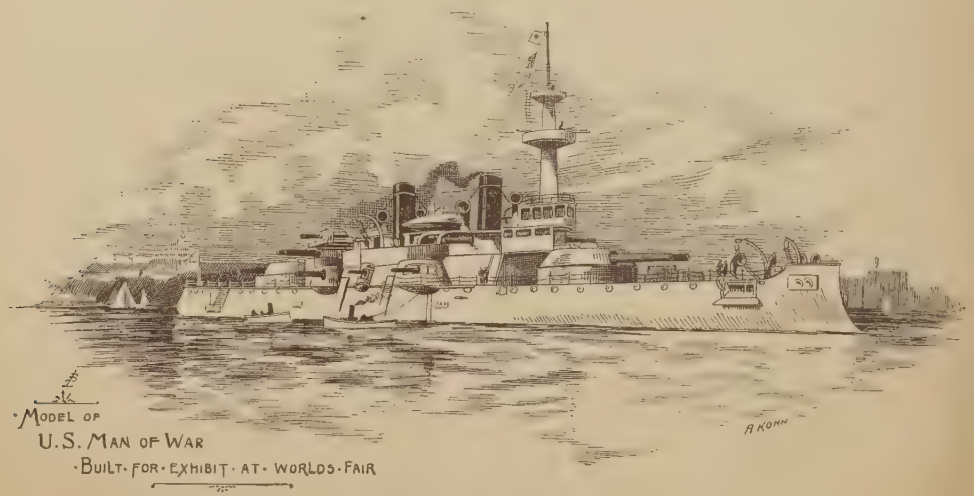
The American boy and girl ought to have the same education. Too many grow up with the most indefinite ideas of their own country. They do not know what has been done here; they do not even know how people live in other parts of the broad land. They know something of their own communities, but they are ignorant of the greater community to which they belong. The story of the country's birth and growth, of its struggles and achievements, of its wonderfully diversified life, of its heroic men and noble women, ought to be familiar to every boy and girl from earliest childhood. This knowledge is the A B C of real education. It is to furnish this knowledge that this volume has been largely prepared. The home is never isolated and solitary; it is one of a great community of homes stretching across the continent. To get the best and the most out of its beautiful relations and its manifold opportunities, each home must develop the sense of kinship with other homes, and the consciousness of common responsibility. Every child must fill a place in the nation and the world as well as in the home. He must know, therefore, what the nation is and what it demands of him. He must feel the deep and wonderful life, active and powerful over a whole continent, in which he shares and to which he contributes.

This is the age of community feeling; the sense of brotherhood among men of all races has never before been so pervasive and so real. A famine on the banks of the Volga brings quick response from the prosperous fields about the Mississippi. Nothing that happens in the remotest corner of the world is without interest. To know how the other half lives is not only a universal desire, but a universal duty. This volume not only makes the present acquainted with the past and so gives its historic background, but it brings to each occupation and profession the work and condition of every other occupation and profession, and it lays before each section of the country the aspects and habits of every other section. It is a national book; it describes the West to the East and the North to the South. It tells the merchant how the farmer lives; it gives the

mechanic a picture of the miner's life; it furnishes the planter a glimpse of the herdsman. It unfolds a map of the whole country, not in the hard and fast lines of geography, but in the streaming, rushing life of an inmense and energetic people. It supplies a clear and comprehensive view of the government in all its functions of administration; it describes the great cities; it follows and pictures the countless channels and instrumentalities of travel and commerce; it delineates the work of the farmer, the mechanic, the miner, the merchant; it has something to say about churches, colleges, schools, literature, charities. It is, in a word, a national chart, text-book, history and romance for the home.

In the preparation of this volume we have had the assistance of a number of experienced writers specially qualified to present the subjects assigned to them. This co-operation of knowledge and work was not only necessitated by the magnitude and comprehensiveness of a book covering a period of four hundred years and embracing all the aspects,—historical, religious, industrial, social, and intellectual,—of the nation's life, but was deliberately chosen because it ensured greater variety, interest, and thoroughness than any single author could give such a work. Its advantages were recognized as counterbalancing the additional expense involved. We have, however, planned the entire work, and, with the exception of the chapters which are signed by their writers, have outlined and thoroughly revised every part we have not ourselves written, thus securing unity of aim and purpose throughout.

HAMILTON W. MABIE.
MARSHAL H. BRIGHT.



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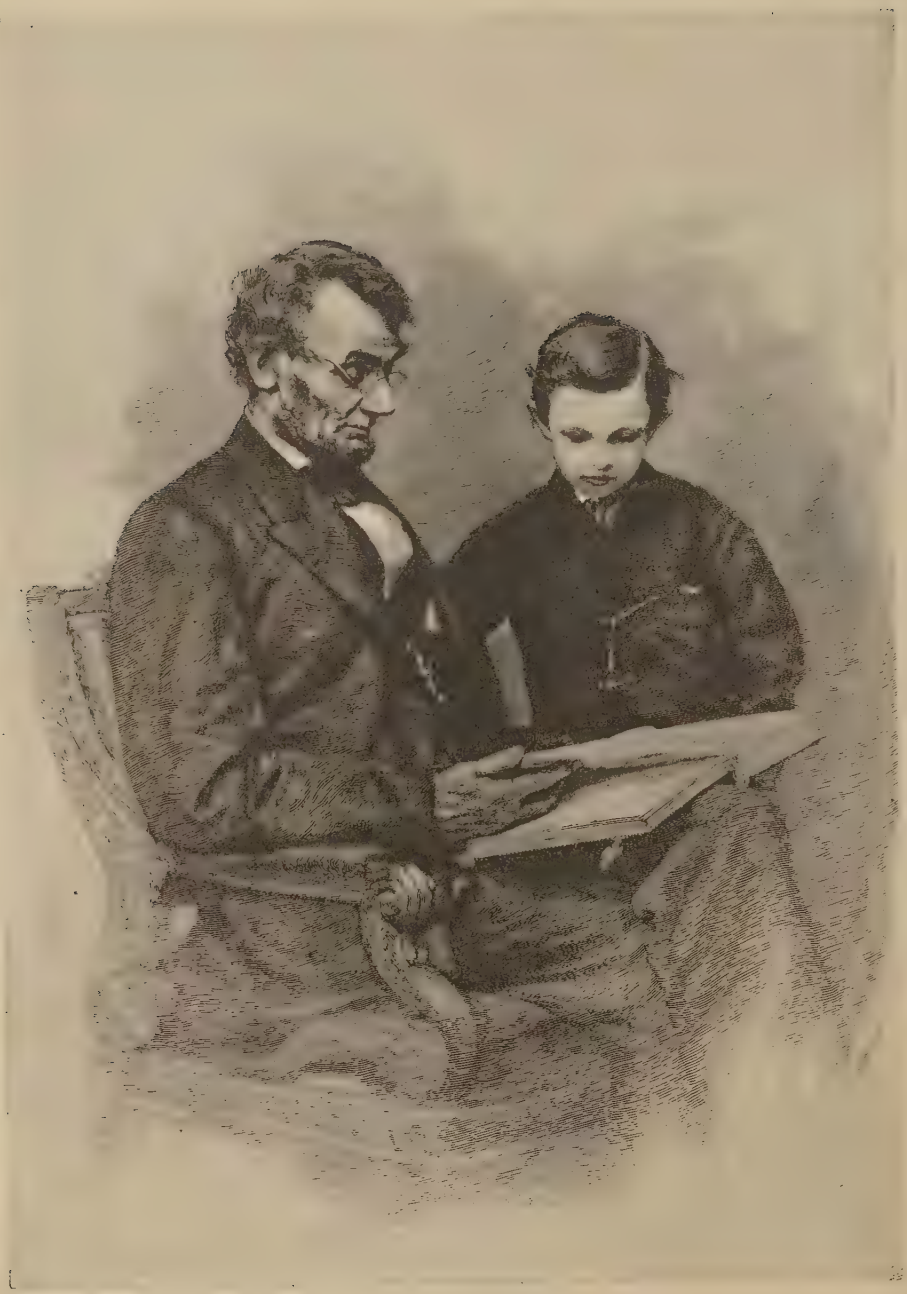

LINCOLN AND HIS SON "TAD."

THE MEMORIAL

STORY OF AMERICA

FROM

1492 TO 1892.

LEVICI, IN THE BAY OF GENOA.

CHAPTER I.

FINDING THE NEW COUNTRY.

WHILE Discovery, whether disclosing unknown lands beyond untried seas, or revealing the method of subduing and utilizing to man's service some one of the mighty forces of Nature, has startled the world more than Conquest, scarcely less surprising than some discoveries is the fact that the world has so often and for so long a time seemed to call for a discoverer in vain. Notably this is the case with the two most important discoveries that have ever been made, and both in the fifteenth century—that of the art of printing and the finding of a new world. For thousands of years the world had transcribed its thought into permanent legible characters by means of the stylus, the stalk of the papyrus, or the chisel. Slow and laborious were these methods, yet the splendid civilizations of the great Eastern Empires, the Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, and the Medo-Persian, had produced their literature without the aid of the printing press, while the later civilizations of Greece and Rome—countries that gave to all coming time the noblest literatures—transcribed them by the painful process of the pen.

The wonderful brain of the Greek could construct a Parthenon, the wonder of the age; and the Roman reared that pile, so noble in its simplicity—the Pantheon; yet neither could discern the little type that should make the rapid

multiplying of letters easy, nor place in relief upon a block of wood the tracery of a single leaf; and the wonder is no less, but increases as we consider the fact that two vast continents, the half of an entire planet, had for so many centuries eluded the gaze of men who went down to the sea in ships, who for centuries had navigated an inland sea for two thousand miles, while from Iceland and Jutland intrepid mariners and Buccaneers had plowed the ocean with their keels.

For nearly three centuries before the angels sung at Bethlehem, Aristotle, following the teachings of the Pythagoreans, had asserted the spheroidicity of the earth, and had declared that the great Asiatic Empire could be reached by sailing westwardly, a view that was confirmed by Seneca, the Spaniard, who affirmed that India could be reached in this way; and all down the centuries the probability of discovery, as we now look back upon those times, seems to be increasing; but, somehow, Discovery still refused to enter the open gate leading to the New World, and this, notwithstanding the fact that the Canary and Madeira Islands had been discovered some years before, and the Portuguese navigators had followed the coast of Africa for thousands of miles, as far as the Cape of Good Hope, Columbus himself having skirted the coast to the Cape of Storms. The spheroidicity of the earth was generally accepted by enlightened men, though the Copernican system was not known, and it was believed that there must be a large unknown continent to the west. There *was* such a continent—two of them indeed—and they were nearer the African coast, along which Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian navigators had coursed, than the distance they had covered from the Pillars of Hercules to the Cape of Good Hope. Yet, though the times wanted a discoverer, he was not to be found.

WAS AMERICA DISCOVERED BY THE NORSEMEN?

This has long been a disputed question. Norse scholarship has always insisted upon the discovery; scholars looking upon the matter from the outside have disputed the claim. One of the principal chains of evidence offered heretofore has been supplied by the Norse Sagas—stories of mingled fact, romance and myth; but they have been distrusted, and up to recent time the preponderance of evidence has rather been against the Icelandic claim. But latterly new evidence has been brought to light, which seems to fully establish the fact of the discovery of America by the Norsemen from Iceland, about A. D. 1000.

To cite the testimony of the Sagas, one must suffice for evidence in that direction. The Eyrbyggia Saga—the oldest extant manuscript, remains of which date back to about the year 1300—has the following: "After the reconciliation between Steinhor and the people of Alpta-firth, Thorbrand's sons, Snorri and Thorleif, went to Greenland. Snorri went to Wineland the Good with

Karlsefni; and when they were fighting with the Skrellings there in Wineland, Thorbrand Snorrason, a most valiant man, was killed." In the Icelandic Annals, also, the oldest of which is supposed to have been written in the south of Iceland about the year 1280, mention is made of Vineland. In the year 1121 it is recorded that "Bishop Eric Uppsi sought Wineland." The same entry is found in the chronological lists. These would seem to supply historical references to the Norse discovery of America, set down in such a manner as to indicate that the knowledge of the fact was widely diffused.

One of the most interesting accounts taken from the Norse records is that found in a parchment discovered in a Monastery library of the Island of Flato,

ON THE COAST OF NOVA SCOTIA.

and which was transferred to Copenhagen and submitted to the inspection of Professor Rafn and other noted Icelandic scholars. Professor Rafn reproduces the record in his "Antiquities." The story is as follows: "In the year 996, while sailing from Iceland to Greenland, Biarne Heriulfson was driven southward by a storm, when they came in sight of land they had never before seen. Biarne did not try to land, but put his ship about and eventually reached Greenland. Four years after, in A. D. 1000, Leif the son of Eric the Red, sailed from Brattahlid in search of the land seen by Biarne. This land Leif soon discovered: he landed, it is supposed, on the coast of Labrador, which he named Helluland, because of the numerous flat stones found there, from the word *hella*, a flat stone.

Finding the shore inhospitable, he again set sail and soon reached a coast

corresponding to Nova Scotia. This he called Markland (Woodland). Leif put to sea a third time, and after two days' buffeting landed, it is supposed, in Mount Hope Bay, in Rhode Island. Here the adventurers wintered, and noted that on the shortest day the sun rose at 7.30 A. M., and set at 4.30 P. M. After naming the newly discovered land Vineland, on account of the profusion of wild grapes, he returned in the following spring to Greenland."

But it is only just to cite opinions on the other side. In his History Mr. Bancroft denies that the alleged discovery of the North American mainland is established by any clear historical evidence. He admits, indeed, that there is nothing intrinsically improbable in the notion that the colonizers of Greenland (and the early colonization of Greenland is admitted) may have explored the coast to the South. But the assertion that they actually did so rests, he says, on narratives "mythological in form, obscure in meaning, ancient, yet not contemporary." Mr. Justin Winsor, the well-known historian, seems unwilling to admit the trustworthiness of the epical accounts of the voyages of the Northmen to the so-called Vineland.

But a recent writer, Mr. Arthur Middleton Reeves, well versed in Scandinavian and Icelandic literature, has lately come forward to maintain the reality of the discovery ascribed to the Northmen, and has set forth an imposing array of evidence and argument in support of his belief. Mr. Reeves finds his proofs not in the Sagas alone, which Bancroft and Winsor reject, but he has also gathered together the preceding references to the Vineland voyages, which are scattered through the early history of Iceland. From these last mentioned data it seems clearly demonstrable that the discovery of the American mainland took place, as has been claimed, about A. D. 1000, and was well known in Greenland and Iceland long before any of the three Sagas dealing with the theme were penned, for there is documentary proof reaching so far back as about the year 1110.

Among the proofs brought forward, is the story as told by the Icelandic scholar, Ari the Learned, who was born in Iceland in the year 1067, and who died in 1148. In Ari's book, narrating the colonization of Greenland, he says that the settlers perceived, from the dwellings, the fragments of boats, and the stone implements, that the people had been there who inhabited Wineland, and whom the Greenlanders called "Skrellings." Furthermore, in the Collectanea of Middle-age Wisdom, a manuscript written partly in Icelandic and partly in Latin, between the years 1400 and 1450, it is stated that "southward from Greenland is Helluland; thence is Markland; thence it is not far to Wineland the Good. Leif the Lucky first found Greenland." In another historical vellum document it is stated that "from Greenland to the southward lies Helluland, then Markland, thence it is not far to Wineland;" and in another vellum of the year 1400, it is said "south from Greenland lies Helluland, then Markland,

thence it is not far to Vineland." Still again—and the evidence must end with this citation—in an old manuscript, written according to the Icelandic scholar Dr. Vigfasson, as early as 1260–1280, referring to the date A. D. 1000, the manuscript records: "Wineland the Good found. That summer King Olaf sent Leif to Greenland, to proclaim Christianity there. He sailed that summer to Greenland. He found in the sea men upon a wreck, and helped them. There found he also Wineland the Good, and arrived in the autumn at Greenland."

It is objected to the discovery of America from Greenland that no runic (Scandinavian) inscriptions have been found in any part of the North American continent. But the answer to this objection is that the Northmen never pretended that they had colonized Vineland; they simply recounted their discovery of the country and their unsuccessful attempts to colonize it. Runic inscriptions, therefore, and other archæological remains, are not to be expected in a region where no permanent settlements were made. Besides, as Mr. Reeves points out, the rigorous application of the test would make the discovery of Iceland itself disputable. In conclusion, as to this matter, we have only to add that the statements put forth seem not only to confirm what we meet with in the Sagas, but, taken by themselves alone, they seem to fully establish the fact of the discovery of America by the Icelanders, even had the Sagas never been written. And now leaving the Norsemen and their discoveries we come to

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

THE PERSONAL HISTORY OF COLUMBUS.

It was the glory of Italy to furnish the greatest of the discoverers of the New World. Not only Columbus, but Vespucci (or Vespucius), the Cabots, and Verazzani were born under Italian skies; yet singularly enough the country of the Cæsars was to gain not a square foot of territory for herself where other nations divided majestic continents between them. So, too, in the matter of Columbus biography and investigation, up to the present time but one Italian, Professor Francesco Tarducci, has materially added to the sum of the world's knowledge in a field pre-eminently occupied by Washington Irving, Henry Harrisse, and Roselly de Lorgues, a Frenchman,—these comprising the powerful original writers in Columbian biography.

In treating our subject we naturally begin at the starting point of biography, the birthplace. The generally accepted statement has been that Columbus was born at Genoa, especially as Columbus begins his will with the well-known declaration, "I, being born in Genoa."

But it has been asserted by numerous writers that in this Columbus was mistaken, just as for a long time General Sheridan was mistaken in supposing himself to have been born in a little Ohio town, when he learned, within a year or two of his death, that he was born in Albany, N. Y. But passing this, it remains to be said that the evidence of the Genoese birth of Columbus may now be considered as fully established. As to the time of his birth there has been not a little question. Henry Harrisse, the American scholar already referred to, placed it between March 25th, 1446, and March 20th, 1447. This, however, we can hardly accept, especially as it would make Columbus at the time of his first naval venture only thirteen years of age. Tarducci gives 1435 or 1436 as the year of his birth. This is also the date given by Irving, and it would seem to be the most probable. This is the almost decisive testimony of Andres Bernaldez, better known as the Curate of Los Palacios, who was most intimate with Columbus and had him a great deal in his house. He says the death of Columbus took place in his seventieth year. His death occurred May 20th, 1506, which would make the year of his birth probably about 1436. And now starting with Genoa as the birthplace of Columbus and about the year 1435 or 1436 as the time of his birth, we proceed with our story.

MONUMENT TO COLUMBUS AT GENOA.

Christopher Columbus (or Columbo in Italian) was the son of Dominico Columbo and Susannah Fontanarossa his wife. The father was a wool carder, a business which seems to have been followed by the family through several generations. He was the oldest of four children, having two brothers,

Bartholomew and Giacomo (James in English, in Spanish, Diego), and one sister. Of the early years of Columbus little is known. It is asserted by some that Columbus was a wool comber—no mean occupation in that day—and did not follow the sea. On the other hand, it is insisted—and Tarducci and Harrisse hold to that view—that, whether or not he enlisted in expeditions against the Venetians and Neapolitans (and the whole record is misty and uncertain), Columbus at an early age showed a marked inclination for the sea, and his education was largely directed along the lines of his tastes, and included such studies as geography, astronomy, and navigation. Certain it is that when Columbus arrived at Lisbon he was one of the best geographers and cosmographers of his age, and was accustomed to the sea from infancy.* Happily his was an age favorable for discovery. The works of travel were brought to the front. Pliny and Strabo, sometime forgotten names, were more than Sappho and Catullus, which a later but not a better age affected. The closing decade of the fifteenth century was a time of heroism, of deeds of daring, and discovery. Rude and unlettered to some extent, it may be conceded it was; yet it was far more fruitful, and brought greater blessings to the world than are bestowed by the effeminate luxury which often characterizes a civilization too daintily pampered, too tenderly reared. Life then was at least serious.

Right here it may be in place to state how invention promoted Columbian discovery. The compass had been known for six hundred years. But at this time the quadrant and sextant were unknown; it became necessary to discover some means for finding the altitude of the sun, to ascertain one's distance from the equator. This was accomplished by utilizing the astralobe, an instrument only lately used by astronomers in their stellar work. This invention gave an entirely new direction to navigation, delivering seamen from the necessity of always keeping near the shore, and permitting the little ships—small vessels they were—to sail free amidst the immensity of the sea, so that a ship that had lost its course, formerly obliged to grope its way back by the uncertain guidance of the stars, could now, by aid of compass and astralobe, retrace its course with ease. Much has justly been ascribed to the compass as a promoter of navigation; but it is a question if the astralobe has not played quite as important a part.

The best authorities place the arrival of Columbus at Lisbon about the year 1470. It is probable Columbus was known by reputation to Alfonso V, King of Portugal. It is unquestionable that Columbus was attracted to Portugal by the spirit of discovery which prevailed throughout the Iberian peninsula, fruits of which were just beginning to be gathered. Prince Henry of Portugal,

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* Tarducci, I, 41.

who was one of the very first of navigators, if not the foremost explorer of his day, had established a Naval College and Observatory, to which the most learned men were invited, while under the Portuguese flag the greater part of the African coast had been already explored. Having settled in Lisbon, at the Convent of All Saints, Columbus formed an acquaintance with Felipa Moñis de Perestrello, daughter of Bartholomew de Perestrello, an able navigator but poor, with whom and two others Prince Henry had made his first discovery. The acquaintance soon ripened into love, and Columbus made her his wife. Felipa's father

COLUMBUS'S ARRIVAL AT THE CONVENT OF LA RABIDA.

soon died, and then with his wife and her mother Columbus moved to Porto Santo, where a son was born to them, whom they named Diego. Felipa henceforth disappears from history; there is no further record of her. At Porto Santo Columbus supported his family and helped sustain his aged father, who was living poorly enough off at Savona, and who was forced to sell the little property he had, and whose precarious living led him to make new loans and incur new debts.

Meanwhile Columbus was imbibing to the full the spirit of discovery so widely prevalent. It was not his wife who materially helped him at this time, as has been asserted, but his mother-in-law, who, observing the deep interest that Columbus took in all matters of exploration and discovery, gave him all the manuscripts and charts which her husband had made, which, with his own voyages to some recently discovered places, only renewed the burning desire for exploration and discovery. The leaven was rapidly working.

But the sojourn at Portugal must be briefly passed over. The reports that came to his ears while living at Porto Santo only intensified his convictions of the existence of an empire to the West. He heard of great reeds and a bit of curiously carved wood seen at sea, floating from the West; and vague rumors reached him at different times, of "strange lands" in the Atlantic—most if not all of them mythical. But they continued to stimulate interest as they show the state of public thought at that time respecting the Atlantic, whose western regions were all unknown. All the reports and all the utterances of the day Columbus watched with closest scrutiny. He secured old tomes for fullest information as to what the ancients had written or the moderns discovered. All this served to keep the subject fresh in his mind, nor would it "down," for his convictions were constantly ministered to by contemporary speculators. Toscanelli, an Italian mathematician, had written, at the instance of King Alfonso, instructions for a western route to Asia. With him Columbus entered into correspondence, which greatly strengthened his theories.

Now they came to a head. Constant thought and reflection resulted in his conception of an especial course to take, which, followed for a specific time, would result in the discovery of an empire. And the end! He would subdue a great trans-Atlantic empire, and from its riches he would secure the wealth to devote to expeditions for recovering the Holy Land, and so he would pay the Moors dearly for their invasion of the Iberian peninsula,—a truly fanciful but not a wholly unreasonable conception, as the times were.

COLUMBUS AND THE KING OF PORTUGAL.

At last he found means to lay his project before the King of Portugal. But the royal councillors treated the attempt to cross the Atlantic as rash and dangerous, and the conditions required by Columbus as exorbitant. The adventurous King, John II,—Alfonso had died in 1481—had more faith in his scheme than his wise men, and, with a dishonesty not creditable to him, attempted at this time to reap the benefit of Columbus' studies and plans by sending out an expedition of his own in the direction and by the way traced in his charts. But the skill and daring of Columbus were wanting, and at the first mutterings of the sea the expedition sought safety in flight. It turned back to the Cape de Verde islands, and the officers took revenge for their

disappointment by ridiculing the project of Columbus as the vision of a day dreamer. O, valiant voyagers!—New Worlds are not discovered by such men as you!

Columbus's brother Bartholomew had endeavored about this time to interest the British monarch in the project, but the first of the Tudors had too much to do in quelling insurrection at home, and in raising revenues by illegal means, to spend any moneys on visionary projects. Henry III would have none of him.

Meantime, indignant at the infamous treatment accorded him, and with his ties to Portugal already sundered by the death of his wife, he determined to shake the dust of Portugal off his feet, and seek the Court of Spain. He would start at once for Cordova, where the Spanish Court then was. Leaving Lisbon secretly, near the close of 1484, he chose to follow the sea coast to Palos, instead of taking the direct inland route, and most happily so; for, in so doing he was to gain a friend and a most important ally; this circumstance the unthinking man will ascribe to chance, but the believer to Providence. Weary and foot-sore, on his journey, he finally arrived at Palos, then a small port on the Atlantic, at the mouth of the Tinto, in Andalusia; here hunger and want drove him to seek assistance from the charity of the Monks, and ascending the steep mountain road to the Franciscan monastery of Santa Maria de La Rabida, he met the pious prior, Father Juan Perez, who, struck with his imposing presence, despite his sorry appearance, entered into conversation with him.

As the interview grew in interest to both the parties, Columbus was led to impart to the prior his great project, to the prior's increasing wonder, for in Palos the spirit of exploration was as regnant as in Lisbon. Columbus was invited to make the Convent his place of sojourn, an invitation he was only too glad to accept. Then Father Perez sent for his friend, a well known geographer of Palos, and, deeply interested in all that related to exploration and the discovery of new lands, the three took the subject into earnest consideration, thorough discussion of the question being had. It was not long before Father Perez—all honor to his name!—became deeply interested in the plans of Columbus. To glorify God is the highest aim to which one can address himself; of that feeling Father Perez was thoroughly possessed; and how could he more fully glorify him than by aiding in the discovery of new lands and the spreading of Christianity there? Impelled by this feeling, he urged Columbus to proceed at once to Cordova, where the Spanish Court then was, giving him money for his journey, and a letter of commendation to his friend, the father prior of the monastery of El Prado Fernando de Talavera, the queen's Confessor, and a person of great influence at Court. There was hope, and there was a period of long and weary waiting yet before him.

Arriving at Cordova, Columbus found the city a great military camp, and all Spain aroused in a final effort to expel the Moors. Fernando, the Confessor, was a very different man from Perez, and instead of treating Columbus kindly, received him coolly, and for a long while actively prevented him from meeting the king. The Copernican theory, though held by some, was not at this time established, and the chief reason why the Confessor opposed Columbus's plan was unquestionably because he measured a scientific theory by appeal to the Scriptures—just as the Sacred Congregation did in Galileo's case a century and a half later—just as some well-meaning but mistaken souls do to-day.

At length, through the friendship of de Quintanilla, Comptroller of the Castilian Treasury, Geraldini, the Pope's nuncio, and his brother, Allessandro, tutor of the children of Ferdinand and Isabella, Columbus was made known to Cardinal Mendoza, who introduced him to the king. Ferdinand listened to him patiently, and referred the whole matter to a council of learned men, mostly composed of ecclesiastics, under the presidency of the Confessor. Here again dogma supplanted science, and controverted Columbus's theories by Scriptural texts, and caused delay, so it was not till 1491—Columbus had now been residing in Spain six years—that the Commission reported the project "vain and impossible, and not becoming great princes to engage in on such slender grounds as had been adduced."

The report of the Commission seemed a death-blow to the hopes of Columbus. Disappointed and sick at heart, and disgusted at six years of delay, Columbus turned his back on Spain, "indignant at the thought of having been beguiled out of so many precious years of waning existence." Determined to lay his project before Charles VIII. of France, he departed, and stopped over at the little Monastery of La Rabida, from whose Prior, Juan Perez, six years before, he had departed with such sanguine hopes, for Cordova.

The good friar was greatly moved. Finally he concluded to make another and final effort. Presuming upon his position as the queen's Confessor, Perez made an appeal direct to Isabella, and this time with the result that an interview was arranged, at which Isabella was present. His proposals would have at once been accepted but that Columbus demanded powers* which even

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* His principal stipulations were (1) that he should have, for himself during his life, and his heirs and successors forever, the office of admiral in all the lands and continents which he might discover or acquire in the ocean, with similar honors and prerogatives to those enjoyed by the high admiral of Castile in his district. (2) That he should be viceroy and governor-general over all the said lands and continents, with the privilege of nominating three candidates for the government of each island or province, one of whom should be selected by the sovereigns. (3) That he should be entitled to reserve for himself one-tenth of all pearls, precious stones, gold, silver,

de Talavera pronounced "arbitrary and presumptuous," though they were of like character with those conceded by Portugal to Vasco de Gamba. Angered and indignant at the rejection of his terms, which were conditioned only upon his success, Columbus impulsively left the royal presence, and taking leave of his friends, set out for France, determined to offer his services to Louis XII.

COLUMBUS AND THE MESSENGER.

ISABELLA HAS A SOBER SECOND THOUGHT.

But no sooner had Columbus gone, than the queen, who we may believe regretted the loss of possible glory of discovery, hastily despatched a messenger after him, who overtook him when two leagues away and brought him back.

Although Ferdinand

spices, and all other articles and merchandises, in whatever manner found, bought, bartered, or gained within his admiralty, the cost being first deducted. (4) That he, or his lieutenant, should be the sole judge in all causes and disputes arising out of traffic between those countries and Spain, provided the high admiral of Castile had similar jurisdiction in his district.

was opposed to the project, Isabella concluded to yield to Columbus his terms and agreed to advance the cost, 14,000 florins, about $7,000, from her own revenues, and so to Spain was saved the empire of a New World. On May 12 Columbus took leave of the king and queen to superintend the fitting out of the expedition at the port of Palos. The hour and the man had at last met.

FITTING OUT THE EXPEDITION.

What thoughts and apprehensions filled the heart and mind of Columbus as he at last saw the yearning desires of years about to be met, may be to some extent conceived; they certainly cannot be expressed. Not a general at the head of his great army who, at a critical moment in battle, sees the enemy make the false move which insures him the victory, could feel more exultant than Columbus must have felt when he left the presence of the Spanish Court, and, after seven years of weary and all but hopeless waiting at last saw the possibilities of the great unknown opening up before him, and beheld, in a vision to him as clear and radiant as the sun shining in the heavens, a New World extending its arms and welcoming him to her embrace. It would seem as if everything now conspired to atone for the disappointing past. His old tried friend, Perez, prior of the La Rabida monastery, near Palos, received him with open arms, and well he might, for had not his kind offices made success possible? And the authorities, as if to make good the disappointments of seven years, could not now do too much. All public officials, of all ranks and conditions in the maritime borders of Andalusia were commanded to furnish supplies and assistance of all kinds. Not only so, but as superstition and fear made ship owners reluctant to send their vessels on the expedition, the necessary ships and men were to be provided, if need be, by impressment, and it was in this way vessels and men were secured.

CARAVELS OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.
(*After an engraving published in 1584.*)

In three months the expedition was ready to sail. The courage of Columbus in setting sail in untried waters becomes more evident when we consider the size of the ships comprising the little expedition. They were three in number; the largest of them, the Santa Maria, was only ninety feet long, being about the size of our modern racing yachts. Her smaller consorts, the Pinta and the Nina, were little caravels, very like our fishing smacks, without any deck to keep the water out. The Santa Maria had four masts, of which two were square rigged, and two fitted with lateen sails like those

used on the Nile boats; this vessel Columbus commanded. Martin Alonzo Pinzon commanded the Pinta, and his brother, Vincente Yañez Pinzon, the Nina. The fleet was now all ready for sea; but before setting sail Columbus and most of his officers and crew confessed to Friar Juan Perez, and partook of the Sacrament. Surely such an enterprise needed the blessing of heaven, if any did!

It was before sunrise on Friday morning, August 3, 1492, that Columbus, with 30 officers and adventurers and 90 seamen, in all 120 souls, set sail, "in the name of Christ," from behind the little island of Saltes. Those inclined to be superstitious regarding Friday will do well to note that it was on a Friday Columbus set sail from Palos; it was on Friday, the 12th of October, that he landed in the New World; on a Friday he set sail homeward; on a Friday, again, the 15th of February, 1493, land was sighted on his return to Europe, and that on Friday, the 15th of March, he returned to Palos. The story of that eventful trip has never ceased to charm the world, nor ever will so long as the triumphs of genius, the incentives of religion, and the achievements of courage have interest for mankind.

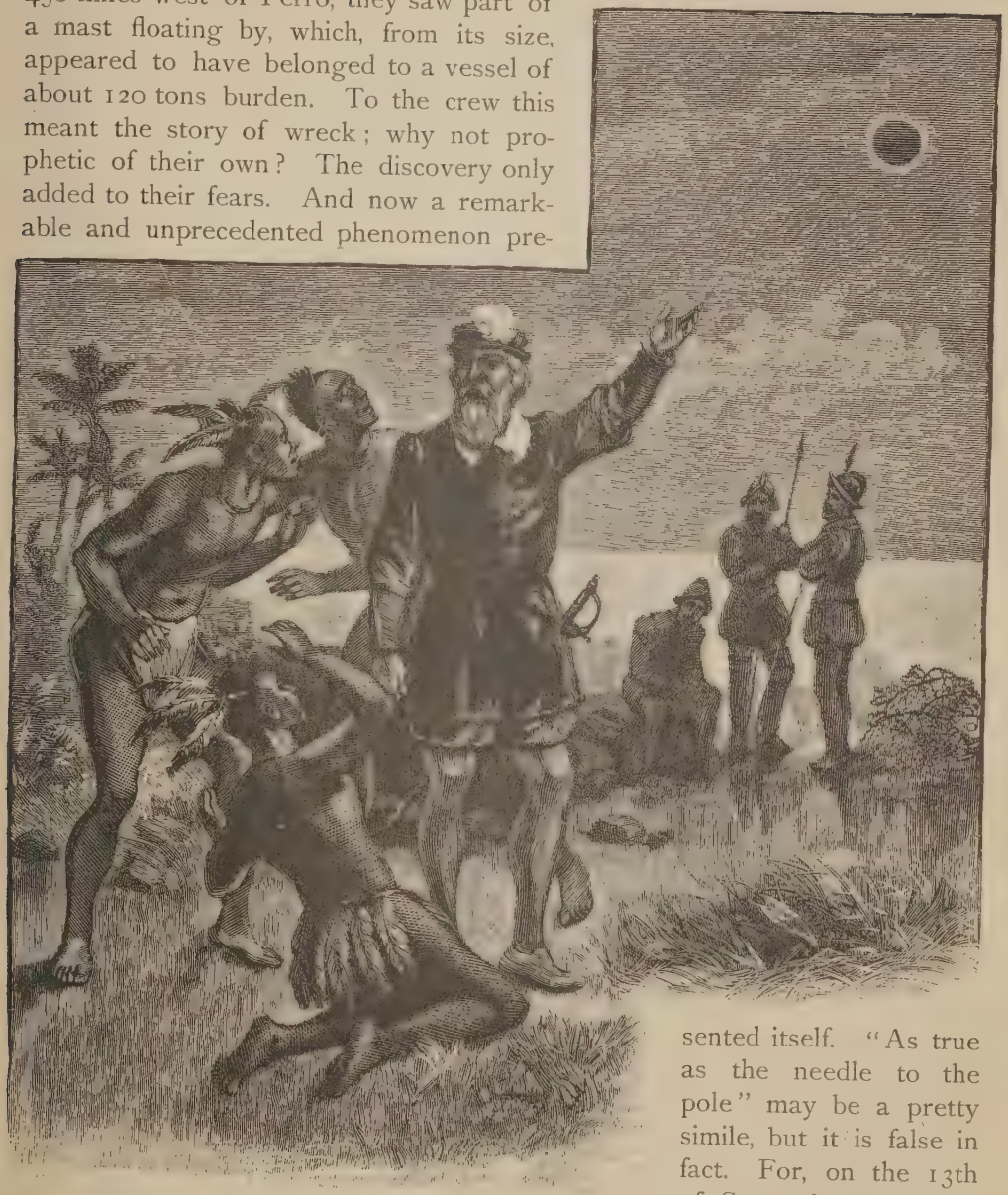
It was Columbus's intention to steer southwesterly for the Canary Islands, and thence to strike due west—due to misconception occasioned by the very incorrect maps of that period. On the third day out the Pinta's rudder was found to be disabled and the vessel leaking, caused, doubtless, by her owner, who did not wish his vessel to go,—the ship having been impressed—and thinking to secure her return. Instead of this, Columbus continued on his course and decided to touch at the Canaries, which he reached on the 9th. Here he was detained for some weeks, till he learned from a friendly sail that three Portuguese war vessels had been seen hovering off the island Gomera, where he was taking in wood, water, and provisions. Apprehensive, and probably rightly so, that the object was to capture his fleet, Columbus lost no time in putting to sea.

AND NOW FOR THE NEW WORLD.

It was early morning on the 6th of September that Columbus again set sail, steering due west, on an unknown sea. He need fear no hostile fleets, and he was beyond the hindrance of plotting enemies on shore; and yet so far from escaping trouble it seemed as if he had but plunged into deeper tribulations and trials than ever.

As the last trace of land faded from view the hearts of the crews failed them. They were going they knew not where; would they ever return? Tears and loud lamentings followed, and Columbus and his officers had all they could do to calm the men. After leaving the Canaries the winds were light and baffling, but always from the East. On the 11th of September, when about

450 miles west of Ferro, they saw part of a mast floating by, which, from its size, appeared to have belonged to a vessel of about 120 tons burden. To the crew this meant the story of wreck; why not prophetic of their own? The discovery only added to their fears. And now a remarkable and unprecedented phenomenon presented itself. "As true as the needle to the pole" may be a pretty simile, but it is false in fact. For, on the 13th of September, at nightfall, Columbus, for the first time in all his experience, discovered that the needle did not point to the North star, but varied about half a point, or five and a half degrees to the northwest. As he gave the matter close attention Columbus found the variation



THE ECLIPSE OF THE SUN, AS PREDICTED BY COLUMBUS.

to increase with every day's advance. This discovery, at first kept secret, was early noticed by the pilots, and soon the news spread among the crews, exciting their alarm. If the compass was to lose its virtues, what was to become of them on a trackless sea? Columbus invented a theory which was ingenious but failed wholly to allay the terror. He told them that the needle pointed to an exact point, but that the star Polaris revolved, and described a circle around the pole. Polaris *does* revolve around a given point, but its apparent motion is slow, while the needle does not point to a definite fixed point. The true explanation of the needle variations —sometimes it fluctuates thirty or forty degrees— is to be found in the flowing of the electrical currents through the earth in different directions, upon which the sun seems to have an effect.

Columbus took observations of the sun every day, with an astralobe, and shrewdly kept two logs every day. One of these, prepared in secret, contained the true record of the daily advance; the other, showing smaller progress, was for the crew, by which means they were kept in ignorance of the great distance they were from Spain.

INDICATIONS OF LAND.

On the 14th of September the voyagers discovered a water-wagtail and a heron hovering about the ships, signs which were taken as indicating the nearness of land, and which greatly rejoiced the sailors. On the night of the 15th a meteor fell within five lengths of the Santa Maria. On the 16th the ships entered the region of the trade winds; with this propitious breeze, directly aft, the three vessels sailed gently but quickly over a tranquil sea, so that for many days not a sail was shifted. This balmy weather Columbus constantly refers to in his diary, and observes that "the air was so mild that it wanted but the song of nightingales to make it like the month of April in Andalusia." On the 18th of September the sea, as Columbus tells us, was "as calm as the Guadalquiver at Seville." Air and sea alike continued to furnish evidences of life and indications of land, and Pinzon, on the Pinta, which, being the fastest sailer, generally kept the lead, assured the admiral that indications pointed to land the following day. On the 19th, soundings were taken and no bottom found at two hundred fathoms. On the 20th, several birds visited the ships; they were small song birds, showing they could not have come a very long distance; all of which furnished cause for encouragement.

But still discontent was growing. Gradually the minds of the men were becoming diseased through terror, even the calmness of the weather increasing their fears, for with such light winds, and from the east, too, how were they ever to get back? However, as if to allay their feelings, the wind soon shifted to the southwest.

A little after sunset on the 25th, Columbus and his officers were examining

their charts and discussing the probable location of the island Cipango,* which the admiral had placed on his map, when from the deck of the Pinta arose the cry of "Land! Land!" At once Columbus fell on his knees and gave thanks to Heaven. Martin Alonzo and his crew of the Pinta broke out into the "Gloria in Excelsis," in which the crew of the Santa Maria joined, while the men of the Nina scrambled up to the masthead and declared that they, too, saw land. At once Columbus ordered the course of the vessels to be changed toward the supposed land. In impatience the men waited for the dawn, and when the morning appeared, lo! the insubstantial pageant had faded, the cloud-vision, for such it was, had vanished into thin air. The disappointment was as keen as the enthusiasm had been intense; silently they obeyed the admiral's order, and turned the prows of their vessels to the west again.

A week passed, marked by further variations of the needle and flights of birds. The first day of October dawned with such amber weather as is common on the Atlantic coast in the month of "mists and yellow fruitfulness." The pilot on Columbus's ship announced sorrowfully that they were then 520 leagues, or 1560 miles, from Ferro. He and the crew were little aware that they had accomplished 707 leagues, or nearly 2200 miles. And Columbus had a strong incentive for this deception; for, had he not often told them that the length of his voyage would be 700 leagues?—and had they known that this distance had already been made, what might they not have done! On the 7th of October the Nina gave the signal for land, but instead of land, as they advanced the vision melted and their hopes were again dissipated.

The ship had now made 750 leagues and no land appeared. Possibly he had made a mistake in his latitude; and so it was that, observing birds flying to the southward, Columbus changed his course and followed the birds, recalling, as he says in his journal, that by following the flight of birds going to their nesting and feeding grounds the Portuguese had been so successful in their discoveries. On Monday, the 8th, the sea was calm, with fish sporting everywhere in great abundance; flocks of birds and wild ducks passed by. Tuesday and Wednesday there was a continual passage of birds. On the evening of this day, while the vessels were sailing close together, mutiny suddenly broke out. The men could trust to signs no longer. With cursing and imprecation

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* Cipango was an imaginative island based upon the incorrect cosmography of Toscanelli, whose map was accepted in Columbus's time as the most nearly correct chart of any extant. The Ptolemaic theory of 20,400 geographical miles as the Equatorial girth was accepted by Columbus, which lessened his degrees of latitude and shortened the distance he would have to sail to reach Asia. The island Cipango was supposed to be over 1000 miles long, running north and south, and the distance placed at 52 degrees instead of the 230 degrees which actually separates the coast of Spain from the eastern coast of Asia. The island was placed in about the latitude of the Gulf of Mexico.

SURRENDER OF GRANADA.

they declared they would not run on to destruction, and insisted upon returning to Spain. Then Columbus showed the stuff he was made of. He and they, he said, were there to obey the commands of their Sovereigns; they must find the Indies. With unruffled calmness he ordered the voyage continued.

On Thursday, the 11th, the spirit of mutiny gave way to a very different feeling, for the signs of the nearness of land multiplied rapidly. They saw a green fish known to feed on the rocks, then a branch with berries on it, evidently recently separated from a tree, floated by them, and above all, a rudely carved staff was seen. Once more gloom and mutiny gave way to sanguine expectation. All the indications pointing to land in the evening, the ships stood to the west, and Columbus, assembling his men, addressed them. He thought land might be made that night, and enjoined that a vigilant lookout be kept, and ordered a double watch set. He promised a silken doublet, in addition to the pension guaranteed by the Crown, to the one first seeing land.

LAND, HO!

That night, the ever memorable night of Thursday, opening into the morning of Friday, the 12th of October, not a soul slept on any vessel. The sea was calm and a good breeze filled the sails, moving the ships along at twelve miles an hour; they were on the eve of an event such as the world had never seen, could never see again. The musical rippling of the waves and the creaking of the cordage were all the sounds that were audible, for the birds had retired to rest. The hours passed slowly by. It was just past midnight when the admiral, with restless eye, sought to penetrate the darkness. Then a far-off light came to his vision. Calling Guiterrez, a court officer, he also saw it. At two in the morning a gun from the Pinta, which led the other boats, gave notice that land was at last found. A New World had indeed been discovered. The hopes of years had attained their fruition. It was Rodrigo de Triana, a seaman, who first saw land—though, alas! he received neither promised doublet nor pension. Friday, the 12th of October, 1492, corresponding to the 21st of October, 1892, of the present calendar, was the ever memorable day.

The morning light came, and, lifting the veil that had concealed the supreme object of their hopes, revealed a low, beautiful island, not fifty miles long, and scarcely two leagues away. Columbus gave the signal to cast anchor and lower the boats, the men to carry arms. Dressed in a rich costume of scarlet, and bearing the royal standard, upon which was painted the image of the crucified Christ, he took the lead, followed by the other captains, Pinzon and Yañez. Columbus was the first to land; and as soon as he touched the shore he fell down upon his knees and fervently kissed "the blessed ground" three times, returning thanks to God for the great favor bestowed upon him. The others followed his example; and then, recognizing the Providence which had

COLUMBUS—FIRST SIGHT OF LAND.

crowned his efforts with success, he gave the name of the Redeemer—San Salvador—to the discovered island, which was called by the natives "Guanahani." * And now the crews, who but a few days previously had reviled and cursed Columbus, gathered around, asking pardon for their conduct and promising complete submission in future.

Columbus supposed at last he had reached the opulent land of the Indies, and so called the natives Indians. But it was an island, not a continent or an Asiatic empire, he had found; an island "very large and level, clad with the freshest trees, with much water in it, a vast lake in the middle, and no mountains."

The natives dwelling on the island were found to be a well-proportioned people with fine bodies, simple in their habits and customs, friendly, though shy in manner, and they were perfectly naked. They thought the huge ships to be monsters risen from the sea or gods come down from heaven. Presents were exchanged with them, including gold bracelets worn by the natives. Inquiry was made as to where the gold came from. For answer the natives pointed by gestures to the southwest. Columbus tried to induce some of the natives to go with him and show where the land of gold was to be found. But this they refused to do; so on the next day (Sunday, the 14th), taking along by force seven natives, that he might instruct them in Spanish and make interpreters of them, he set sail to discover, if possible, where gold was to be had in such abundance, and which, he thought, must be Cipango.

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* It is simply impossible to say which one of that long stretch of islands, some 3000 in number, extending from the coast of Florida to Haïti, as if forming a breakwater for the island of Cuba, Guanahani is. Opinion greatly varies. San Salvador, or Cat Island, was in early favor; Humboldt and Irving—the latter having the problem worked out for him by Captain A. S. Mackenzie, U. S. N.—favored that view. The objections are that it is not "a small island" as Columbus called it, and it does not answer to the description of having "a vast lake in the middle" as Columbus says of Guanahani in his journal. Navette advocates the Grand Turk Island which has the lake. Watling's Island was first advocated by Muñoz and accepted by Captain Beecher, R. N., in 1856, and Oscar Perchel in 1858. Major, of the British Museum, has taken up with Watling's Island, as did Lieutenant J. B. Murdoch, U. S. N., after a careful examination in 1884. This view is accepted by C. A. Schott of the U. S. Coast Survey. On the other hand, Captain G. V. Fox, U. S. N., in 1880, put forth an elaborate claim for Samana, based upon a very careful examination of the route as given in Columbus's journal. This claim, with careful consideration of other conditions, has been very carefully examined by Mr. Charles H. Rockwell, an astronomer, of Tarrytown, N. Y. Mr. Rockwell assents to Captain Fox's view, which he finds confirmed by the course Columbus took in bringing his ship to land. He also traverses Captain Beecher's claim for Watling's Island, which he finds to be inconsistent with Columbus's narrative. As we have said, the problem is beset with difficulties, both as relates to the sailing course, and the extent and topography of the island; and at the present time it appears to be well-nigh insoluble. Where the external conditions are met, the internal conditions, including the large lake, seem wanting; the difficulties in the case seem to be irresistible.

He was, of course, in the midst of the Bahama group, and did not have to sail far to discover an island. On the 15th he discovered the island Conception. On the third day he repeated the forms of landing and took possession, as he did also on the 16th, when he discovered an island which he called Fernandina, known to be the island at present called Exuma. On the 19th another island was discovered, which Columbus named Isabella, and which he declared to be "the most beautiful of all the islands" he had seen. The breezes brought odors as spicy as those from Araby the Blest; palm trees waved their fringed banners to the wind, and flocks of parrots obscured the sky. It was a land where every prospect pleased and Nature bestowed her largesse, from no stinted hand.

But no—it was not a land of gold. Leaving Isabella after a five days' sojourn, on Friday, the 26th of October, he entered the mouth of a beautiful river on the northeast terminus of the island of Cuba, where sky and sea seem to conspire to produce endless halcyon days, for the air was a continual balm and the sea bathes the grasses, which grow to the water's edge, whose tendrils and roots are undisturbed by the sweep of the tides. Upon the delights that came to Columbus in this new-found paradise we cannot dwell; admiration and rapture mingled with the sensations that swept over the soul of the great navigator as he contemplated the virgin charms of a new world won by his valor.

But the survey of succeeding events must be rapid. From the 28th of October till November 12th Columbus explored the island, skirting the shore in a westerly direction. He discovered during that time tobacco, of which he thought little, but which, singularly enough, proved more productive to the Spanish Crown than the gold which he sought but did not find.

On the 20th of November Columbus was deserted by Martin Pinzon, whose ship, the Pinta, could outsail all the others. Martin would find gold for himself. This was a kind of treachery which too often marred the story of Spanish exploration in the New World.

For two weeks after the Pinta's desertion Columbus skirted slowly along the coast of Cuba eastwardly till he doubled the cape. Had he only kept on what was now a westerly course he would have discovered Mexico. But it was not to be. Before sailing he lured on board six men, seven women, and three children, a proceeding which nothing can justify. Taking a southwesterly course, on Wednesday, December 5th, Columbus discovered Haïti and San Domingo, which he called Hispaniola, or Little Spain. The next day he discovered the island Tortuga, and at once returned to Haïti, exploring the island; there, owing to disobedience of orders, on Christmas morning, between midnight and dawn, the Santa Maria was wrecked upon a sand-bank, near the present site of Port au Paix. A sorry Christmas for Columbus, indeed!

The situation was now critical. The Pinta, with her mutinous commander

and crew, was gone; the Santa Maria was a wreck. But one little vessel remained, the little, undecked Nina. Suppose she should be lost, too?—how would Spain ever know of his grand discoveries? Two things were necessary: he must at once set out on his return voyage, and some men must be left behind. The first thing he did was to build, on a bay now known as Caracola, a fort, using the timbers of the wrecked Santa Maria. In this he placed thirty-nine men. Nature would surely give them all the shelter and provisions they needed.

COLUMBUS RETURNS TO SPAIN.

It was not until Friday, January 4, 1493, that the weather was sufficiently favorable so that Columbus could hoist sail and stand out of the harbor of the Villa de Navidad, as he named the fort, because of his shipwreck, which occurred on the day of the Nativity. Two days later the ship Pinta was encountered. Pinzon on the first opportunity boarded the Nina, and endeavored, but unsuccessfully, to explain his desertion and satisfy the admiral. The two vessels put into a harbor on the island of Cuba for repairs, and continued to sail along the coast, now and then making a harbor. On Wednesday, the 16th day of January, 1493, they bade farewell to the Queen of the Antilles, and then the prows of the Nina and the Pinta, the latter the slower sailer because of an unsound mast, were turned toward Spain, 1450 leagues away.

It is not possible within the limits of this chapter to follow Columbus from day to day as he sails a sea now turbulent and tempestuous, as if to show its other side, in marked contrast to the soft airs and smooth waters that had greeted the voyagers when their purpose held—

> "To sail beyond the sunset and the baths
> Of all the western stars."

Nor can we follow with minuteness Columbus in his subsequent career. He had made the greatest discovery of his or any other age: he had found the New World, and this, more than anything else, has to do with "The Story of America."

It was on Friday, March 15, 1493, just seven months and twelve days after leaving Palos, that Columbus dropped anchor near the island of Saltes. It was not until the middle of April that he reached Barcelona, where the Spanish Court was sitting. As he journeyed to Court his procession was a most imposing one as it thronged the streets, his Indians leading the line, with birds of brilliant plumage, the skins of unknown animals, strange plants and ornaments from the persons of the dusky natives shimmering in the air. When he reached the Alcazar or palace of the Moorish Kings, where Ferdinand and Isabella were seated on thrones, the sovereigns rose and received him standing. Then they commanded him to sit, and learned from him the story of his discovery. Then and there the sovereigns confirmed all the dignities previously bestowed.

The rejoicing over, the good news spread everywhere, and Columbus was the hero of the civilized world. Ferdinand and Isabella at once addressed themselves to the task of preserving and extending their conquests, and a fleet of seventeen vessels and fifteen hundred men was organized to prosecute further discovery. It was on September 25, 1493, that Columbus set sail with his fleet. On the 3d of November he sighted land, a small, mountainous island, which Columbus called Dominica, after Sunday, the day of discovery. Then again they set sail, and in two weeks discovered several islands in the Caribbean waters. It was not till November 27th that Columbus arrived in the harbor of La Navidad. He fired a salute, but there was no response. On landing the next morning, he found the fortress gone to pieces and the tools scattered, with evidences of fire. Buried bodies were discovered—twelve corpses—those of white men. Of the forty who had been left there, not one was present to tell the tale. But all was soon revealed, and a harrowing, sorrowful tale it was. From a friendly chief, Guacanagari—whom Columbus at first suspected of treachery, and was never quite satisfied of his innocence—it was learned that mutiny, perfidy, and lust had aroused resentments and produced quarrels, resulting in a division into two parties, who, separating and wandering off, were easily overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the incensed natives.

Having discovered the Windward Islands, Jamaica, and Porto Rico, he founded a new colony in Hispaniola (Haïti or San Domingo), which he named Isabella, in honor of his queen. The place had a finer harbor than the ill-fated port of the Nativity. He named his brother Bartolommeo lieutenant governor, to govern when he should be absent on his explorations. On February 2, 1494, Columbus sent back to Spain twelve caravels under the command of Antonio de Torres, retaining the other five for the use of the colony, with which he remained. The vessels carried specimens of gold and samples of the rarest and most notable plants.

Besides these, the ships carried to Spain five hundred Indian prisoners, who, the admiral wrote, might be sold as slaves at Seville—an act which places an indelible stain upon the brilliant renown of the great admiral: that one inhuman act admits of no palliation whatever.

Of the troubles that ensued it is impossible to give any account in detail. Men returning, disappointed at not finding themselves enriched, complained of Columbus as a deceiver, and he was charged with cruelty, and, indeed, there was scarcely a crime that presumably was not laid at his door. Then troubles broke out in the colony; the friar, incensed at Columbus, excommunicated him, and the admiral, in return, cut off his rations. Then the men, in the absence of Columbus, off on trips of exploration, gave way to rapine and passion, and the poor natives had no other means than flight to save their wives and daughters. Matters proceeded from bad to worse, the colony growing weaker through dissension.

Finally four vessels from Spain arrived at Isabella, in October, 1495, laden with welcome supplies. These were in charge of Torres, who was accompanied by a royal commissioner, Aquado, who was empowered to make full investigation of the charges brought against Columbus. It was evident to the admiral that he should take early occasion to return to Spain and make explanation to his sovereigns. Accordingly, in the spring of 1496, Columbus set sail for Cadiz, where he arrived on June 11, 1496. He was well received, and was successful in defending himself against the many charges and the clamor raised against him. Ships for a third voyage were promised him, but it was not until the late spring of 1498 that the expedition was ready for sailing.

HAYTIAN INDIAN GIRL SPINNING.

COLUMBUS SETS FORTH ON A THIRD EXPEDITION.

On May 30, 1498, with six ships, carrying two hundred men, besides sailors, Columbus set out on his third expedition. Taking a more southerly course, Columbus discovered the mouth of the Orinoco, which he imagined to be the great river Gihon, mentioned in the Bible (Genesis ii, 13) as the second river of Paradise; so sadly were our admiral's geography and topography awry! Columbus also discovered the coast of Para and the islands of Trinidad, Margarita, and Cabaqua, and then bore away for Hispaniola.

It was the old story told over again, with sickening disappointment. He found the colony was more disorganized than ever. For more than two years Columbus did his best to remedy the fortunes of the colony. At last an insurrection broke out. It was necessary to act promptly and decisively. Seven ringleaders were hanged and five more were sentenced to death. At this time the whole colony was surprised by the arrival at St. Domingo of Francisco de Bobadilla, sent out by Ferdinand and Isabella as governor, and bearing authority to receive from Columbus the surrender of all fortresses and public property. Calumny had done its work! Bobadilla then released the five

men under sentence of death, and finally, when Columbus and Bartholomew arrived at St. Domingo, Bobadilla caused them both to be put in chains, to be sent to Spain. Seldom has a more touching, more cruel, more pathetic picture been presented in the world's sad history of cruelty and wrong!

Shocked as the master of the ship was at the spectacle of Columbus in irons, he would have taken them off, but Columbus would not allow it; those bracelets should never come off but at the command of his Sovereigns! It was early in October, 1500, that the ships with the three prisoners, Columbus and

COLUMBUS IN IRONS.

his brothers, Bartholomew and Diego, left Isabella. On the 25th of November, after an unusually comfortable passage, the vessels entered the harbor of Cadiz. The sight of the venerable form of Columbus in chains as he passed through the streets of Cadiz, where he had been greeted with all the applause of a conqueror, was more than the public would suffer. Long and loud were the indignant protests that voiced the popular feeling. The news of the state of affairs coming to Isabella, a messenger was dispatched with all haste to Cadiz, commanding his instant release. When the poor broken-hearted admiral came into the queen's presence Isabella could not keep the tears back—while he,

affected at the sight, threw himself at the feet of his sovereigns, his emotion bursting out in uncontrollable tears and sobs—and this was Columbus's reward for discovering a new world!

HIS LAST VOYAGE.

The rest is soon told. The acts of the miserable creature, Bobadilla, were instantly disapproved, and he was recalled, but was drowned on his way home. Columbus, however, was not allowed to return to Hispaniola, but after two years' waiting sailed from Cadiz, May 9, 1502, with four vessels and a hundred and fifty men, to search for a passage through the sea now known as the Gulf of Mexico. It was the middle of June when Columbus touched at San Domingo, where he was not permitted to land. He set sail, and was dragged by the currents near Cuba. Here he reached the little island of Guanaja, opposite Honduras, and voyaged along the Mosquito coast, having discovered the mainland, of which he took possession. After suffering from famine and many other forms of hardship, he went to Jamaica and passed a terrible year upon that wild coast. In June, 1504, provision was made for returning to Spain, and on November 7th of that year, after a stormy voyage and narrow escape from shipwreck, Columbus landed at San Lucar de Barrameda, and made his way to Seville. He found himself without his best friend and protector, for Isabella was then on her death-bed. Nineteen days later she breathed her last. Ferdinand would do nothing for him. A year and a half of poverty and disappointment followed, and then his kindliest friend, Death, came to his relief, and his sorrows were at an end. Columbus died on Ascension Day, May 20, 1506, at Valladolid, in the act of repeating, *Pater, in manus tuas depono spiritum meum*,—"Lord, into Thy hands I commit my spirit." Death did not end his voyages. His remains, first deposited in the Monastery of St. Francis, were transferred, in 1513, to the Carthusian Monastery, of Las Cuevas. In 1536 his body, with that of his son, Diego, was removed to Hispaniola and placed in the cathedral of San Domingo, where it is believed, and pretty nearly certain, they were recently discovered. There seems no sufficient evidence that they were ever taken to Havana.

Thus passed away the greatest of all discoverers, a man noble in purpose, daring in action, not without serious faults, but one inspired by deep religious feeling, and whose character must be leniently measured by the spirit of the age in which he lived. He received from his country not even the reward of the flattering courtier, for he was deprived of the honors his due, and for which the royal word had gone forth; and in the end, when the weight of years was upon him and there was nothing more he could discover, he was allowed by Ferdinand to die in poverty, "with no place to repair to except an inn." But if Ferdinand was not a royal giver Columbus was more than one. For the world will never

forget the inscription that, for very shame, was placed upon a marble tomb over his remains—he was now seven years dead—and which reads :—

"A Castilla y á Leon
Nuevo mundo dio Colon."
To Castile and Leon Columbus gave a new world.

As to the character of Columbus, there is wanting space here for considering the subject at any length ; nor does it at all seem necessary. Time has given the great navigator a character for courage, daring, and endurance, which no modern historian can take from him—least of all can the statement, that the falsification of the record of his voyage was reprehensible, stand. It was no more reprehensible than the act of Washington in deceiving the enemy at Princeton ; and in Columbus's case his foes were the scriptural ones "of his own household." Living in an age when buccaneering was honorable and piracy reputable, it will not do to gauge Columbus by the standard of our day. It is sufficient to say that he was great, in the fact that he put in practice what others had only dreamed of. Aristotle was sure of the spheroidicity of the earth, and was certain that "strange lands" lay to the west : Columbus sailed and *found ;* —he went, he saw, he conquered. And these pages cannot better be brought to a close than by quoting what one of the most thoughtful of recent poets, Arthur Hugh Clough, has expressed in his lines, prompted no doubt by his visit to this country :—

"What if wise men had, as far back as PTOLEMY,
Judged that the earth like an orange was round,
None of them ever said, 'Come along, follow me,
Sail to the West and the East will be found'
Many a day before
Ever they'd come ashore,
From the 'San Salvador,'
Sadder and wiser men,
They'd have turned back again ;
And that *he* did not, but did cross the sea,
Is a pure wonder, I must say, to me."

M. H. B.

CHAPTER II.

POST-COLUMBIAN EXPLORERS AND DISCOVERERS.

NO SOONER had the news of the successful results achieved by Columbus reached Spain, than it spread like wild-fire through the then civilized world. The three other great maritime powers,—Portugal, England, and France,—were especially aroused to discover, if possible, lands for themselves. On the one side were Ferdinand and Isabella, who were determined to acquire and hold "the strange lands to the west," whose possession had been guaranteed them by the Pope. On the other hand, there were the three other great powers, with whom desire of conquest and dominion existed no less strongly than with Spain. These nations were resolved to do all that lay in their power to acquire dominion; whatever difficulty might arise with Spain could be settled later.

The first country to compete with Spain in western discovery was England, and the first one to follow in the footsteps of Columbus was John Cabot, who, with his son Sebastian, was destined to make important discoveries which would hand the name of Cabot down to history as surely as that of the great pioneer discoverer, Columbus, himself.

It was as early as 1492 that Señor Puebla, then the Spanish Ambassador to the Court of England, wrote to his Sovereigns that "a person had come, like Columbus, to propose to the King of England an enterprise like that of the Indies." The Spanish King immediately instructed his minister that he should inform Henry VII that the prior claims of Spain and Portugal would be interfered with if he commissioned any such adventurer. But the warning came too late.

It is possible that the unsuccessful mission of Bartholomew Columbus to England, while the future Admiral was besieging the Spanish Court, may have been the means of arousing in John Cabot's mind a desire to test the truth of the new theory of a westward path to the Indies. When the accomplished feat of the first voyage to the West Indies fired the imagination of Europe and became the chief topic of interest among the maritime nations, even cool-

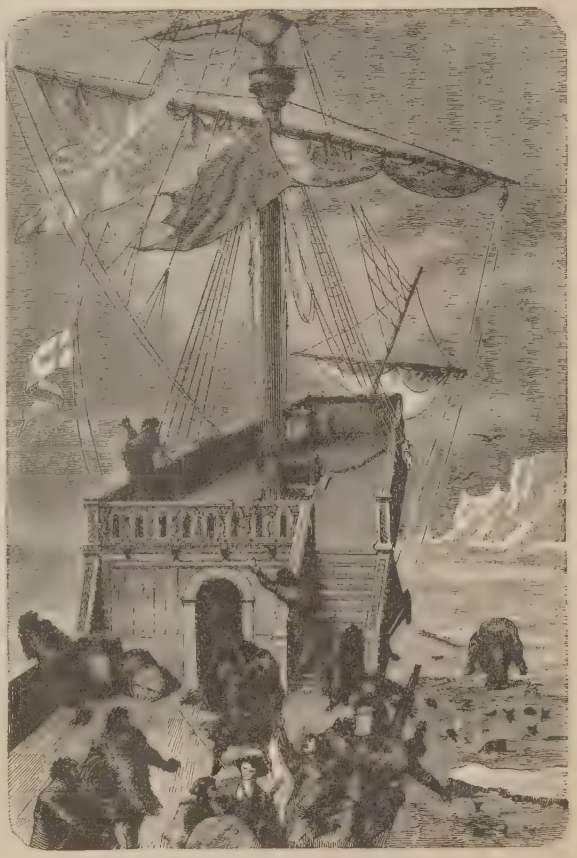
blooded England was measurably excited, and her parsimonious King yielded to the urgent prayers of a Genoese navigator, and authorized John Cabot and his three sons "to sail to the East, West, or North, with five ships, carrying the English flag, to seek and discover all the islands, countries, regions, or provinces of pagans in whatever part of the world." We do not learn that this generous permission to sail and discover unknown countries was accompanied by anything more than a meagre provision for carrying it out, although the King in return for the commission given and the single vessel equipped was to have one-fifth of the profits of the voyage. According to at least one authority, Cabot had a little fleet of three or four vessels fitted out by private enterprise, "wheryn dyvers merchaunts as well of London as Bristowe aventured goodes and sleight merchaundise wh departed from the West cuntrey in the begynnyng of somer—." We are only sure, however, of one vessel, the Matthews, which left Bristol in May of 1497.

Choosing the most probable of several vague accounts of Cabot's course in starting out, we find the sturdy adventurer, with his son and eighteen followers, standing to the northward, after leaving the Irish coast, and then westerly into the unknown sea. The plan was that which Columbus followed, when he sailed from the Island of Ferro in the Canaries, of striking a certain parallel of latitude and sticking to it. The transatlantic liners of to-day call that "great-circle sailing."

We have absolutely no record of the month or more spent upon the outward course. What strange experiences the Gulf Stream or the Labrador current presented to Cabot we can only surmise. There were no summer isles and turquoise seas for him. Instead of the song birds, the spicy breezes and silver sands that Columbus found, his less fortunate countryman came upon the forbidding coast of Labrador, bleak even in the summer time, where he saw no human beings.

It was on the 24th of June, 1497, that those on board of the Matthews unexpectedly caught sight of that strange, unknown land. They had no more notion than had Columbus of the magnitude of the discovery. This was to their appreciation no new world, but rather the extreme coast of the kingdom of the Grand Khan—a remote and desolate shore of India. But their imagination peopled it with strange beings; demons, griffins, and all the uncouth creatures of mediæval mythology dwelt there with the bear and the walrus. If the South was the scene of brighter illusions, of kingdoms where the rulers lived in golden halls and fountains which could confer upon the bather the gift of perpetual youth, the glamour and legend which the cold crags of the North conjured up were not less characteristic. Haunted islands and capes, where the clamor of men's voices were heard at night, were known to all the sailors and pilots that followed after the Cabots.

The land that John Cabot first reached, wherever it was, he called "Terra Firma." There he planted the royal standard of England, after which he seems to have sailed southward; presumably to reverse the course by which he came over. Peter Martyr, in relating the wonders that Cabot discovered, recounts that "in the seas thereabouts he found so great multitudes of certain Bigge fishes much like unto Tunies (which the inhabitants called baccalaos) that they sometimes stayed his shippes." Another writer stated that the "Beares also be as bold which will not spare at mid-day to take your fish before your face." Coasting probably for three hundred leagues, with the land to starboard, Cabot seems to have discovered Newfoundland on the mainland side and to have passed through the Gulf of St. Lawrence. He named several islands and prominent points, but the names are uncertain and the localities problematical. We only know that in his opinion England would no longer have to go to Iceland for her fish, and that he relied upon his crew to corroborate his statements when he returned to England, because his unsupported word would not have established the fact of his discoveries. Royalty is not always liberal, despite the phrase "a royal giver"; for we learn right here of the munificence of the English King, who gave this intrepid sailor and discoverer ten pounds as a reward for his labor, and afterwards added a yearly pension of twenty pounds, or $100. There is something pathetic in this fragmentary story of the second continent-finder. The little spasm of approval and excitement which his success occasioned soon died away, and even at its height was utterly inadequate to the magnitude of his work. The simple sailor must have made as great a show as possible upon the stipend granted by the



CABOT ON THE SHORES OF LABRADOR.

king, for we read in a letter of the Venetian, Pasqualigo, that "he is dressed in silk and the English run after him like a madman."

A second voyage of John and Sebastian Cabot to discover the island of Cipango,—that illusory land that Columbus had so hopefully sought,—was undertaken; but a storm came up and one of the vessels was much damaged, finally seeking refuge in an Irish port. The others sailed into a fog of tradition and mystery as dense as that which wrapped the new-found land. We read that the expedition returned and that Sebastian Cabot lived to engage in further adventures, but of his father we know nothing further, the supposition being that he died upon this second expedition. Whether the third traditional voyage of Sebastian Cabot in the fifteenth century is fact or fable is not known. His subsequent career was mainly in the service of other sovereigns.

The profits of the second voyage of the Cabots were so meagre as to fail to arouse any enthusiasm; they were so small, in fact, that almost all interest died out in England. We read of one or two minor adventures, as those of Rut and Grube, the former of whom went to find the northern passage to Cathay, in which voyage his two ships encountered vast icebergs, by which one of them was lost and the other "durst go no further," and after visiting Cape Race returned to England. With these few exceptions England took no part in the great work of discovery, by which, little by little, with here an island and there a headland, now a river and then a bit of coast, the results of that great discovery were combined into that which came to be known, though not at first, as the New World.

Yet Newfoundland was not deserted. Almost from the first the Breton and Basque fishermen, hardy and adventurous, frequented its shores. The Isle of Demons and other uncanny places in the new country were visited by fleets of French fishermen's boats, and plenteous cargoes of "Baccalois," or cod-fish, were taken eastward yearly for the Lenten market.

AMERICUS VESPUCIUS AND HIS VOYAGES.

The year 1500 was one of extreme importance in the making of New World history. The Spanish and Portuguese had already settled their dispute over the division of territory, the Pope's decision, to which all good Catholics in that day yielded unhesitating obedience, having given to Spain all land discovered west of a certain meridian line, and to Portugal whatever lay to the eastward. In this way Portugal acquired her right to the Brazils; and she also laid claim to Newfoundland. But the great element, time, had just begun to work. It was destined, under the ordering of Providence, that Spain and Portugal should make conquests, but not hold them. The Anglo-Saxon was only then a potentiality; his greatness was becoming recognized: he was yet to sweep the Atlantic, and, finally, settling on the stormy coast to the west, was

to lay the foundations of a great empire, which was to make it possible to tell the inspiring and unique Story of America.

We now come to Americus Vespucius, who was, singularly enough, and through no scheming of his own, to give his name to a country that should rightly have borne the name Columbia. And he was to do this though he headed but one expedition. The story must necessarily be brief.

Vespucius was a Florentine—another conspicuous illustration of the fact that he was to discover even as Columbus had discovered, but Italy was to reap no benefit. He was, indeed, to sow the seed, but the strong arms of others were to reap the harvest. On the 9th day of March, 1451, Vespucius was born, in the city of Florence. Of a noble but not at all wealthy family, he received a liberal education, devoting himself to astronomy and cosmography. The fortunes of business took him to Seville, where he became the agent of the powerful Medici family. It was in 1490 that he became acquainted with Columbus, and was concerned in fitting out four caravels for voyages of discovery; he took an active part in assisting Columbus in preparing for his second voyage. Vespucius makes the statement, which we are prepared to accept, that in 1497 he sailed, and probably as astronomer, with one of the numerous expeditions that the success of Columbus had called into existence, leaving Cadiz on the 10th of May of that year. After twenty-seven days of sailing, the fleet, consisting of four vessels, reached "a coast which we thought to be that of a continent," traversing which they found themselves in "the finest harbor in the world." Just what that harbor is it is impossible to say. Some writers have placed it as far south as Campeachy Bay; Chesapeake Bay has also been designated, Cape Charles being the point of entering. It is impossible, however, owing to Vespucius's loose manner of writing, to fix the place with any certainty. But he states that he doubled Cape Sable, the southernmost point on the peninsula of Florida. Vespucius tells us that while in "the finest harbor" mentioned the natives were very friendly, and implored the aid of the whites in an expedition against a fierce race of cannibals who had invaded at different times their coasts, carrying away human victims whom they sacrificed by the score. The island in question was one of the Bahamas, one hundred leagues away. The fleet accordingly bore away, the Spaniards being piloted by seven friendly Indians. The Spaniards arrived off an island called Iti, and landed.

Here they encountered fierce cannibals, who fought bravely but unsuccessfully against firearms. More than two hundred prisoners were made captive, seven of them being presented to the seven Indian guides. But nearly a year had passed since they had left Cadiz. The vessels were leaky; it was time to return. Accordingly, leaving some point of the coast line of the United States, the fleet reached Cadiz on the 15th of October, 1498, with two hundred and

AN ITIAN CANNIBAL CHIEF OFFERING A HUMAN SACRIFICE TO THE SUN.

twenty-two cannibal prisoners as slaves, where they were well received and sold their slaves for a good sum.

Still following Vespucius's statement, on the 16th of May, 1499, he started on a second voyage in a fleet of three ships, under Alonzo de Ojeda. In this voyage Ojeda reached the coast of Brazil, and being compelled to turn to the north because of the strong equatorial current, they went as far as Cayenne, thence to Para, Maracaibo, and Cape de la Vela. They also touched at Saint Domingo. The expedition returned to Cadiz on the 8th of September, 1500. Three months later Yañez Pinzon, taking a like course, discovered the greatest river on the earth, the Amazon, as will be seen a little further on in this chapter. Ojeda just missed that discovery. A year later, for some reason dissatisfied with his position—and Vespucius seems to have passed at pleasure from one command to another—he entered the service of Emanuel, King of Portugal, and took part in an expedition to the coast of Brazil. He wrote a careful account of this voyage, which he addressed to some member of the Medici family, to whom, in 1504, he sent a fuller narrative of his expedition, which was published at Strasbourg. This gave him high reputation as a navigator and original discoverer.

Under the command of Coelho, a Portuguese navigator, on either May 10th or June 10th, 1503, a little squadron, with Vespucius, left the Tagus to discover, if possible, Malacca somewhere on the South American coast; but through mishap the fleet was separated, and Vespucius, with his own vessel, and later joined by another, proceeded to Bahia. Thence they sailed for Lisbon, arriving there, after about a year's absence, on the 18th of June, 1504.

HOW AMERICA CAME TO BE NAMED.

In a letter written from Lisbon, in 1504, to René, Duke of Lorraine, Vespucius gives an account of four voyages to the Indies, and says that the first expedition in which he took part sailed from Cadiz May 20, 1497, and returned in October, 1498. This letter has provoked endless discussions among historians as to the first discovery of the mainland of America, and it has been charged against Vespucius that after his return from his first voyage to Brazil he prepared a chart, giving his own name to that part of the country. It is high time the name of Vespucius was rid of this stain. It seems to be established that at this time the Duke René, of Lorraine, a scholar, and one deeply interested in the discoveries of the age, caused a map to be prepared for him by an energetic young student of geography, a young man named Waldsee-Müller, who innocently affixed the name America to the Brazil country. In this way the name became fixed, and was eventually taken up by others. It was not till nearly thirty years afterward—in 1535—that the charge of discrediting Columbus by affixing his own name was brought, and most unjustly so, against Vespu-

cius. Latter-day opinion acquits Vespucius of this charge, and now with the fact established, at this time of our Columbian anniversary, it should no more be brought against the distinguished navigator, whose discoveries were important, if he did not accomplish all that was expected, and that through no fault of his.

Vespucius died in Seville, February 2, 1512—six years after his predecessor, the first Admiral, had passed away.

YAÑEZ PINZON AS A VOYAGER.

The first man of importance to sail after Ojeda and Vespucci was Vincent Yeñez Pinzon, who with his brother Ariez Pinzon, built four caravels, little deckless or half-decked yachts, with which he sailed from Palos in the month of December, 1499. Going further south than his predecessors, Pinzon bore away toward the coast of Brazil, his first land being discovered at a point eight degrees north of the equator, near where the town of Pernambuco was afterwards built: he was the first Spaniard to cross the equinoctial line. We read that he lost sight of the pole-star, a circumstance which must have alarmed his sailors. More wonderful still,—most miraculous it must have seemed,—was the finding of a great flood of fresh water, at the Equator, out of sight of land, which induced the navigator to seek for a very large river, and he found it!—for there was the mighty Amazon with its mouth a hundred miles wide and sending a great tide of fresh water a hundred miles out to sea. At their first landing Pinzon's sailors cut the names of their ships and of their sovereign on the trees and the rocks, while he took possession of the land in behalf of Spain. Here Pinzon seized some thirty Indians as slaves. The mighty Amazon, with its hundred-mile wide mouth, filled the explorers with wonder, as well it might. But the capturing of the Indians had created difficulties which endangered the safety of the fleet, so that Pinzon deemed it prudent to shorten his stay. Accordingly he set sail, and skirting along the coast discovered the Orinoco River and Trinidad; after which they stood across to Hispaniola. A hurricane overtaking the little fleet nearly put an end to Pinzon's adventure, but he finally escaped with the loss of two of his vessels. With the others he returned to Spain, only to find that Diego de Lépe had sailed after him and returned before him, with a report of the continuance of the South American continent far to the southward.

Rightly Da Gama has no place here, save as a discoverer in times of discovery. A skilled Portuguese mariner, he coasted the eastern shores of Africa and visited India. In a second voyage he became involved in hostilities with the towns of the Malabar coast. In 1499 he was made Admiral of the Indies. He died at Cochin, India, Christmas Day, 1524.

In 1499, the same year that the Pinzons and Lépe sailed, Pedro Alvarez de Cabral was commissioned by the Portuguese King, Emanuel, to follow Vasco da

Gama's course and establish a trading station on the Malabar coast. Gomez, for some reason unknown, sailed by the way of the Cape Verde Islands, and taking from thence a much more westerly course than he intended, came, quite by accident, upon the Continent that Pinzon and Lépe had so lately left. Probably the real cause of Cabral's deflection from his original course was to avoid the calms of the Guinea shore. He had no sooner made the strange land than he resolved to cruise along it, and concluded that this wonderful coast was a continent. Despatching a ship home to Portugal with the news—with Gaspar de Lemos in command—he pursued his voyage. When Pinzon returned, therefore, he not only found that Lépe had been there before, but ascertained that Portugal pressed its prior claim to the coast he had discovered, based on the Pope's edict as well as the voyage of Cabral. The King of Portugal, on receiving Cabral's message, soon despatched a fleet to discover new territory for his crown; and Americus Vespucius, till then in the Spanish service, accepted his overtures and went with the expedition. When Gaspar de Lemos started for Portugal with the news of the discovery of the southern continent, Cabral waited only a few days and then sailed southward.

VASCO DA GAMA.
(*From the MSS. of Fedro Barretto de Resdiuda*)

The result of this second part of his voyage was the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. There the fleet, heretofore so successful, was overtaken by a terrific storm, in the course of which four of his vessels went down, among them being one which was commanded by the navigator Bartholomew Diaz. The name which Cabral gave to this new country was Vera Cruz. The appellation by which it was afterwards known, of "Brazil" or "the Brazils," was taken from the dye wood found there; an Arabic word being borrowed for the purpose. Columbus discovered the new world without knowing he had done so, although his work was in pursuance of carefully laid plans. Cabral however, like Vespucius off the North American coast,

was aware from the first that the land he accidentally discovered was the mainland of a great continent.

After his adventure at the Cape of Good Hope Cabral went as far as Hindostan and returned with laden ships, in which were immense quantities of spices, jewels and rare merchandise. "Verily," said Vespucius, who met him in the Cape Verde Islands upon his return voyage, "God has prospered King Emanuel." The same year [1500] that the Pinzons and Cabral sailed from their respective countries, Portugal sent the brothers Gaspar and Miguel Cortereal on the first of a series of new expeditions to explore the Northwest. The papal line of demarcation between Spanish and Portuguese possessions was called Borgia's meridian, and the suspicion that Cabot's discoveries lay to the eastward of this was sufficient cause for an expedition from Lisbon. These were unfortunate voyages, for although the region already explored by the Cabots was revisited and the flag of Portugal planted in the chill domain of the griffins and demons of Breton fancy, yet the wild men and curiosities which they brought home were but a sorry exchange for the lives that they cost. From Gaspar Cortereal's second voyage he never returned. Two of his ships came home, and when his brother Miguel went in search of him his flag-ship also was lost, with all on board.

OTHER DISCOVERERS.

Rodigero de Bastidas and John de la Cosa, sailing with two ships from Cadiz, in 1502, discovered the Gulf of Darien, which point Ojeda on his second voyage also touched, thence proceeding to the West Indies. Following these, after a number of smaller adventurers that tried their fortune upon the Atlantic, Juan de Solis and Vincent Yañez Pinzon sailed from the Port of Saville, six years later. They directed their two caravels toward the coast of Brazil, going to the thirty-fifth degree south latitude, where they discovered the Rio de la Plata,—the River of Silver,—which they at first called Paranaguaza. To them also is due the credit for the discovery of Yucatan, on this same voyage. De Solis was by some considered the very ablest navigator of his time, and his fame at last induced the King of Spain to appoint him to the command of two ships fitted out to discover a passage to the Spice Islands, or Moluccas, for which he sailed in October, five years after he and Pinzon had made the trip just alluded to. He returned to the la Plata River, which stream he entered in January, 1516, but a tragic fate awaited him. Attempting to ascend the river and explore its banks, de Solis and a number of his crew were surprised and overpowered by the savages, who with barbaric heartlessness roasted and ate the unfortunate Spaniards in the sight of their companions on the vessels. The survivors, sickened and terrified by such a spectacle, lost no time in escaping from the land of these cannibals. They stopped only at Cape San Augustin, where they loaded their vessels with Brazil

wood, and made the best of their way back to Europe with the sad news. In the following year Charles V sent Cordova, with a command of 110 men in three caravels, into that distant but no longer dreaded West, which still had its rewards for the adventurer.

Upon the shore of Yucatan, where he first landed, at Cape Catoche, the Spaniards saw with surprise people who in one respect differed very greatly from the natives who had so far been met with in the western voyages, inasmuch as they dressed in cotton and other fabrics, instead of going naked and painting their bodies. Not only in their dress but in their houses they exhibited signs of civilization that excited the wonder of Cordova and his men.

PONCE DE LEON DISCOVERS FLORIDA.

Six years had passed after the death of Columbus, when, in 1512, Juan Ponce de Leon sailed from Puerto Rico in a northerly direction and discovered the peninsula which the Admiral had so nearly found upon his first voyage. De Leon first sighted land at about the boundary line separating Florida from Georgia. Landing, he took possession in the name of his sovereign, calling the new country Florida; for it was in April, when the Cherokee roses, the wild jessamine, and all the multitudinous blossoms of a Floridian spring-time were filling the air with their fragrance. The discoverer of this paradise returned to Spain, and, obtaining the governorship of the new coast, undertook to enter upon its possession. But the savages were otherwise minded. The followers of Ponce de Leon were hunted through the tangled growth of the luxuriant forests or harassed in their defences behind the sand-dunes, till many of them had been killed, and their leader was glad to escape with the little remnant of his force. So he re-embarked, abandoning the country; but the Spaniards claimed Florida from that day, in spite of a counter-claim which England presented in virtue of the discoveries of the Cabots.

Later, in 1527, Pamphilo de Narvaes repeated Ponce de Leon's experiment, with a similar result. Then Ferdinand de Soto, who had been Governor of Cuba, obtained the title of Marquis of Florida, and, with nearly a thousand men and ten ships, he landed, in 1539, on the west coast of the peninsula. Five years later a little handful of broken, impoverished, beaten, disheartened Spaniards, less than a third of the number that had sailed so proudly to the conquest of Florida, left its shores to the sole occupancy of the jealous natives who inhabited it. There was no perpetual "fountain of youth" there for de Soto, but ageing, weariness, and disaster instead.

When Charles V, of Spain, was beginning to feel the benefit of the conquest in the New World, and Cortez and the Spanish captains and adventurers were planting the standard of Spain in rich territory, Francis the First, of France, chafed at the necessity of acknowledging the success of his rival. Francis was

one of the most curious characters of European history, a combination of good and evil traits. Vanity, culture, sensibility to the influences of art and literature, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness distinguished him. He was the friend of philosophers and of those who were far from being philosophers.

From Florence came Verazzano, a navigator of repute who, unlike most of the new world-finders, was by birth a gentleman, descended from men who had been prominent in Florentine history. He was appointed to sail westward from Dieppe with four ships, in the year 1523, to seek a new passage to that Cathay which still lured the hopes of Christendom; and in passing we may remark upon the curious irony of fortune which permitted Italy to lend to other nations the men who should win the greenest laurels as discoverers, when she herself was unable to claim a foot of territory in the new world. The beginning of Verazzano's voyage was puzzling enough. He had not proceeded far from Dieppe when a storm overtook him and he escaped with two of his vessels to Brittany; thence he cruised against the Spaniards and finally, having but one vessel left out of the four with which he started, he set sail for the island of Madeira, and on the 17th of January, 1524, turned the prow of his caravel, the Dolphin, westward, to cross the Atlantic. After a passage of forty-five days, during which the strange experiences common to such an adventure were not lacking, he sighted a low shore where vast forests of pine and cypress rose from the sandy soil. This was not far from the present site of Wilmington, North Carolina. Among other things the Florentine noticed the presence of many fragrant plants "which yeeld most sweete savours farr from the shore." The savages who appeared on shore attracted the greatest attention from the voyagers since they were not at all sure what their reception might be when they landed for the supply of water of which they stood in need. A boat approached as near as possible to the beach, when one of the sailors, taking some gifts as a propitiatory offering, jumped overboard and swam through the surf. But as he neared the beach and saw the throng of screeching red men who awaited him his courage failed, and flinging his presents among them he endeavored to return; but the savages succeeded in capturing him and returned to the sand, where in the sight of the terrified captive they built a great fire. Instead, however, of cooking him, as he expected, they warmed and dried him, showed him every mark of affection, and then led him to the shore and let him go. At the next place they touched, the crew of the Dolphin showed their appreciation of the courtesy of the Indians by stealing one of their children.

From the Carolinas Verazzano's course was northward along the coast, his first anchorage being in the bay of New York. Into that beautiful harbor, through the Narrows and under the green and tree-covered banks of Staten Island, he rowed, being met by numerous canoes filled with Indians who came out to welcome him. From New York the Dolphin followed the Long Island

coast as far as Block Island, and from there to the harbor of Newport, where for fifteen days they rested, being entertained by two savage chiefs, who did all that lay in their power to dazzle the eyes of their white visitors with the signs of opulence, as evidenced by copper bracelets, wampum belts, the skins of wild beasts, etc.

From here the little vessel steered along the New England coast, neither officers nor seamen finding much to attract them. The Indians were suspicious and inhospitable, driving them back with shouts and showers of arrows when they ventured ashore in their boats. The seaboard of Maine was visited, and then the banks of Newfoundland, from which last point Verazzano, whose expedition was for us, perhaps, the most significant of all, sailed back for France, having explored the American coast from Hatteras to Newfoundland.

In the following year Verazzano sailed again from France with a fleet, but no news of that expedition ever came back, and the mystery of its loss chilled the ardor for discovery in that country, so that for several years we hear of no further adventures to the new world. But in 1534 the persuasions of Admiral Chabot led to the issuing of a commission to Jacques Cartier, of St. Malo, who sailed from that port in the same year with two ships and one hundred and twenty-two men. He circumnavigated Newfoundland and explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and upon a second voyage sailed up the river of the same name for three hundred leagues, as far as the "great and swift Fall." On the site of Montreal he visited an Indian town. Having attempted the settlement for which he had been sent out, Cartier went back to France only to return with a larger expedition to Canada five years later.

Half a century of discovery and adventure had elapsed. The map-makers of Europe during that time were kept busy by the changes made necessary from fresh data requiring the readjustment of old lines. From Columbus to Verazzano and Cartier, the whole coast, with a few exceptions, had been discovered, from the stony crags of Labrador to the Cape of Good Hope. It only remained now for the round-up of this magnificent hunt, which was accomplished by the intrepid Magellan, prince of navigators, who, first turning westwardly across the Pacific found the true path to far-off Cathay, which the mighty Genoese had sought so patiently, so grandly, so mistakenly, among the isles of June and the pearl banks of the Caribbean Sea.

More than ordinary romance and interest attend the story of Vasco Nunez de Balboa. His appearance in the story of Spanish conquest in America, if not dignified, is captivating to the imagination. Martin Fernandez de Enciso, the geographer, sailed from St. Domingo to go to the relief of the explorer, Ojeda, who was dying of famine at San Sebastian. Among the stores in his vessel was a cask which contained something more valuable than the bread which it was invoiced as containing. When Enciso's ships had got fairly out

to sea, Balboa crept out of his cask and presented himself to the commander, who could, after all, do nothing but scold, as it was then too late to return the fugitive to the creditors from whom he had taken that means of escaping.

FERDINAND CORTEZ.
(From Painting in possession of the Marquis de Salamanca.)

There were some threats of putting the culprit ashore on a small desert island, but that was not done, or one of the most popular stories of the New World would have been unwritten.

But by the time the expedition in search of Ojeda had been abandoned and the followers of Enciso, reinforced by the haggard remnant of Ojeda's force, had reached the Gulf of Urabà, Balboa was no inconsiderable figure in that company.

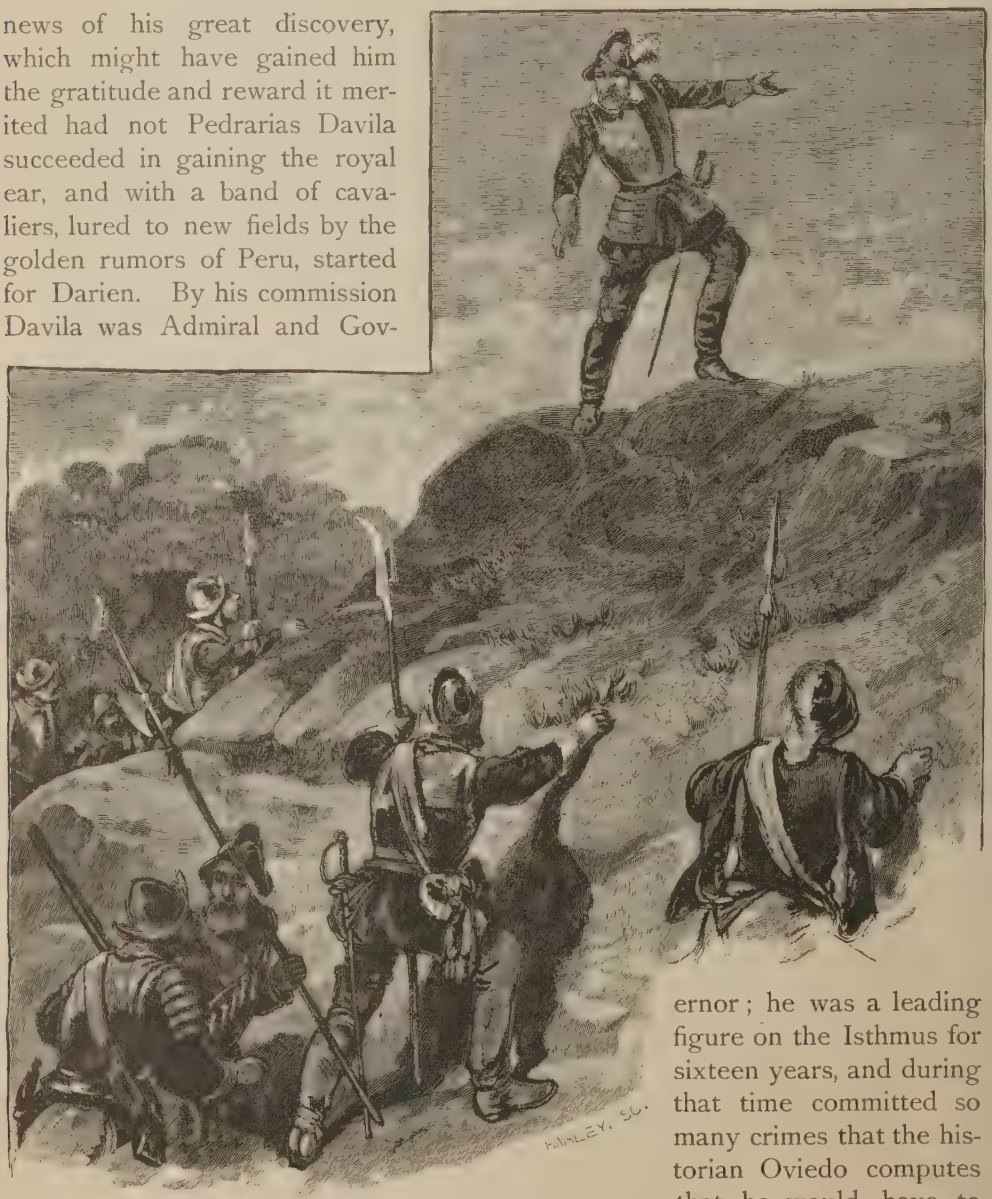
When the building of Santa Maria del Darien had commenced and Enciso's temper provoked an insurrection, the stowaway, Balboa, was spoken of as his successor. The new-comers had encroached on the province of Nicuesa, who had been given a province in Darien, of which he was Governor, at the same time that Ojeda was similarly favored by King Ferdinand. Some of them, therefore, were for giving their allegiance to that Governor. The matter was settled by giving Balboa charge till Nicuesa should come.

Nicuesa, embittered by famine and all manner of hardship, was rejected by the men of Darien when he finally came to them, and, turning his poor little brigantine seaward, was never heard from again. The cruelty shown to him at this time was afterward charged upon Balboa, but he was cleared by the court. He, however, showed little kindness to the irate Enciso, who went home to Spain an avowed enemy, complaining bitterly of the treatment he had received at the hands of the stowaway, whom, doubtless, he regretted not having "marooned," *i. e.*, cast on a desert island, when he had the chance.

Balboa next explored Darien. He married a native princess, thus making the old chief Comogre, her father, his firm friend. The first evidence which the Spaniards had of the superior claims of the people of Central America to civilization was at Comogre's house, where "finely wrought floors and ceilings," a chapel occupied by ancestral mummies, and other signs of ease and leisure, appeared. But dearer than anything else was the sight of ornaments and flakes of virgin gold. This the Spaniards, with their usual propensity, acquired, and marveled at the strange tales which were told them of a land further to the westward where the people made bowls and cups of the yellow metal. This was the first news they had received of the kingdom of Peru. Balboa sent the whole of the story and a fifth of the gold to Spain as Ferdinand's share, but the ship went down on the voyage. Its arrival at Court would have done more than anything else to check the legal proceedings which were being commenced against him at home. However, Balboa was appointed Captain-General of Darien, by the Government of Hispaniola, which was some little comfort to him.

Balboa next advanced across the Isthmus to find "the great sea" of which he had heard. On the twenty-fifth of September, in 1513, after some trouble with the Indians, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa stood where the poet Keats has made Cortez stand for some years past, on a peak in Darien, a mountain in the country of Quarequa, and looked with the glad eyes of a discoverer on the blue waters of the mighty Pacific Ocean, that till then had had no herald in the

Eastern world. Having shortly after this gained the Pacific coast, Balboa returned to Darien with the news of his great discovery, which might have gained him the gratitude and reward it merited had not Pedrarias Davila succeeded in gaining the royal ear, and with a band of cavaliers, lured to new fields by the golden rumors of Peru, started for Darien. By his commission Davila was Admiral and Governor; he was a leading figure on the Isthmus for sixteen years, and during that time committed so many crimes that the historian Oviedo computes that he would have to face two million souls at the judgment day! Oviedo, like the humane Las Casas, believed that the Indians possessed souls; and though we know how given the Spanish chronic-



BALBOA DISCOVERS THE PACIFIC.

lers were to exaggeration and even downright mendacity, still we cannot doubt

BALBOA TAKES POSSESSION OF THE PACIFIC, IN THE NAME OF HIS SOVEREIGNS.

that enough murders were committed during the governorship of Davila to make even the conscience of a Spaniard feel uncomfortable. With the cava-

liers who came over with Davila were Oviedo, the historian already named, and Enciso, Balboa's old commander. The first thing that the jealous Davila did was to arrest Balboa on trumped-up charges, but they did not suffice to insure his conviction, and about this time the news of his great discoveries was beginning to turn the tide in Spain in his favor. It is to be said to Balboa's credit that he was very politic in his treatment of the Indians, using kindness where the new Governor practiced the utmost cruelty. As a result Balboa was regarded with friendly feelings and his rival hated,—a condition of affairs that could not fail to engender jealousy and danger.

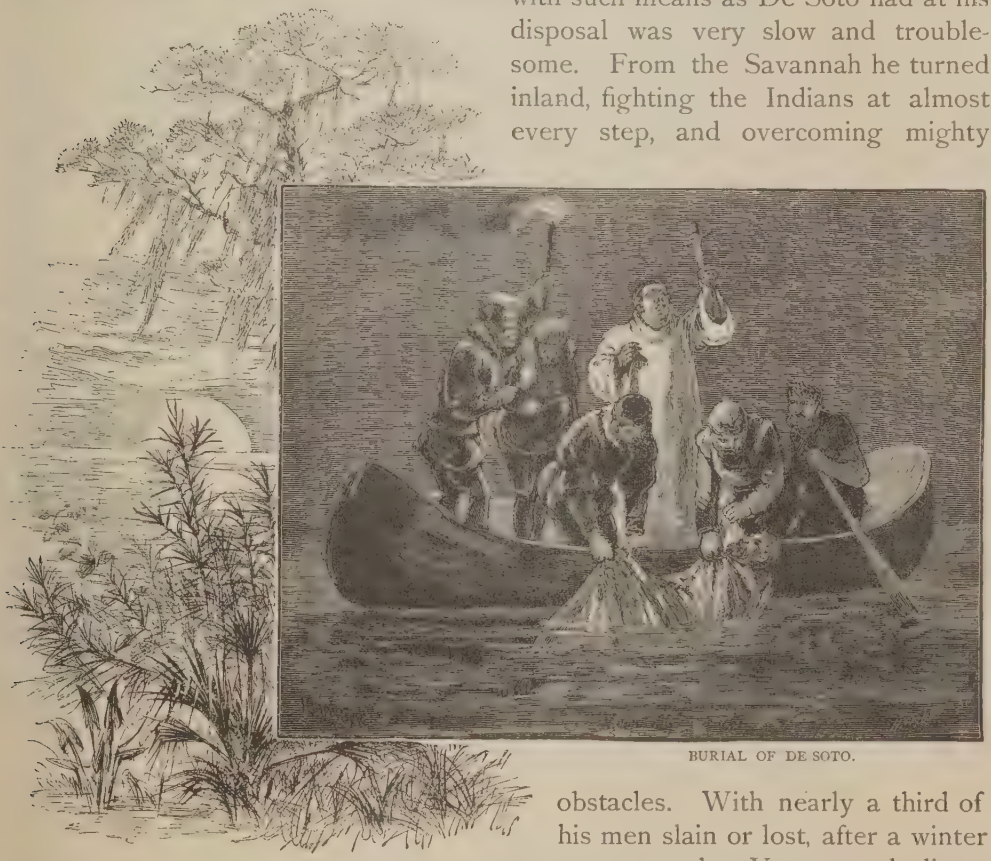
The Spanish bishop, who had come with the expedition, strove to patch up matters by suggesting a betrothal between Balboa and the daughter of the Governor. As the daughter was in Spain, and the alliance could not be consummated for some time, Balboa consented, though we have no evidence that he really contemplated abandoning his beloved Indian wife. The proposed marriage was but one article in an important treaty, without which the younger man would have been crushed by the elder.

Before long, however, Balboa again incurred the hatred of his enemy, and accepting a treacherous invitation to visit him, was arrested by his old comrade, Pizarro, and beheaded, at the age of forty-two, in the land with which his name and fame are indissolubly connected. It was just before his last quarrel with Davila, which resulted in his untimely end, that Balboa performed one of the most astonishing feats in Spanish-American annals: having taken his ships apart, he transported them across the Sierras, and launched them on the Pacific.

Ferdinand de Soto was born in Xeres, Spain, in 1500. We first meet with him, so far as American exploration is concerned, on accompanying his friend and patron Davila [previously referred to in the account of Balboa], on his expedition to Darien, of which Davila was governor, and whose offensive administration De Soto was the first to resist. He supported Hernandez in Nicaragua in 1527, who perished by the hand of Davila for not obeying his instructions. Withdrawing from the service of Davila, in 1528 he explored the coasts of Guatemala and Yucatan for 700 miles, in search of the strait which was supposed to connect the two oceans. In 1532, by special request of Pizarro, he joined him in his enterprise of conquering Peru. He was present at the seizure of the Peruvian Inca, and took part in the massacre which followed, serving the usual apprenticeship in butchery which hardened the hearts and made callous the nerves of those who followed the Sanish conquerors: but we are told he condemned the murder of the Inca Alahualpa, as well he might!—Prescott has pictured the infamy of this crime in indelible colors.

In 1537, De Soto was appointed Governor of Cuba, and two years later he crossed the Gulf of Mexico to attempt the conquest of Florida at his own expense, believing it to be the richest province yet discovered. Anchoring in

Tampa Bay, May 25th, 1539, his route was through a country made hostile by the violence of the Spanish invader, Navarez. It was fighting all the time, but it was not conquest. He continued to march northward, reaching, October 18th, 1540, the present site of Mobile, Alabama, and finally arriving at the mouth of the Savannah river. That country was then, as it is now, flat and sandy, its low forests of pine interspersed with cyprus swamps and knolls where the live-oaks flourished. Frequent streams intersect portions of it. Traveling with such means as De Soto had at his disposal was very slow and troublesome. From the Savannah he turned inland, fighting the Indians at almost every step, and overcoming mighty



BURIAL OF DE SOTO.

obstacles. With nearly a third of his men slain or lost, after a winter spent on the Yazoo, and disappointment following disappointment as he searched in vain, in his westward course, for the cities of gold which he saw in glowing but illusory vision, after a year and a half of unparalleled hardships and constant marching, in April, 1542, he discovered the Mississippi, that mighty stream whose current flows for four thousand miles, upon which the eyes of a white man had never before rested. This he explored for a short distance above and below Chickasaw Bluffs. Here his great career ended, for he died of malignant fever. To

conceal his death from the Indians, his body was wrapped in a mantle, and in the stillness of midnight was silently sunk in the middle of the stream. His soldiers pronounced his eulogy by grieving for their loss, while the priests chanted the first requiem ever heard on the waters of the Mississippi.

THE BANKS OF THE MISSISSIPPI TO-DAY.

OLD GATES AT ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA.

CHAPTER III.

SETTLING THE NEW COUNTRY.

A FEW years cover the beginnings of westward migration from Europe and the British Isles. Great impulses seem to be epidemic. The variety of causes which led to the planting of the American colonies became operative under diverse national and race conditions, so that they appear in history as the synchronous details of a common plan. As the reader follows these pages and appropriates all the wonderful and inspiring details of this unequaled record of four centuries, his interest will deepen and his amazement will keep pace with his interest. Finding a barren shore, broken only by the roar of the surf, the cries of birds and animals, and the whoop of the Indian, he will lay down the volume, having discovered that civilization has followed the sun until the two oceans have met—connected by an unbroken tide of humanity ebbing and flowing from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and westward the Star of Empire still takes its way!

A minute account of the social and political situations in the various kingdoms of Europe during the sixteenth century is not within the scope of this work, but it will be well to make a very brief statement of the questions that agitated Christendom at this time, and to notice the temper of the times.

Cupidity and a love of adventure led the Spaniard to the conquest of the New World. Spain was then paramount in Europe, most powerful as well as most Catholic; and the controlling motive of her sovereigns was conquest. It was not reformation nor revolution that sent her people over seas, but

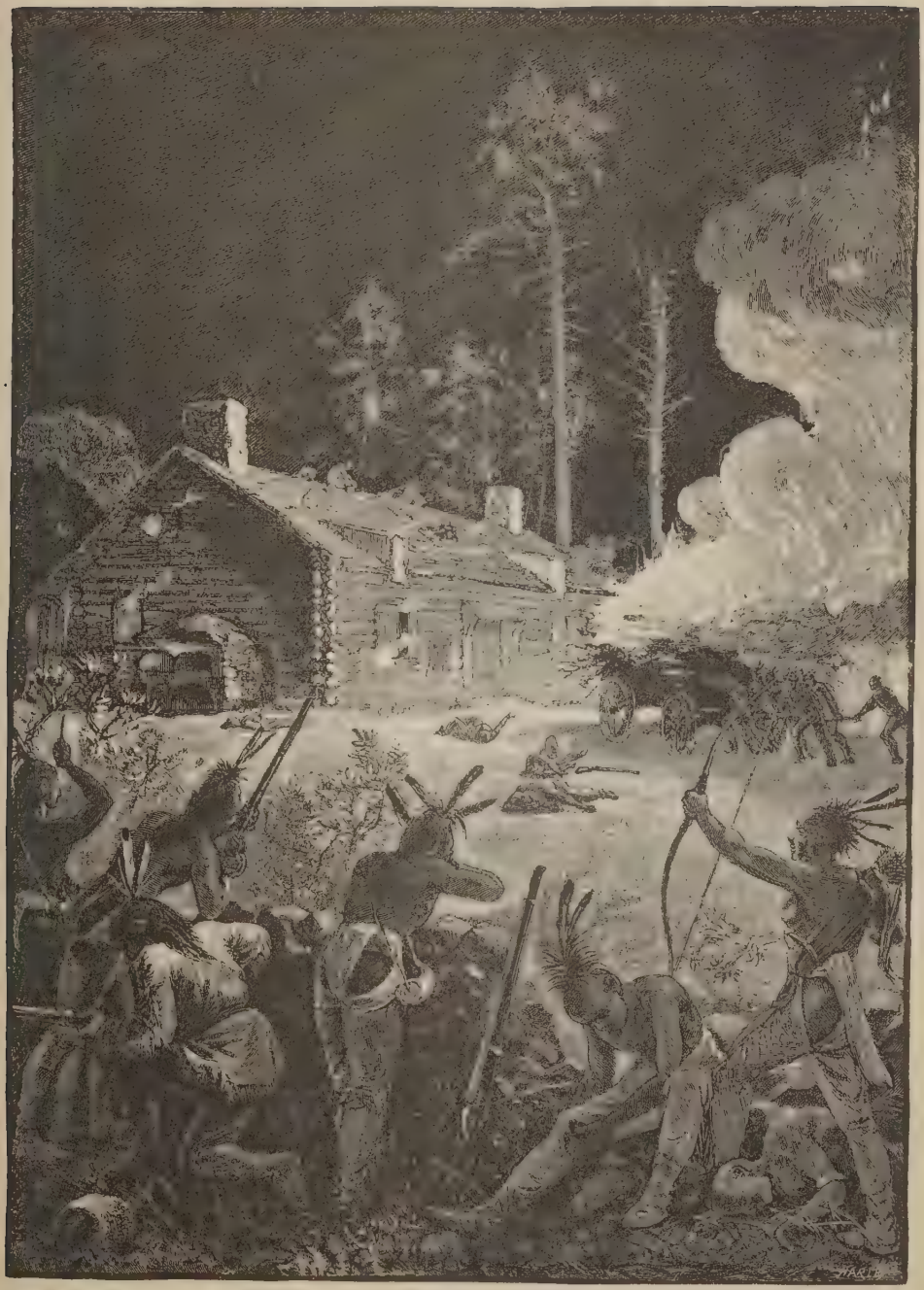
the love of power and wealth. In France, on the contrary, the spirit of revolt against established dogmas had led to persecution, so that the Huguenots were glad to find an asylum in the wilderness of the New World. Under these conditions the first colonies were attempted in the middle of the sixteenth century. Thirty years later a second planting, more general and more effectual, was begun.

At that time Protestant England had a Catholic king. Henry of Navarre was upon the throne of France, which he had gained by his apostacy. Holland, the mighty little republic, was, under the wise leadership of John of Barneveld and the States General, keeping Catholic Europe in check. Spain had been for years planning the conquest of England "as a stepping-stone to the recovery of the Netherlands." It will be seen that the very causes which led emigrants to colonize the new continent forbade friendship or common interests between those of different races, the animosities of the Old World being very carefully transplanted to the new along with other possessions.

France made the first attempt at colonization in 1555. One of the leaders in the enterprise was Coligny, the Huguenot admiral; John Ribault and Laudoniere were masters of successive expeditions, seeking first the Florida coast and afterward establishing a settlement in Carolina. The French have seldom made good colonists, and those of Carolina were no exception to the general rule. It is probable that their quarrelsome dispositions would have destroyed them in time had not the Spanish claimants of the country, led by Menendez, hastened the event. This expedition of the Spaniards was not only noteworthy because of the cruel massacre of Ribault and his Huguenot followers, but also as the occasion of the founding of the most ancient of North American cities, St. Augustine. This occurred in 1564.

The settlement of St. Augustine was followed by a hiatus in which nothing was done toward the colonization of America. This was due to the great religious war which was then raging in Europe. But in the interval the missionary expeditions of the Spanish Franciscans, Ruyz and Espejio, in 1582, resulted in the building of Santa Fé in New Mexico. There had also been the establishment by adventurers of various fishing and trading stations, notably the one on the island of New Foundland.

During the interval England had been steadily growing as a marine power, and her navigators had directed men's eyes anew towards the land where so many of their countrymen should find refuge. Finally Raleigh, following in the footsteps of his famous half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, obtained a patent from Queen Elizabeth, by the terms of which he should become proprietor of six hundred miles radially from any point which he might discover or take, provided he did not encroach upon territory otherwise granted by any



AN INDIAN ATTACK ON BROOKFIELD.

Christian sovereign. As an auxiliary to this grant the queen gave her favorite a monopoly of the sale of sweet wines, by the profits of which business he was soon enabled to fit out what was known as the Lane expedition, that sailed under the command of Grenville in 1585, and landed at Roanoke, in Virginia.

THE ROANOKE COLONY.

Grenville's first act upon landing was to rouse the animosity of the Indians by burning one of their villages and some cornfields, after which he left Lane, the Governor, with only an hundred and ten men and returned to England. Scarcity of provisions, a constant quarrel with their Indian neighbors, and a general feeling of discouragement led these first Virginia colonists to hail the navigator, Drake, who appeared on the coast a few months after, as a deliverer, and rejecting his offers of a vessel and provisions, they insisted upon returning with him to the mother country. Their departure was almost immediately followed by the arrival of reinforcements and supplies from Raleigh, brought by Grenville, who, when he found the place deserted, left fifteen men to guard it and himself proceeded southward to pillage the Spaniards of the West Indies.

INDIAN VILLAGE ENCLOSED WITH PALISADES.
(From the original drawing in the British Museum, made by John White in 1585.)

A second expedition, dispatched by Raleigh, included many women, that families might be formed on the new soil and the colonists be satisfied to remain. This enterprise was led by John White and eleven others, having a company charter. Upon arrival in Virginia White found only a skeleton to show where the former settlement had been. Indian treachery was assigned as the reason for its disappearance. Actuated probably by a nervous anxiety, White massacred some friendly Indians, under the impression that they were hostiles, and in August of 1587 returned to England for supplies, leaving behind him eighty-nine men, seventeen women, and eleven children, the youngest being his own granddaughter, Virginia Dare, the first white child born in America.

White arrived in England to find the nation preparing for a struggle with Spain. His return to the colonies was therefore delayed. Raleigh, finding

himself impoverished by the former expeditions, which had cost him $200,000, made an assignment, under his patent, to a company which included White and one Thomas Smith. A new fleet was procured, though with considerable trouble, and again the adventurers sought the Virginia coast, in 1590, only to find that the unfortunate settlement of three years before had been utterly wiped out of existence. So ended the first English attempt to settle America.

THE FRENCH ATTEMPT COLONIZATION.

About the same time de La Roche, a Marquis of Brittany, obtained from Henry IV of France a commission to take Canada. His company consisted largely of convicts and criminals. Following him came Chauvin de Chatte, but he accomplished little of permanent value.

For some years following the last attempt of Raleigh to colonize Virginia, a desultory trade with the Indians of the coast was pursued, the staples being sassafras, tobacco, and furs. Richard Hakluyt, one of the assignees of Raleigh, was most active in promoting this traffic; and among others employed was Bartholomew Gosnold, who, taking a more northerly course than the one usually followed, discovered Cape Cod, Nantucket, and Martha's Vineyard, and the Elizabeth Islands. Following Gosnold, in 1603, came Martin Pring, exploring Penobscot Bay, tracing the coast thence as far south as Martha's Vineyard.

A French grant of the same year gave to Sieur de Monts, a Protestant, the whole of North America between the 40th and 46th parallels of north latitude. This domain was named Acadie. De Monts looked for a monopoly of the fur trade on what is now the New England and Canadian coast. His Lieutenants in the expeditions which he soon commenced, were Poutrincourt and Champlain, of whom the latter became famous for several discoveries, but in particular for the lake which bears his name.

So it will be noticed that both the French and English were stretching out their hands to acquire the same territory. De Monts and Champlain settled their colony at St. Croix, but soon shifted, trying various points along the coast, and even attempted to inhabit Cape Cod, but were driven away by the savages. At last they transferred the settlement to Port Royal (Annapolis), where it endured for about a year. De Monts' commission or patent was recalled in 1606, and but a little while previously Raleigh's grant was forfeited by attainder, he having been imprisoned by King James on a charge of treason.

The frequent failures to effect a permanent settlement in America did not discourage adventurers, whose desire to possess the new world seemed to grow stronger every year. Soon two new companies were incorporated under Royal charter, to be known as the First and Second Colonies of Virginia. The

former was composed of London men, and the latter of Plymouth people principally.

The charter authorized the Companies to recruit and ship colonists, to engage in mining operations and the like, and to trade; their exports to be free of duties for seven years and duties to be levied by themselves for their own use for a period of twenty years. They might also coin money and protect themselves against invasion. Their lands were held of the King.

HARD TIMES COME AGAIN.

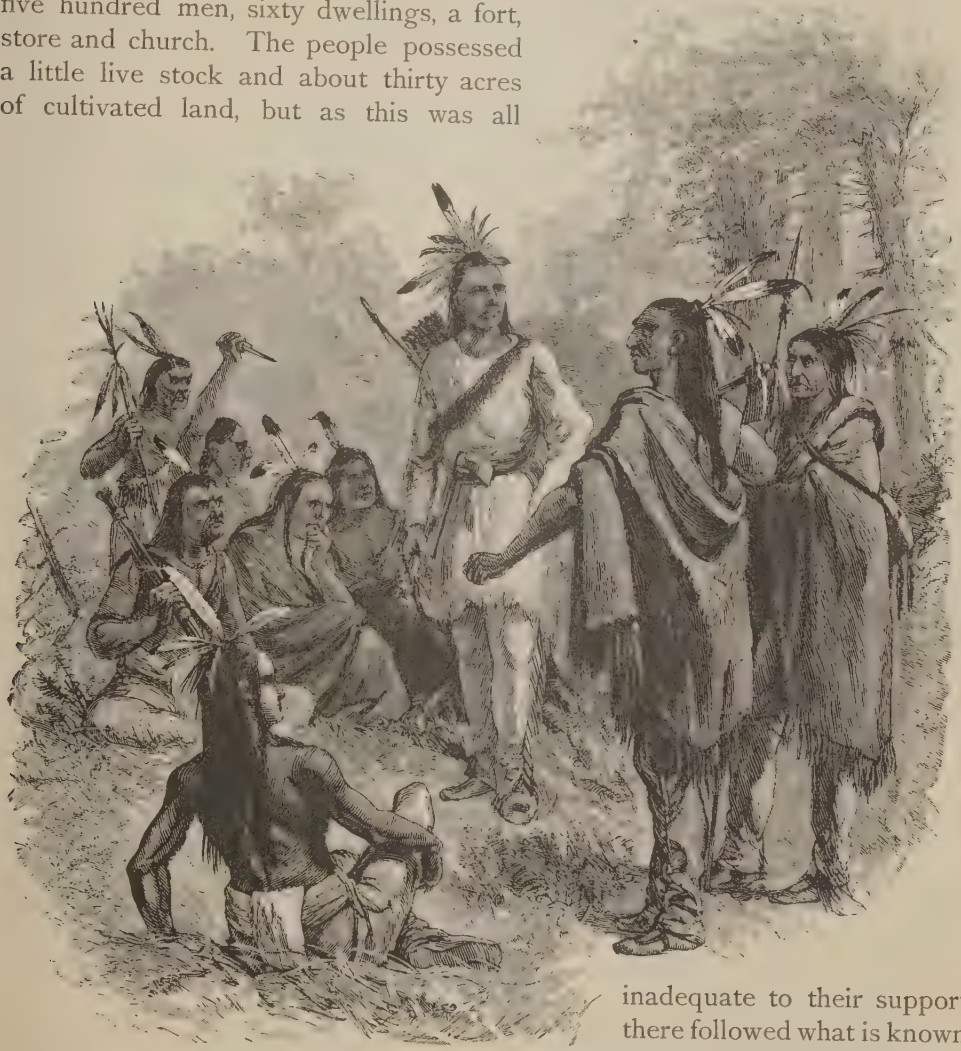
Hardly had the charter been granted when James began to make regulations or instructions for the government of the colonies, which gave a shadow of self rule, established the church of England, and decreed, among other things, that the fruits of their industries were to be held in common stock by the colonists for five years.

These instructions, along with the names of the "Council" appointed by James for the government of the settlement, were carried, sealed in a tin box, by Captain Christopher Newport, who commanded the three vessels which constituted the initial venture of the London Company. An ill chosen band landed at last at Old Point Comfort, after a stormy voyage. Of the one hundred and five men there were forty-three "gentlemen", twelve laborers, half a dozen mechanics and a number of soldiers. These quarreled during the voyage, so that John Smith, who it afterward appeared was one of the Councillors appointed by the Crown, entered Chesapeake Bay a prisoner, charged with conspiracy. As might have been expected, this company did not fare well. They were consumed with laziness and jealousy; there were cabals in the council and bickerings outside of it. Repeatedly the men tried to desert; deaths were frequent and want stared them in the face. During this time it is hardly too much to say that the energy and wisdom of John Smith held the discouraged adventurers together. New arrivals of the same sort as the first added to, rather than diminished, the difficulties of the situation, so that at length Smith wrote that thirty workmen would be worth more than a thousand of such people as were being sent out. Not till the third lot of emigrants arrived did any women visit the new settlement, and then only two. The Indians became more and more troublesome, and the London Company, dissatisfied at receiving no returns from their investment, threatened to leave the settlers to shift for themselves.

In 1609 the London Company succeeded in obtaining a new charter, by the terms of which it organized as a stock company, with officers chosen for life, a governor appointed by the Company's Council in England, and a territory extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific in a strip four hundred miles in width.

During the interval between the granting of the charter and the organization

of the new government anarchy reigned in Virginia. Smith did everything possible to restore order, but was at last wounded by an accidental explosion of powder and forced to return to England. At this time Jamestown, which was the name of the settlement, contained five hundred men, sixty dwellings, a fort, store and church. The people possessed a little live stock and about thirty acres of cultivated land, but as this was all inadequate to their support there followed what is known in the annals of the colony as the "Starving time."



AN INDIAN COUNCIL OF WAR.

These earlier days in Virginia, while historically valuable only as a warning, have afforded an unusual share of romance, much of which centres about the unromantic name of Smith. The historian gladly concedes to this remarkable man his full share of credit for the survival of one of the most ill assorted

parties that ever attempted to settle a new land. But, added to what is known of Smith's adventures, struggles and escapes, is a great deal that rests solely upon his own authority, and much of this is probably apocryphal. One hesitates, for instance, to examine the Pocahontas legend too closely. There is no doubt of the existence of that aboriginal princess, of her marriage to the Englishman, Rolfe, of her enthusiastic reception by English society, or of the fact that some of her proud descendants live to-day in Virginia. But the pretty story of her devotion in saving the life of John Smith by protecting him with her own person when the club of the executioner was raised by chief Powhatan's order may be questioned. The account was not given in Smith's first narratives, and was subsequently written by him several years after the death of the lady in question. The multitude of hairbreadth escapes and marvelous adventures of which Smith made himself the centre, have laid him open to the suspicion of drawing a longer bow than Powhatan himself.

JOHN SMITH.

Clearing away the romance, and allowing all that is necessary to one who is so often the hero of his own narrative, it may not be uninteresting to briefly note some of the unquestioned services that John Smith performed for the struggling colony. We have seen how he arrived under suspicion and arrest, landing on the site of the little settlement which was destined to owe so much to him, like a felon. The opening of the hitherto secret instructions given under the broad seal of England, disclosed the fact that he was one of the Councillors named in that document. But it was his own clear head and strong courage rather than any royal appointment which won him the leadership in the affairs of the settlement. The quarrels and incompetency of the two governors, Wingfield and Ratcliffe, acted as a foil to display his superior quality. Although believing to the full in the common creed of his time, that the inducements of wealth were the only ones which would lead men to sacrifice home and comfort for the wilderness, yet he evinced a genius for hard work and a contempt for hard knocks worthy of a nobler purpose.

It was in his first extended exploration of the Chickahominy that the Pocahontas affair is supposed to have occurred. That he was taken prisoner then, and by some means escaped from his captors, is undeniable. And in passing, we may observe the curious misapprehension regarding the width of the American continent which Smith's journey up the Chickahominy betrayed. He was actually looking for the Pacific ocean! In keeping with this error is that clause in the American charters which would make the land grants like long, narrow ribbons reaching from ocean to ocean.

In 1608 Smith ascended Chesapeake Bay and explored the larger rivers emptying into it. In an open boat, he traveled over two thousand miles on fresh

BACON DEMANDING HIS COMMISSION OF GOVERNOR BERKELEY.

water. He parleyed with the Mohawks, and returned to subdue the much more unmanageable colonists at Jamestown. When the half-starved and wholly discouraged adventurers became mutinous, his methods of dealing with them were dictatorial and effectual.

As already stated, Smith, upon his departure from Virginia, left nearly five hundred people there. In six months there remained only sixty. Many had died, some thirty or more seized a small vessel and sailed South on a piratical expedition, and a number wandered into the Indian country and never came back. Sick and disheartened, the remainder resolved to abandon Virginia and seek Newfoundland. Indeed, they had actually made all preparations and were starting upon their voyage, when they were met by the new governor from England, Lord De La War, with ships, recruits and provisions.

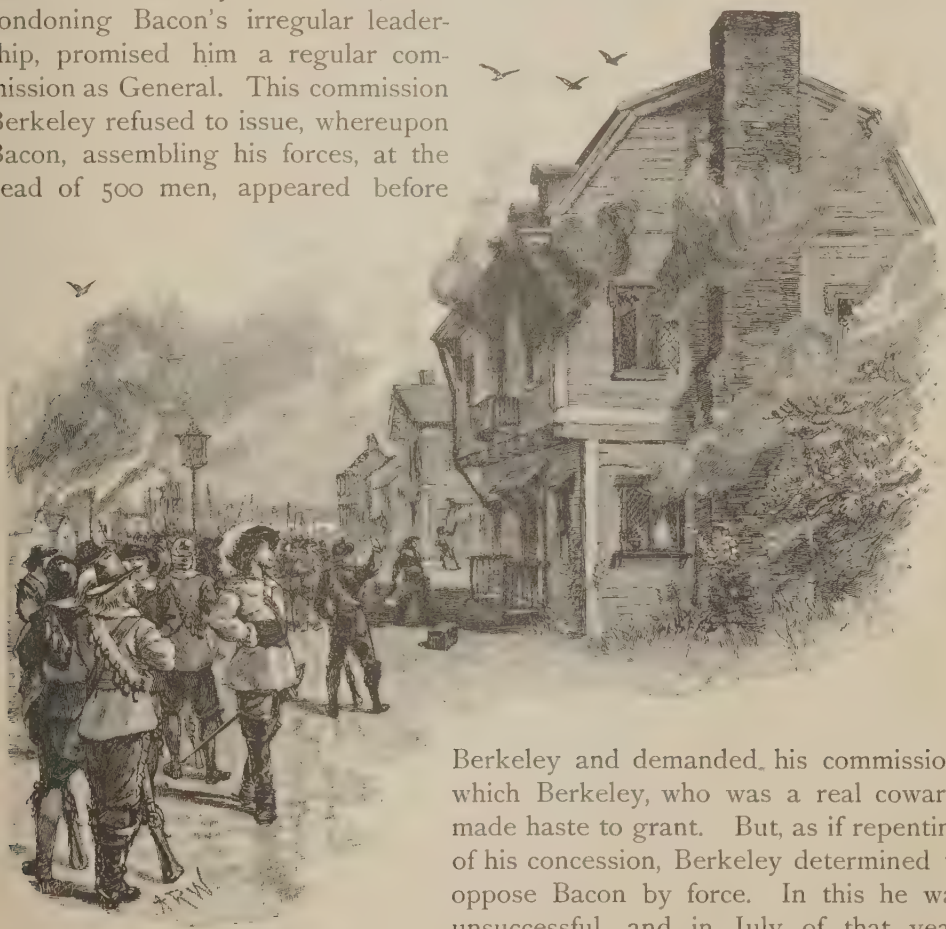
The charter under which De La War assumed the government of Virginia was sufficiently liberal. It was that granted to Raleigh. But in the years that followed, the colony began to be prosperous and to excite the jealousy of the king—the same base, faithless king that had beheaded Raleigh. James began to conspire against the Virginia charter. It was too liberal : he dreaded the power it conferred. By 1620 colonists were pouring into Jamestown at the rate of a thousand a year, and thence being distributed through the country.

To try to condense the early colonial history of Virginia to the limits of our space would result in a bare recital of names, or a repetition of the narrative of ignorance, vice, and want, occasionally relieved by some deed of devotion or daring. At first, in spite of the liberal provisions of the charter, the conditions were, to a large extent, those of vassalage. In 1623 James ordered the Company's directors to surrender their charter, a demand which they naturally refused. He then brought suit against the Company, seized their papers so that they should have no defence, and finally, through foul means obtained a decision dissolving the Company. After that the government of the colony consisted in a governor and two councils, one of which sat in Virginia and the other in London. The governor and councils were by royal appointment.

BACON'S REBELLION.

Here we must be allowed to digress a little, to give the part played by one Nathaniel Bacon in the affairs of Virginia. It was the year 1676, when Bacon became the leader of a popular movement instituted by the people of Kent County, whose purpose was twofold—first, to protect themselves against the Indians, which the Government failed to do ; and, secondly, to resist the unjust taxes and the oppressive laws enacted by the existing legislative assembly, and also to recover their liberties lost under the arbitrary proceedings of Sir William Berkeley, then Governor. Bacon, a popular, quiet man, who had come over from England a year before, was selected as their leader by the people, who,

enrolling themselves 300 strong, were led by Bacon against the Indians. Bacon's success increased the jealousy of Sir William, who, because of Bacon's irregular leadership,—he having no proper commission,—proclaimed Bacon a rebel. Finally, the people rose *en masse*, and demanded the dissolution of the old assembly, whose acts had caused so much trouble. Berkeley was forced to yield, and a new assembly was elected, who, condoning Bacon's irregular leadership, promised him a regular commission as General. This commission Berkeley refused to issue, whereupon Bacon, assembling his forces, at the head of 500 men, appeared before Berkeley and demanded his commission, which Berkeley, who was a real coward, made haste to grant. But, as if repenting of his concession, Berkeley determined to oppose Bacon by force. In this he was unsuccessful, and in July of that year, Bacon entered Jamestown, the Capital, and burned the town. A little later, in October, Bacon died, and with him the "rebellion," or "popular uprising" as it had been variously called, subsided. Shortly afterward Berkeley was removed, for oppression and cruelty—a cruel, bloodthirsty man he was—and, sailing for England, died soon after his arrival, and the world's population of scoundrels was lessened by just one.



BURNING OF JAMESTOWN.

While the curious mixture of cavalier and criminal was working out the

early destinies of Virginia, a deeply religious element in Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire, England, were being educated by adversity for an adventure of a very different sort. At Scrooby, in 1606, a congregation of Separatists or Bronnists, who were ultra Puritans, used to meet secretly for worship at the house of their elder, William Brewster. King James, like most renegades, was a good persecutor, and he finally drove the Scrooby church to flee. Led by their pastor, that wisest and gentlest of the Puritans, John Robinson, the little company escaped to Holland. The history of their ten years of sorrow and hardship in Amsterdam and Leyden is too well known to require repetition here. It is impossible to overestimate the influence of such a man as Robinson, or to question the permanency of the impression which his character and teaching made upon his flock.

Procuring a patent from the London company, the Scrooby-Leyden Separatists prepared for their adventure. Only about half the Holland company could get ready, and it fell to the pastor's lot to stay with those who were left behind. Embarking on the Speedwell, at Delft Haven, the colonists bade good-by to their friends and directed their course to England, where they were joined by the Mayflower.

ARRIVAL OF THE MAYFLOWER.

The Speedwell was found to be unseaworthy, so at length most of her passengers were transferred to the Mayflower, which proceeded on the voyage. To those who know how small a vessel of 180 tons is, the fact that one hundred souls, besides the crew, were upon a stormy ocean in her for more than sixty days, will be as eloquent as any description of their discomforts could be. The objective point was far to the southward of the land that they finally fell upon, which was not within the limits of their patent from the Virginia Company. But they dropped anchor in Cape Cod harbor, sick and weary with the voyage, and landed, giving thanks for their deliverance. With wisdom and frugality the plans for the home in the wilderness were made.

Being too far North to be bound or protected by the provisions of the Virginia charter, the Pilgrims, as they called themselves, made a compact which was mutually protective. The terms of the contract foreshadowed republican institutions. Thus in character, purpose and outward surroundings the Puritan of Plymouth and the Cavalier of Jamestown differed essentially. The after development of the two settlements followed logically along these lines, emphasizing these differences.

Of the hundred souls left in Plymouth only fifty per cent. remained alive when the supplies from England came, a year later. Scurvy, famine and exposure to the severe climate had killed most of the weakest of them. Not a household but had suffered loss. Yet not one offered to go back. Men and

women alike stood to their posts with a heroism that has never been excelled in the world's history. We read how they planted their corn in the graveyard when planting time came, so that the Indians might not discover the greatness of their loss. Cotton Mather, in writing of this dark time says, with that provoking, cold-blooded philosophy that can bear other people's troubles with equanimity: "If disease had not more easily fetched so many away to heaven," all must have died for lack of provisions. The Indians were at first very hostile, owing to depredations committed by a previous navigator, but they were too few in number to be very troublesome. Squanto, who became the interpreter, and Samoset, a sagamore from the eastern coast, were their first friends among the red men. Squanto was their tutor in husbandry and fishing. Then, too, came Hobbamock, whom Longfellow has immortalized as the "friend of the white man." The names of those who formed this little colony have become household words all over the land. Miles Standish, John Alden, Priscilla, Elder Brewster, Bradford,—where are these names not known?

ARMOR WORN BY THE PILGRIMS IN 1620.

Frugal as the Pilgrims were, and industrious, they found that their inexperience in planting maize, together with other drawbacks, kept them on the edge of starvation for several years. Clams became at one time the staple diet, and were about all that the settlers had to regale their friends with, when a new ship-load of those that had been left behind in Leyden, arrived.

A description of Plymouth, given in 1626, shows the situation of the town: A broad street, "about a cannon shot of eight hundred yards long," bordered

by the houses of hewn planks, followed by a brook down the hillside. A second road crossed the first, and at the intersection stood the Governor's house. Upon

MILES STANDISH HOLDS A COUNCIL WITH THE INDIANS.

the mound known as "burial hill" was a building which served the double purpose of a fort and a church. A stockade surrounded the whole. At first the agricultural and other labors of the people had been communistic, in accordance with the conditions of the London Company's charter. But in 1624 this plan was done away with and the lands thereafter held separately. Still the people, unlike those of Virginia, continued to dwell in towns, and their habits in this respect descended to their children.

The second New England colony was that of Massachusetts Bay, which was sent out by a company provided with a charter very much like that of Virginia. The provisions of this patent allowed for the appointment of officers by the company, but it was not stated where the headquarters of the company were to be. This important oversight allowed the transplanting of the company, with officers, elective power, and other democratic rights, to New England. The company, which pretended to be a commercial organization, was really composed of Puritans, who, though not Separatists, were strict to the point of fanaticism. The leader of the first emigrants was John Endicott. His followers numbered less than a hundred souls, with which little force he planted Salem. The Salem colonists, though they had known less persecution and hardship than those of Plymouth, or perhaps for that reason, yet were more intolerant and Quixotic in their rules for self government, in social observances, and especially in their dealings with people of other religious sects. The transference of the government of the company, together with the addition of over eight hundred new colonists, was made in 1630.

A PIONEER FLEEING FROM ENRAGED PEQUOTS.

As the Massachusetts colonies grew they excited the jealousy or animosity of two very different classes of people. These were their Dutch neighbors and the Indians. The most serious of the early difficulties with the aborigines was, in fact, the effect of Dutch interference. These people had purchased the Connecticut river lands from the Pequots. The Pequots only held the territory by usurpation and the original owners obtained the Puritan protection, giving them a rival title. The enraged Pequots commenced hostilities which were promptly resented by the Puritan Governor, Endicott, who led his men into the Indian country, punishing the assailants severely. This act, however necessary it may have been, laid the colony open

to all the cruelty of a long-continued war, which lasted until the final remnant of the Pequot tribe had been extinguished.

A PEQUOT MASSACRE.

The war with Philip, Massasoit's son, occurred in 1675, when the colony was stronger and better able to bear the tax upon its vigor, but during the year in which it lasted the settle-

ments were frightfully crippled. Six hundred houses had been burned, the fighting force of the English had been decimated, and the fruits of years of labor wasted. The whole difficulty arose from the Puritans' "lust for inflicting justice," and might have been avoided.

One of the most significant, as well as beneficial, of early New England institutions was the "town meeting," which ranked next to "the meeting house worship" in importance to the colonist; for while in one he indulged liberty of conscience, the other allowed him liberty of speech. Having both his speech and his conscience under control, the Puritan took a sober delight in their indulgence. The town meeting was in the New Englander's blood, and it needed only the peculiar conditions of his new life to bring it out. His ancestors had had their Folkmotes where all questions of public policy and government were freely discussed. So it came natural to him to gather in unsmiling earnestness with his neighbors, and attend to their plans or suggest others for their mutual guidance and safety. This ventilation of grievances and expression of views did more, in all probability, to prepare for the part which New England should take in future political movements than any other one agency.

HENDRICK HUDSON.

The discovery of the Hudson River, and that of Lake Champlain occurred at nearly the same time, each discoverer immortalizing himself by the exploit. That of Hudson has, however, been of vastly more importance to America and the world than that of his French contemporary.

Hudson was known as a great Arctic explorer prior to his discovery of the site of America's metropolis. He had previously sailed under English patronage, but now he and his little "Half-Moon" were in the service of the Dutch East India Company, and in search of a northwest passage, which he essayed to find by way of Albany, but failed. At the same time Smith was searching the waters of the Chesapeake. In 1614, the charter granting all of America between Virginia and Canada was received by the "Company of the New Netherlands" from the lately formed States General of Holland. The command of so magnificent a river system as that of the Hudson and its tributaries established almost at once the status and success of the Dutch colony.

The States General held complete control of their American dependency. They appointed governors and councillors and provided them with laws. Ordinarily, the people seemed to care as little to mix with politics as does the modern average New Yorker, a good deal of bad government being considered better than a little trouble.

Once in a while a governor got in some difficulty over the Indian question, and called a council of citizens to help him, but ordinarily he was despotic.

The colonists were content to wax fat without kicking. They were honest, shrewd, good-natured, tolerant bodies, as different from the New Englander as from the Virginian, or as either of these neighbors was from the other. Primarily traders, they found themselves in one of the best trading grounds in the world, with nothing serious to prevent them from growing rich and multiplying. This they proceeded to do with less noise and more success than either of the other contemporary settlements. In the fifty years of Dutch rule, the population of New Amsterdam reached eight thousand souls. The character of the city was so cosmopolitan that it has been estimated that no less than twelve languages were spoken there. Free trade obtained, in contrast to the policy of New England and Virginia. The boundary difficulties with the Puritan colonies were a constant irritation, but were allowed to slumber when it was necessary to make common cause against the Indians.

THE DUTCH LOSE NEW AMSTERDAM.

In the time of Petrus Stuyvesant, the last of the Dutch governors, the rivalry which existed between the English and Dutch nations regarding the trade of the new world led the treacherous Charles II of England to send an armament in a time of profound peace to take the colony of a friendly nation.

Colonel Richard Nichols commanded the expedition. His orders caused him to stop at the Massachusetts Bay for reinforcements. The colonists there were reluctant to aid him, but those of Connecticut joined eagerly with the expedition, and Governor Winthrop took part in it. The colony passed, without a blow, with hardly a murmur on the part of the people, though considerably to the rage of Governor Stuyvesant, into the hands of the English, to be known thenceforth as New York. Notwithstanding the success of the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam, it was unquestionably a most important advantage in the after history of America that it should have fallen into the hands of the English.

As a conservative element, the peaceful, prosperous Friend was of immense value in colonial development. The grant which William Penn obtained in 1681 gave him a tract of forty thousand square miles between the estates of York and Baltimore. Penn's charter was in imitation of that granted to Maryland, with important differences. With the approval of Lord Baltimore, laws passed by the Maryland Assembly were valid, but the king reserved the right to approve the laws of Pennsylvania. The same principle was applied to the right of taxation. There was about fifty years between the two charters.

The settlement of New Jersey by Quakers was that which first drew Penn's attention to America. In drawing up the plans for his projected State he did so in accordance with Quaker ideas, which in point of humanity were far in advance of the times. The declaration that governments exist for the sake of the

PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.

governed, that the purpose of punishment is reformation, that justice to Indians as well as to white men should be considered, were startling in their novelty.

The success of this enterprise was instant and remarkable. In three years the colony numbered eight thousand people. The applications for land poured in and the affairs of the colonists were wisely administered, and before the death of her great founder, Pennsylvania was firmly established. Education was a matter of care from the very start in Philadelphia, although throughout the rest of the state it was neglected for many years. Indian troubles were scarcely known. The great blot on the scutcheon of the Quaker colony was the use of white slaves, for whom Philadelphia became the chief market in the new world. Not less remarkable than the unity of time which characterized the planting of several American settlements was the unity of race into which they all finally merged, with few and slight exceptions, so that in after years all of the various lines of development which have been indicated in this chapter should combine to form a more complete national life. Penn made a treaty with the Indians, *and kept it;* and herein lies the secret of his success. If only all treaties had been kept, what bloodshed might not have been avoided!

CHAPTER IV.

MAKING THE NEW PEOPLE.

A NEW ENGLAND WEAVER WINDING THE SPOOLS.

AFTER the colonists had forced the issue with fortune and had got more in touch with their new surroundings, they began to discover the fallacy of most of their first notions and to adjust themselves to the new problems as best they could. The day when the settlement of a new world could be regarded as an experiment with possible fabulous results was over. They had come to stay, and they understood that staying meant winning and winning meant working.

The early notion that great fortunes were waiting to be picked up in the New Land, and that gold and silver and precious stones were almost to be had for the asking, had given place to a settled conviction that intelligent labor only would enable the settler to retain his foothold. Aid from the mother countries could not be depended upon, precarious as it was, nor was it to be desired. There were object lessons in frugality and industry that the colonist had set before him every day; lessons that he finally learned by heart.

As has been very wisely said, the problem which confronted the new people was one of changed conditions. Whereas in England harvests were reckoned at their cost per acre, in America they were counted at their cost per man, because in the old country labor was plentiful and land scarce, and in the new it was just the reverse. So he who cultivated the soil after old country methods must, of necessity, find want oppressing him and starvation lurking with the wolves and bears in his forests. Successful farming must be "skimming" the plentiful new land. To cut and burn wood-land, cultivate grain between the stumps, and abandon old holdings for new, was the necessity of the hour.

Elsewhere we will speak of the influence of a staple upon the social and

political life of Virginia. The first staple was tobacco. The growth of rice in the south did not begin till some years after the establishment of tobacco; and cotton culture was never really begun, except in a small way for domestic demands, till after independence was achieved, when the invention of Whitney's cotton gin had made it possible to minimize the immense labor of hand-cleaning.

The cultivation of rice, which had previously been grown in Madagascar, began in South Carolina in 1696, when a planter named Thomas Smith got from the captain of a brigantine a bag of rice for seed. Smith had been in Madagascar, and the appearance of some black wet soil in his garden suggested to him the soil of the rice plantations on that island. The experiment was a complete and instant success. Smith's rice grew luxuriantly and multiplied so that he was able to provide his neighbors with seed. This at first they attempted to grow upon the higher ground, but shortly found that the swamps were better adapted for the staple.

In three years from the time of the first distribution of seed Thomas Smith had been made Governor of the colony. The people of South Carolina who had borrowed a staple for years and who had not made the advance in prosperity that other colonists had, at last were blessed with a product all their own, one which was perfectly adapted to the soil. They learned to husk the rice, at first by hand but afterwards by horse power and tide mills. Then rice culture began to spread to Georgia, to Virginia, even as far North as New Jersey, but nowhere did it succeed as well as in the Carolinas. Even to-day the people of that section have cause to bless the forethought of Smith and the head winds that blew the brigantine with her rice cargo into a harbor on that coast.

Carolina also tried indigo growing, which became profitable about the middle of the 18th century. Miss Eliza Lucan, afterwards Mrs. Pinckney, mother of General Pinckney, deserves the credit of its introduction.

The Northern farmer, from the first, cultivated only a few acres compared with the large Southern plantations. His efforts were confined to the production of wheat and corn. Indian corn was grown from the very earliest New England days; the Indians had taught the white men their own method of manuring the corn hills by putting in each a codfish. Rye, little used as a food grain, was cultivated by certain Scotch and Irish settlers as a basis for whiskey. New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey were the great bread producers. In the year 1770, or thereabouts, the value of flour and bread exports reached $3,000,000. This was the result of a century and a half of patient, intelligent labor.

All along the northern coast the importance of the fisheries was felt, from the early French settlements on Newfoundland, that antedated any successful planting of colonists on the main land of North America, till the development of the great fisheries of New England. The astonishment of those who described

the country at an early period was occasioned by the teeming life, the marvelous fertility, of all creatures, either in the ocean or on the land. The immense schools of cod gave to the inhabitants of the coast employment which soon rose to the dignity of an industry. From Salem, Cape Cod and many other points, fleets of small vessels went and returned, till a generation of sailors who should accomplish more important voyages and adventures was bred on the fishing banks.

One of the most curious chapters in the history of husbandry in the New World is that of the attempt to force a staple. Some one conceived the idea

FAIRFAX COURT HOUSE—A TYPICAL VIRGINIA COURT HOUSE.

that the heavy duties that made the silk of France and Southern Europe so expensive might be avoided by raising the silk-worm and manufacturing the fabric in the British colonies. About 1623 the silk-worm was brought to Virginia, and a law was enacted making the planting of mulberry trees, the food of the silk-worm, compulsory. The House of Burgesses passed resolutions of the most exacting character. It also offered premiums for the production of silk, and in other ways endeavored to foster the new industry. It was required that every citizen should plant one mulberry tree to every ten acres of ground. Among the rewards offered was one of ten thousand pounds of tobacco for

fifty pounds of silk. This was in 1658. That seemed to be a generous year with the Burgesses, for they also offered the same amount of tobacco for the production of a certain small quantity of wine from grapes grown in the colony. The silk laws were withdrawn in Virginia in 1666.

Georgia, too, had a silk craze, and Pennsylvania and Delaware also went heavily into the production. Charles II wore a complete court dress of American silk, which, it is said, must have cost its weight in gold to produce. The efforts to revive the silk industry were several times attempted, but without success. Except that we occasionally hear that some member of the British

AN OLD TIME COLONIAL HOUSE.
(*Built in 1634, Bedford, Mass.*)

royal family was clad in American silk, we might almost doubt the existence of the industry.

Vine planting and wine making were among the "encouraged" industries. All of these utopian schemes for the acquisition of sudden wealth failed because they were not based upon any true appreciation of natural conditions in the New World.

Fruits and vegetables were grown very early in the seventeenth century. In the latter part of the century a fresh impetus was given to horticulture by John Bartram, the Quaker, at Philadelphia.

Horses and cattle, especially in the South, were allowed to run wild in the woods till the forests were full of them, and hunting this large game became a favorite amusement. Horses were so numerous in some places as to be a nuisance. New England adopted an old English custom, and the people herded their live stock in common, appointing general feeding places and overseers for it. The laws of England were such as to discourage sheep raising in the New World, and the wolves seconded the laws, but the farmers persisted, nevertheless, though they were not so successful in this as in some other pursuits.

As soon as the immediate necessity for the guns and stockades of the town were removed, those of the more favored colonists of Virginia who had obtained land grants began to separate, forming manorial estates and engaging in the production of staples, principal among which was tobacco. The tenants were practically serfs at first, and the introduction of slave labor made the proprietor even more independent, if possible, than he had been before, giving him authority almost absolute within his own domains, even to the power over human life.

It has been truly said that "that which broke down representation by boroughs and made the parish a vast region with very little corporate unity, was the lighting upon a staple." Tobacco and rice were the responsible agents for Virginia's social and political conditions, which resulted in the production of strong, self-reliant, and brave, though impetuous and uncontrollable men.

From the first, none of the great colonies bore so close a resemblance to England in the development of a feudal system as Virginia. The ownership of what would be to us vast tracts of land, was due to the way in which Virginia was settled. Men of no especial note held estates of ten, twenty, or thirty thousand acres. This was the result of the very rapid increase in the cultivation of the great staple. For a great many years the white servants were much more numerous than the blacks, and with indentured servitude, which was equal to slavery in all points but that of perpetuity; then arose the great class distinctions, which were almost unknown in the New England colonies, although originally the rural Virginia land-owner and the New England settler were of the same class. The effect of environment on social development can nowhere be traced more distinctly than in the first two great English colonies in America.

Town life, as remarked elsewhere, was not known in Virginia. Up to the time of the war for independence her largest towns numbered only a very few thousand souls—not more than many a Northern village. There were very few roads and very many water-ways, so that the trading vessels could reach the individual plantation much more easily than the plantations could reach each other. The English custom of entail was early transplanted to Virginia, with some adaptations to suit the new conditions. The abolition of this system was due to Thomas Jefferson, as late as 1776.

The Virginia substitute for the New England town meeting, committees, etc., was the vestry and parish system, modeled in part after the English parish. The vestrymen in each parish, however, were twelve representatives chosen by the people of the parish. This at least was the case at first, till by obtaining power to fill vacancies they became practically self-elective. The vestrymen were apportioners and collectors of taxes, overseers of the poor, and governors of the affairs of the church. Their presiding officer was the minister.

Mr. John Fiske, in his admirable text-book, "Civil Government in the United States," makes this observation: "In New England, the township was the unit of representation, but in Virginia the parish was not the unit of representation; the county was that unit. In the colonial legislature of Virginia the representatives sat not for parishes but for counties." The county was arbitrarily

OLD SPANISH HOUSE ON BOURBON STREET, NEW ORLEANS.

defined as to physical limits, nor were any particular number of parishes required to constitute it. There might be one parish or a dozen. The machinery of county government consisted principally of a court which met once a month in some central place, where a court-house was erected. There it tried minor criminal offences and major civil actions. The court also was one of probate, and had the supervision of highways, appointing the necessary servants and officials. Like the parishes, the county courts, in course of time, became self-elective.

The taxes, like many other obligations, were paid in tobacco, of which the sheriff was the collector and custodian. He also presided at elections for representatives to the colonial assembly.

There were eight justices of the peace in each county. These were

nominated by the court (*i. e.*, by their own body), and appointed by the Governor. The election, or rather appointment of the sheriff was conducted in the same way practically, so that we see how little voice the people really had in either parochial or county government.

On July 30, 1619, Virginia's first General Assembly convened; as the English historian said, "A House of Burgesses *broke* out in Virginia." These Burgesses were at first the representatives of plantations, of which each chose two. The duty of the Assembly was to counsel the Governor; or, more nearly in accordance with the facts, to keep him in check and make his life miserable. In 1634 the Burgesses first sat for counties, upon the new political formation.

So it will be seen that the earliest form of representative government in the Colonies began in Virginia; and that it was not government by the voice of the people, is apparent. The poor whites, or "white trash," as they were called at a later day, had little or no voice. The rights and liberties that were contended for were those of the rich and powerful. As in England, civil liberty began with the barons and did not extend to those in the humbler walks of life, so in Virginia, it was the planter, the proprietor of acres, the owner of slaves, who first guarded his own rights against despotism.

AN OLD VIRGINIA MANSION.

In New England, on the contrary, such a thing as caste was hardly known. Town life induced a development very different from that of plantation life. Perhaps the individual was less aggressively independent. Perhaps the long course of bickering and obstruction on the part of Virginia's Burgesses against her governors, was as good a school as possible for future essays—the direction of national liberty; but it is certain that New England could show a high level of intelligence all along the line. She had no "poor whites." While the distinctly influential class was not so prominently developed, each man had influence. He counted one, always.

The practice of sending criminals and the offscouring of England to the Colonies under articles of bondage became established. Men were sold, some voluntarily, and others by force, for a term of years. The broken-down gentlemen, soldiers, and adventurers who composed the bulk of the inhabitants, found this system of white slavery to their temporary advantage, and the

exodus of those creatures from London was doubtless a relief to the authorities there.

Sandys, the Treasurer of the Virginia Company, sent, in 1619, thirty young women, whose moral characters were vouched for, who were bought as wives by the colonists upon their arrival; the price of passage being the value set upon each damsel.

As the years went by, the evil of this system of bondage became more and more apparent, and spread to other parts of the country. Philadelphia, the

THE JAMES RIVER AND COUNTRY NEAR RICHMOND.

Quaker refuge, was a white slave mart. Such terms as "Voluntary sales," "Redemptioners," "Soul Drivers," "Kids," "Free Willers," "Trepanning," etc., were familiar throughout the new land.

Kidnapping in England, for the Colonies, was so common that it became the cause of violent agitation. Even youth of rank were not exempt from the danger and degradation. Those who carried on the business of trepanning were known as "Spirits." Criminals under sentence of death, might have the sentence commuted to seven years' servitude. Artisans and laborers

who were unemployed could be "retained" by force, under certain conditions. Of course, these bond-servants were a source of moral and social trouble and danger to the colonists.

The usual impression regarding the Puritans is that they were austere, unsmiling men, with much hard fanaticism and little of the milk of human kindness. That they did suffer much and cause others to suffer for conscience sake is undoubtedly true, but no special pleading should be required to convince those who read the early history of New England carefully, that the highest of Christian virtues flourished quite as much in the Boston of the seventeenth century as in the Boston of the eighteenth or nineteenth.

The good John Winthrop, first Governor of Massachusetts, who was firm and even severe in his administration of the government, so that he frequently felt the results of unpopularity, was, as one writer calls him, "most amiable" in his private character. A neighbor, accused of stealing from Winthrop's wood-pile, was brought before him. The Governor had announced that he would take such measures that the thief should never be able to rob him again, so, of course, the case attracted attention. "You have taken my wood," said Winthrop, in effect; "You have my permission to keep on doing so. Help yourself as long as the winter lasts."

We can imagine the scene when his servant, who used to be sent with messages to the poorer neighbors about dinner time, returned from one of his visits. The Governor's interest quickened as he listened to the details of the meals at which the servant had acted as a spy. Mr. So-and-so was without meat, this one lacked bread, and that other ate his bread dry. The good man expressed his sympathy in the best possible way, by sharing his larder.

The man who had been one of Winthrop's angry opponents owned himself vanquished when he received from the object of his animosity a cow, in his time of need. In a quaint fashion he expressed himself: "Sir, by overcoming yourself you have overcome me."

The best early history of the colony of Massachusetts is that written by Governor Winthrop. Next to that work in value is Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*, which is a history of the colony in all its interests and affairs, from the year 1620 to 1689.

COTTON MATHER AND THE WITCHES.

Cotton Mather's name is perhaps most widely known as the great instigator of persecution in the time of the witchcraft terror. A man of great and varied learning, he was singularly devoid of common sense, and allowed himself to be swayed by opinions that bear a close resemblance to those of insanity. Unfortunately, through his great influence, and perhaps by virtue of that quality which we have learned to call "personal magnetism," he succeeded in inoculat-

ing a majority of the most influential people of Massachusetts with his singular craze. There had been executions for witchcraft in New England before Doctor Mather's time, but in the revival of persecution he was most prominent.

Especially severe have some New York writers of later years been, in commenting upon this reign of terror in New England, yet New York's history has had a darker chapter of cruelty. Twenty hangings for witchcraft occurred in Salem; nearly double that number of persons were burned at the stake in New York City, upon the ground until recently known as the "Five Points." Both of these occurrences were in the same generation, but the one was the result of delusion, while the other resulted from abject terror, caused by one Mary

A DUTCH HOUSEHOLD.

Burton, a criminal character, who pretended to have information of a negro insurrection, and then for a few pounds swore away forty lives. Virginia, too, had her witch trials, though not carried to the lengths that those of Salem were, and even tolerant Maryland has her record of witch hanging. And surely none can fail to honor Samuel Sewell, of Massachusetts, whose public expression of sorrow for the part he had taken in the witch executions was one of the first signs of recovery from the popular delusion.

In like manner the persecutions of the Friends were due to the same sombre, sadly mistaken views of religious duty. Undoubtedly the New England Quakers were guilty of some actions which must have greatly annoyed the Puritans. The gentlest, kindliest, and, in some respects, the most enlightened people in the New World showed sometimes a most exasperating obstinacy in doing things which should shock the strict ideas of propriety which the Pilgrims possessed. For instance, in New London Pastor Mather Byles was greatly annoyed by having Quaker men sit with their hats on and women with their spinning wheels in the aisles, industriously working during service on the Lord's day. As soon as the Quakers were settled, when no one opposed them the aggressive side of their character, as shown in symbolic acts of an exaggerated kind, does not seem to have manifested itself at all.

A PROTEST AGAINST PERSECUTION.

In the middle of the century the beginning of the protest against Quaker persecution began to be felt. Nicholas Upsall, pastor of the Boston Church, first opposed it. He was promptly fined twenty pounds and banished. He was refused a home in Plymouth and returned to Cape Cod, where he succeeded in inoculating a number of other people with his views. Robinson, son of the Leyden pastor, was sent by the General Court of Massachusetts to visit the Quakers and expostulate with them. He decided that there was no harm in them and made an able defence of them, for which he was disfranchised. The prejudice, once started, took years to eradicate. Perhaps a few lines from Cotton Mather on this subject may not be out of place. He says:—

"It was also thot that the very Quakers themselves would say that, if they had got into a corner of the world and with immense toyl and change made a wilderness habitable in order there to be undisturbed in the exercise of their worship, they would never hear to have New Englanders come among them and interrupt their public worship, endeavor to seduce their children from it, yea, and repeat such endeavors after mild entreaties first and then just banishment."

It is probable that in an age when we are more fond of finding causes for things than of suffering for conscience sake we will blame neither party in this obsolete quarrel. It was incompatibility of temper.

Another of the matters about which the public is apt to be severe upon the

Puritans is the code known as "Blue Laws," concerning which a great deal has been said by people who value themselves upon their "liberal" views.

Rules relating to Sabbath observances are quoted. We are told indignantly that the Puritan could not kiss his wife or children on the Sabbath, nor walk in his garden, nor do any one of a number of things that are innocent and proper.

There is just one answer to these strictures. The Blue laws were wholly unknown to the Puritans. They were invented by that Tory wag, Dr. Samuel Peters, whose humorous "History of Connecticut" was as seriously taken by some folks as was Washington Irving's "Knickerbocker" a generation later. It is not probable that Dr. Peters ever supposed that they would be taken seriously. Of Puritans, Quakers, and other religionists of the olden time we are apt to think as though they were separate varieties of the human race, not to be understood by the light of any common experience of human nature, while in fact they were very human—and (perhaps in consequence) very much lied about.

THE HUDSON RIVER ESTATES.

Washington Irving has humorously dwelt upon facts in his relation of the differences which occurred between the Dutch Government in New Amsterdam and the Patroons whose little principalities were further up the Hudson River. The grants to the patroons were such as to insure to them almost absolute control upon their estates, with only the shadow of allegiance. The fact that the great patroons allowed a semblance of subserviency to the metropolitan governor was rather a question of their advantage than of their necessity.

The holdings were immense. The Livingstone estate was sixteen by twenty-eight miles in extent; the Van Courtlandts owned eight hundred square miles; the Rensselaer manor contained five hundred and seventy-five square miles. Sir Vredryk Flypse, the richest man in the colony, possessed the fairest portion of the river from Spuyten Duyvel Creek to the Croton River. From the mill on his manor he shipped grain and other commodities direct to Holland and to the West Indies, and received rum and other exchanges from those countries, without either clearing or entering at the port of New Amsterdam (or New York as it afterwards was called). Flypse, Van Courtlandt, and Bayard were keen politicians as well as successful traders. To them is credited the hanging of Governor Zeisler, and they were hotly charged with receiving from Kidd, whose privateering commission they had procured, a share of his piratical booty.

Upon the great estates, the exactions of the lords proprietors drove many tenants out of the colony. Some of the patroons even went to the length of asserting their right to eject tenants and reassume the land at will. This course of procedure retarded the growth and development of the Hudson River

Settlements for many years. In some respects the great estates and assumption of feudal authority in New York were very much like the monopolies of land and power in the South. But in one thing New Amsterdam differed very much from Virginia; that was in the possession of a thriving, busy city that should counterbalance the spirit of feudalism by its democratic disposition.

THE ATTACK ON RIOTERS AT SPRINGFIELD, MASS., IN 1786.

How can we close this chapter better than by reference to the beginnings of what we hold most precious of all the legacies which the forefathers of the American people left to their descendants?

In Virginia Governor Berkeley, in 1671 thanked God that there were no free schools, nor were likely to be for a hundred years. But less than twenty years afterward, a different feeling began to prevail. William's and Mary's College was founded by James Blair in 1692. But already a university was in

existence in the North, and the first common-school system, probably, that the world had ever known, had been established half a century in Massachusetts. Salem's free-school dates back to 1640, and the state adopted a general plan for common schools seven years later; a plan, the purpose of which was set forth in language so remarkable, that it should be preserved through all time—a few sentences we can give: "That learning may not be buried in the grave of our faith in the church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors,—It is therefore ordered, that every township in this jurisdiction after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to write and to read, . . . and it is further ordered that where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families they shall set up a grammar-school, ... to instruct youth so far that they may be fitted for the university."

Maryland was nearly a century in following this lead. Rhode Island, beginning where Massachusetts did, fell from grace in educational matters till 1800. Philadelphia had good schools at a very early date, and New Amsterdam, or New York, moved very slowly, doubtless feeling confident that, whatever their attitude toward letters, her children would instinctively learn the use of figures. But we cannot pursue this matter without trenching upon another chapter. It is difficult to conceive that from the various formative elements in the lives of the early colonists, a single one could have been well spared in the making of the new people.

But Virginia was not the only State troubled with insurrection. Massachusetts had a like experience. It was in 1786 that the movement broke out, Daniel Shay, a Revolutionary captain, having been rather forced to the head as leader, so that it became known as Shay's Rebellion. The pretext of the rebellion was the high salary paid the Governor, the aristocratic character of the Senate, the extortions of lawyers, and the oppressive taxation. In December, 1786, he led a considerable force of rioters to Worcester, where he prevented the holding of the U. S. Court, and with 2000 men traveled to Springfield, Mass., January, 1787, to capture the arsenal [see engraving], but was repulsed by the militia under General Shepard. Finally, defeated, he fled the State, but he was pardoned the following year by Governor Bowdoin. Ultimately he received a pension for Revolutionary services. He died September 29th, 1825, at Sparta, N. Y., whither he had removed.

CHAPTER V.

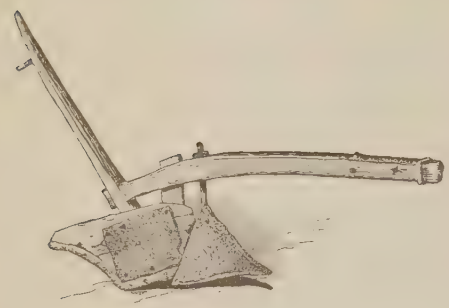
OLD COLONY DAYS AND WAYS.

ANCIENT HORSE-SHOES PLOWED UP IN SCHENECTADY CO., N. Y.
(*In the New York State Agricultural Museum.*)

MANY were the varieties of New England life before the American Revolution. Each township maintained its own peculiar laws; clung to its own peculiar customs; cherished its own peculiar traditions. Never, perhaps, except in Greece, were local self-government and local patriotism pushed to such an extreme. Not only did commonwealth hold itself separate from commonwealth, but township from township, and often, village from village. Long stretches of uninhabited land effectively divided these self-reliant communities from one another. "The road to Boston," says one of the most graphic of New England's local historians,* when speaking of the route from Buzzard's Bay, in 1743, was "narrow and tortuous—a lane through a forest—having rocks and quagmires and long reaches of sand, which made it almost impassable to wheels, if any there were to be ventured upon it. Branches of large trees were stretched over it, so that it was unvisited by sunlight, except at those places where it crossed the clearings on which a solitary husbandman had established his homestead, or where it followed the sandy shores of some of those picturesque ponds which feed the rivers emptying into Buzzard's Bay. Occasionally a deer bounded across the path, and foxes were seen running into the thickets." Such roads, picturesque as they were, naturally discouraged travel. Occasionally a Congregational council called together the ministers of several towns at an installation or an ordination. Once a year the meeting of the General Court tempted the rural authorities up to the capital; during a week's time a few travelers may have

* Mr. W. R. Bliss, in his "Colonial Times on Buzzard's Bay," an excellent depiction of early New England life, from which other quotations will appear later in this chapter.

ridden by on horseback and baited at the village inn; now and then a visitor came to town, making no little stir, or perhaps a new immigrant settled on the confines of the parish. But there were then no Methodist preachers, with short and frequent pastorates, and no commercial travelers, with boxes of the latest goods, who could serve as conductors of thought and gossip from village to village and make them homogeneous. America was not then a land of travelers. What little travel there might have been, was often still further discouraged by local ordinances, and in many a town, a citizen had to have a special permit from the Selectmen before he could entertain a guest for anything over a fortnight. Thus one father was fined ten shillings for showing hospitality to his daughter beyond the legal period. In many a spot in early New England the protectionist principle was so thoroughly localized that the importation of labor, as well as of merchandise, was rigorously restricted. Towns so insulated naturally took on distinctive traits. Even religious customs, literal scripturalists as these people were, differed in different places. The Puritan Sabbath began on Saturday night in one commonwealth, on Sunday morning in another. In brief, no picture of any one town can serve as a picture of any other.



COLONIAL PLOW WITH WOODEN MOLD-BOARD. 1706.
(*State Agricultural Museum, Albany, N. Y.*)

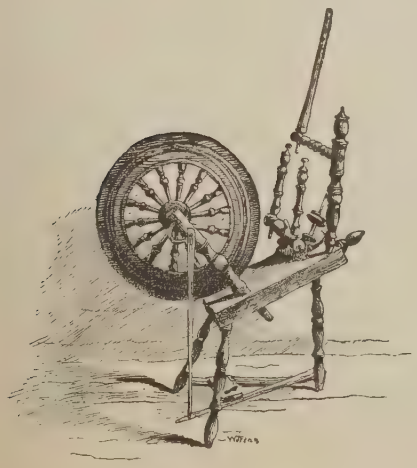
To describe a typical Puritan home, therefore, is not easy. Yet it is not impossible. For the New England Puritans were a peculiar and easily distinguished people. The fundamental differences in character which set them off from the rest of the world, are far more prominent to the eye than are the local differences which divided town from town. A Connecticut settler, or even a Rhode Island Baptist, might be taken for a Massachusetts Puritan, but a Knickerbocker could be mistaken for neither.

ANCIENT HAND-MADE SPADE.
(*State Agricultural Museum, Albany, N. Y.*)

To begin with, the New Englanders were the most truly benevolent and unselfish people of their time. They had hardly set foot on New England's shore before their history was marked by a magnanimous act of genuine forgiveness of injuries. It was in the middle of the landing at Plymouth Rock, when the colony was prostrated by illness and was exposed to the worst inclemencies of a new and inclement climate. "Destitute of every provision which the weak-

ness and daintiness of the invalid require," so runs the description of a well-known historian, "the sick lay crowded in the unwholesome vessel or in half-built cabins, heaped around with snow-drifts. The rude sailors refused them even a share of those coarse sea-stores which would have given a little variety to their diet, till disease spread among the crew and the kind ministrations of those whom they had neglected and affronted brought them to a better temper." There could be no better example of Christian forbearance than this. At the start the Indians also came within the scope of the Puritan's charity. He nursed them assiduously in times of small-pox, rescued many a child from a plague-stricken wigwam, helped them through times of famine, Christianized and partially civilized some of them, and in business dealings treated them not only justly but with a sincere though tactless kindness. The Puritan's home life was unselfish; he was profoundly regardful of his children, though he evinced that regard not by indulging them, but by pains-taking discipline and a rigorous thrift, the better to provide for their future. It was a French Jesuit of the last century who testified that the New Englander, unlike the Canadian, labored for his heirs. These early settlers made staunch neighbors. They were ready at almost any time to leave their work to drive a pin or nail in a young home-maker's new dwelling-house as a token of their good will, while they found their greatest pleasures in such means of mutual helpfulness as corn-huskings, quilting-bees, and barn-raisings. They were, no doubt, exacting and unsympathetic masters, but in the commands which they enjoined they kept in view the moral welfare of their slaves and servants as of far greater importance than their own material prosperity. Never were slaves better treated than in New England.

IRISH IMMIGRANT'S FLAX-WHEEL.



A COLONIAL FLAX-WHEEL.

The Puritans were strenuously intent on making the world, not only better, but, as they thought, happier. It was to guard the more solid pleasures of a pure home-life and of an honest pride in one's country, that they bulwarked themselves against the encroachments of sordid self-indulgences. But they went

about their task in crude fashion. They recognized, for instance, quite wisely, that there is no more insidious enemy of happiness than vanity, which makes a man utterly miserable whenever he is ignored and only uneasily pleased even when he is admired the most, but they tried to eradicate vanity from the human heart not by planting something better in its place, but by such petty sumptuary laws as prohibiting the wearing of lace. They simply attempted to cut off whatever might minister to vanity's indulgence. Their chief reliance for improving the condition of the world was in a countless number of minute restrictions and self-limitations. The more law there is, however, the more there needs to be, for prohibit nine-pins and soon there will be a new game of ten-pins to prohibit also. So it was with the Puritans. Restriction was placed here and restriction was placed there, until restriction became constriction and grew intolerable. The children were never allowed to lose sight of parental regulations, the parents of township ordinances, the town of state laws. But it was in the number and pettiness of these laws, not any cruelty in them, which made them intolerable, for the humanity of New England's legislators is evinced in the fact that there were only ten crimes punishable with death in New England when there were one hundred and sixty in Old England. The New Englanders were swaddled, not chained. The best that was in them did not have full play, but it had more play than it could have had in any other country, except Great Britain and Holland.

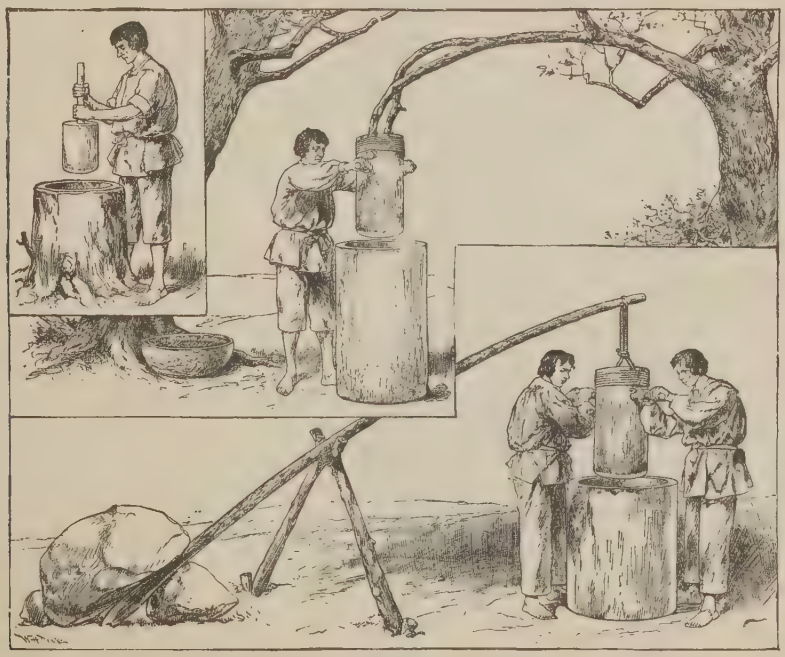
A COMFORTIER, OR CHAFING-DISH.
(*New York State Cabinet of Natural History, Albany.*)

DUTCH HOUSE IN ALBANY, N. Y.
(*From an Old Print.*)

From the start New England was a country of homes. The typical New England dwelling was the work of several generations. It had begun perhaps as a solidly built but plain rectangular house of one story and two rooms. In one of them the good wife cooked the meals on the hearth—and simple cooking was never better done—laid the table, as meal-time approached, with the neat wooden bowls, plates, platters, and spoons and primitive knives of the time, or, the meal over, received a neighbor dropping

in on a friendly errand, or perhaps the minister gravely making the rounds of his parish. This was the living room, the centre of the family life. The other room contained two great bedsteads with their puffy feather-beds, while the trundle-bed in the corner betrayed the presence of little children in the household. If the family was large, a rude ladder led the way to a sleeping-place in the garret, the very spot for a boy with a romantic turn.

Slowly but faithfully the farmer added to the size and to the comforts of his home. What a place the hearth soon became! "In the wide fireplace and over the massive back-log, crane, jack, spit and pot-hook did substantial work,



PRIMITIVE MODE OF GRINDING CORN.

while the embers kept bake-kettle and frying-pan in hospitable exercise." Here was the place for the iron, copper or brass andirons, often wrought into curious devices and religiously kept bright and polished. In front of the fire was the broad wooden seat for four or five occupants, with its generously high back to keep off the cold. This was the famous New England settle, making an inviting and cozy retreat for the parents in their brief rests from labor, or perhaps for lovers when the rest of the house was still. On each side of the hearth, in lieu of better seats were wooden blocks on which the children sat as they drew close to the fire on winter evenings to work or read by its blaze. Perhaps, in some corner of the room could be seen the brass warming-pan, which every winter's evening

was filled with embers and carried to the sleeping chambers to give a temporary warmth to the great feather-beds. There was a place near at hand for the snow-shoes, while matchlocks, swords, pikes, halbert, and some pieces of armor fixed against the wall showed that the farmer obeyed the town ordinances and kept himself prepared against Indian raids.

For like all frontiersmen, these farmers never felt secure. The Indians, instigated by the French, and exasperated by the cheating and bullying English adventurers, who had crept into New England against the colonists' will, were not only the cruelest of foes, they were the most treacherous of friends. They had pillaged and destroyed more than one secluded and unsuspecting settlement, murdering, torturing, or carrying into captivity, as they pleased, the peaceful inhabitants. The big, vague rumors of such midnight raids exercised their uncanny spell over many a household as it gathered about the hearth of a winter's evening. There was the Deerfield massacre, for instance. Just before the dawn of a cold winter's night the Indians fell upon the fated village. They spent twenty-four hours in wanton destruction, slaughtered sixty helpless prisoners, and carried a hundred back with them for an eight weeks' cruel march to the north, during which nineteen victims were murdered on the way and two were starved to death.

OLD FRENCH HOUSE.

Such was the story associated with the arms upon the wall; but a happier story was told by the ears of corn, the crooknecks, the dried fruit, and the flitches of bacon hanging from the beams and ceiling of the room. They were a perpetual reminder of Thanksgiving Day. If the Puritan discountenanced Christmas observances as smacking of "papishness"—such was the narrow-mindedness of the times—he showed by this feast-day, his appreciation of the good things of earth. It was characteristic of the early New Englanders to make much of little things. The housewife was rightfully proud of her simple but nice cooking, and her husband of his plain but substantial produce. There is something appetizing in the very thought of their homely but choice dishes, their hasty-pudding, their Yankee breads, their pumpkin and mince pies. These simple people cultivated to an unsurpassed extent the wholesome pleasure

which comes from a full appreciation of nature's wealth of gifts. They were lovers and cultivators of the wholesome fruits. It was a custom often observed in New England to give a favorite tree or bush a special and appropriate name, as a token of affection and so to make it seem the more companionable. The Puritan, indeed, had strong local affections and attachments. He found his pleasures in what came to his hand and made pleasures often out of the work he had to do. He provided little that was even amusement for his children, but this misfortune was alleviated by the abundant outlet for youthful energies which they found in the activities of the household. There was little time which could be spent in mere amusement. The home was a hive of busy workers. The planting, cultivating and harvesting of his crops consumed perhaps the smaller portion of the farmer's time. Cattle raising for the West Indies and sheep growing took much of his attention. He was something of a lumberman, as well, and still more of a mechanic. Perhaps he bought iron rods and, when debarred from outdoor labor, hammered them into nails at the kitchen fireside. It was much more important, however, that he should have some skill at carpentry. Often too, he carved out of wood his table dishes. In the diverse industries of his house was the germ of many a nucleus factory. From his wife's busy loom came homespun cloth for the family. In the kitchen were distilled her favorite remedies. The children of the family were not only kept busy; they were kept thinking; their inventive faculties were constantly on the alert. Hardly a week passed but a new device was needed. Early in the history of New England, to be sure, there were tanners who would keep half the skins they received and return the other half in leather, brickmakers, masons, carpenters, millers with very busy wind-mills, curriers, sawyers, smiths, fullers, malsters, shoemakers, wheelwrights, weavers and other artisans to do the work of specialists in the community, yet the farmer did not a little for himself in every one of these trades. His home was an industrial community in and of itself.

SILK-WINDING.
(*Fac-simile of a Picture in Edward Williams's "Virginia Truly Valued."* 1650.)

The fisherman who dwelt upon the sea-coast needed quite as active and versatile a family as did his inland brother. He left them to build the boats, hoop the casks, forge the irons, and manage the many other industries pre-

requisite to the complete outfit of a vessel for a long and hazardous voyage. At any time they might be obliged to support themselves entirely or be thrown upon the town, for all fishing out at sea is a dangerous vocation, and whaling had its peculiar perils. Occasionally a boat and crew were sunk by the tremendous blows with which some great whale lashed the sea in his death agony. Now and then one of these tormented giants would turn madly upon his pursuers. Then, so says one careful historian, "he attacked boats, deliberately, crushing them like egg-shells, killing and destroying whatever his massive jaws seized in their horrid nip. His rage was as tremendous as his bulk; when will brought a purpose to his movement, the art of man was no match for the erratic creature." One such fighting monster attacked the good ship "Essex," striking with his head just forward of her fore-chains. The ship, says the mate, "brought up as suddenly and violently as if she had struck a rock, and trembled for a few seconds like a leaf." She had already begun to settle when the whale came again, crashing with his head through her bows. There was bare time to provision and man the small boats before the vessel sank. The crew suffered from long exposure and severe privations, and only a part of them were ever saved.

Such tales as this reached inland and attracted boyish lovers of adventure to the sea. There were other and different tales of the sea, as well, to allure them—tales of great wealth amassed in the India trade, of prizes captured from the French by audacious privateersmen, or of pirates, then scourging the sea, or, more boldly still, entering Boston harbor and squandering their ill-gotten gains at the Boston taverns. The ocean was then the place for the brave and the ambitious. It is a significant fact that probably the first book of original fiction ever published in New England was "The Algerine Captive," a story of a sailor's slavery among the Moors. Yet this story was long in coming. New England produced no fiction of its own and reprinted little of old England's until ten years after the close of the American Revolution. In the early farm-houses, the library consisted of two or three shelves of Puritan theology. As time went on Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, a few ecclesiastical and local histories, one or more records of witchcraft trials, and some doggerel verse from the New England poets were added to the dry and scant supply of reading. Yet the enterprising and imaginative reader, though a child, could ferret out not a few exciting episodes from such uninviting volumes as Josephus's "History of the Jews," or Rev. Mr. Williams's record of Indian Captivity, while by 1720 a few of the more fortunate little ones had a printed copy of Mother Goose jingles for their amusement. But, although this was all the reading the farmer had—for the newspapers were wretched and were seldom seen fifty miles from Boston—it must not be supposed that he underestimated the value of books. He read far more than the modern farmer does—indeed all he could afford to get and had the time for; the clergy of the time often had substantial libraries of

one or two or even three hundred volumes; while in the Revolutionary period, any young lady in a well-to-do family could easily obtain the best writings of Dryden, Pope, Addison, Swift, Thomson, and the other classic writers of the eighteenth century.

The Cataract of NIAGARA. some make this Water-Fall to be half a League while others reckon it no more than a hundred Fathom.
A View of ye Industry of ye Beavers of Canada in making Dams to stop ye Course of a Rivulet, in order to form a great Lake, about wch they build their Habitations. To Effect this; they fell large Trees with their Teeth, in such a manner as to make them come Cross ye Rivulet, to lay ye foundation of ye Dam: they make Mortar, work up, and finish ye whole with great order and wonderfull Dexterity. The Beavers have two Doors to their Lodges, one to the Water and the other to the Land side. According to ye French Accounts.

NIAGARA AND THE BEAVER DAMS.
(*From Moll's "New and Exact Map."* 1715.)

Indeed, the "young lady," as the feature of human society, was not altogether neglected, even in earlier times. To be sure, she could not dance without shocking most, if not all, of the community; she could not act in church charades—for all dramatic exhibitions were forbidden by law; but in the inter-

vals between her sewing and her housekeeping cares, she played battledore and shuttlecock with her sister or friends, or practised the meeting-house tunes on the old-fashioned and quaint spinet or virginal. If she were so fortunate as to be born in the eighteenth century instead of the seventeenth, she was regularly escorted by her swain to the singing-school, which not only furnished training in psalmody, but was the occasion of much social companionship among the young people of the village, and of not a little match-making.

These gatherings often started incidentally other intellectual interests besides those of music, and books were discussed and recommended. Here was

FROZEN NIAGARA.

the birth-place of the reading circle and the modern lecture system. Awkward and restrained as their society manners were, the Puritans were a social people; jealously as they preserved their home-life, they joined quite as readily as do modern farmers in general village pleasures. The barn raisings for men, the quilting-bees for women and the merry corn-huskings and house-warmings for both, were not the only social gatherings of young and old. Every ordination or installation of a new minister—it came seldom, to be sure,—was the occasion of feasting and a sociable assembling by the congregation. Training day was another time when the township was agog with excitement. Every male citizen of the village, from the boy of sixteen to the man of sixty, was compelled on these occasions to shoulder his musket and march in the militia. An awkward

squad of amateur soldiers they were, as they paraded the village, complacent and valiant in fair weather, but bedraggled, crestfallen and wofully diminished in numbers in wet. Yet the women and children were proud of them and followed along the route. In honor of the occasion special booths were erected for the sale of gingerbread and harmless drinks to the on-lookers. The tavern too was kept busy, for every settlement of any pretensions had a tavern, where the passing traveler might get refreshment for himself and his horse. Here the selectmen planned the village policy for the consideration of the town-meeting. Here too were held public debates between rival theological disputants, sitting over their mild spirituous beverages. Here too was disseminated the latest news from Boston and the old world.

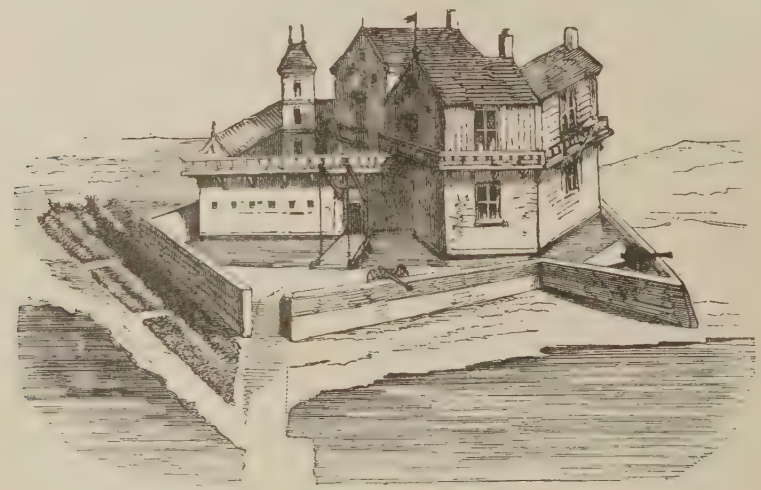
The two other public buildings of the place were the school-house and the meeting-house. As early as 1647, every Massachusetts village of fifty householders was required by state law to maintain a school, in which the catechism and the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic should be taught, while every town which boasted a hundred householders was obliged to establish a grammar school. But New England was not dependent upon these schools alone for her education. Massachusetts and Connecticut each had its college, in which learned and often eminent men trained the more ambitious youth of the land. One hundred thousand graduates were among the early emigrants from England and mingled with the people, while in the first days of the church, the pulpits even in the smaller towns, were almost without exception filled with men accomplished in the best learning of the time.

The church was the centre of the community's social and political life. Attendance on public worship was enforced, during many decades and in many places, by village ordinance. Church and state were curiously confused. Only church members were allowed to vote at town-meetings, and the selectmen of the village assigned the seats to the congregation, according to the peculiar regulations of the town-meeting. Customs differed in different places. In some villages, just before service began, the men would file in on one side of the church and the women on the other, while the boys and girls, separated from each other as scrupulously, were uncomfortably fixed in the gallery, or placed on the gallery stairs, or on the steps leading up to the pulpit. It was in one of these churches that the following ordinance was enforced:—

"Ordered that all ye boys of ye town are and shall be appointed to sitt upon ye three pair of stairs in ye meeting-house on the Lord's day, and Wm. Lord is appointed to look to the boys yt sit upon ye pulpit stairs, and ye other stairs Reuben Guppy is to look to."

In other meeting-houses, each household had a curious box pew of its own, fashioned according to the peculiar tastes of its occupants. The assignment of

pew room in these places of worship was determined by the most careful class distinctions, for democratic as the Puritans were in their political institutions and commercial methods, each family jealously guarded whatever aristocratic pretensions it might have inherited. To the plain seats in the gallery were relegated the humbler members of the parish; a few young couples had pews of their own set off for them there, while a special gallery was occasionally provided for the negro slaves. There was no method of heating the edifice; to warm their feet the women had recourse to foot-stoves, carried to the meeting-house by the children or apprentices; the men to the more primitive method of pinching their shins together. When the hour-glass in the pulpit had marked the passage of an hour and a half, the sermon usually came to a close, and the people in the



CHAMPLAIN'S FORTIFIED CAMP; THE FIRST HOUSE ERECTED IN QUEBEC.

gallery descended and marched two abreast up one aisle and past the long pew which directly faced the pulpit and in which the elders and deacons sat. Here was the money-box, into which each person dropped his shilling or more, as the case might be, while the line was turning down the other aisle. There was an intermission of service at noon, when the people ate their luncheon in the adjacent school-house, where a wood-stove could be found, and discussed the village gossip and the public notices posted on the meeting-house door.

In every family the minister of the parish was received with an awe and reverence which seemed suitable not only to the dignity of his calling, but to the extreme gravity of his deportment and the impressive character of his learning. In weight and authority he was the peer of the village officials. Only the

squire, the appointee of the Crown, was his superior; for he held his office as representative of the Crown. If offenders did not pay the fines imposed upon them, this village dignitary could place them in the stocks, or order them to be whipped. Persons who lived disorderly, "misspending their precious time, he could send to work-house, to the stocks, or to the whipping-post, at his discretion. He could break open doors where liquors were concealed to defraud His Majesty's excise. He could issue hue-and-cries for runaway servants and thieves. There are instances on record in which a justice of the peace issued

COLONIAL MANSION. RESIDENCE OF THE LATE WILLIAM BULL PRINGLE, ESQ., CHARLESTON, S. C.

his warrant to arrest the town minister, about whose orthodoxy there were distressing rumors, and required him to be examined upon matters of doctrine and faith. But a more pleasing function of his office was to marry those who came to him for marriage, bringing the town clerk's certificate that their nuptial intentions had been proclaimed at three religious meetings in the parish during the preceding fortnight."

The Squire's office, however, was an English, not an American institution, and did not long survive on our soil. What was peculiar to New England public life was the town meeting, held in the parish church. Every freeman of the

township was obliged to attend it, under penalty of a fine. It distributed in early days the land among the settlers; it regulated, often according to communistic and often according to protectionist principles, the industries of the community; and it repressed gay fashions and undue liberties in speech and deportment. Its representatives were the selectmen and town-clerk, and were held in high esteem, from the respect due to their office.

Yet none of these dignitaries, much as they were held in awe, could permanently suppress the instincts of youth for gayer fashions and happier times. It is impossible on any rational basis to explain the inconsistent Puritan standards of right and wrong amusements. The most conscientious of Puritans would go, merely out of curiosity, to a hanging, and see no harm in it, but he looked with grave suspicion on church chimes as a worldly frivolity. Feasting he encouraged and religious services he discouraged at a funeral. Marriage he made a secular function; the franchise religious. To dancing he objected as improper and to card-playing as dangerous, but he saw no harm in kissing-games and lotteries. Finally the influence of the city proved too much for him. Boston customs were imitated in the provincial towns. Young and old indulged in the fashionable disfigurements of the day. The women wore black patches on their faces to set off their complexions and the men slashed the sleeves of their coats to show the fine quality of their underclothes, and even funeral services became occasions for display. Sumptuary laws were ignored or repealed. The country towns became social centres. By the time of the American Revolution, New England was already merging from Puritanism, with its virtues and limitations, into a new Americanism, with its new merits and its new defects.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BUCCANEERS AND PIRATES OF AMERICA.

O the north of Cuba, between that island and the Great Bahama banks is a navigable channel known as the old Bahama passage. Three centuries ago it had its day, a rich day, when freighted Spanish merchantmen and galleons, seeking in the new world the riches which impoverished Spain grasped so eagerly for, "dropped down with costly bales" from Cuba and the American coast, finding their way by the Caicos passage to the ocean.

Between Cuba and Haïti, or Hispaniola, is what is known as "the windward passage," almost at the intersection of which with the Bahama channel, at the northwest end of Haïti, is Tortuga del Mar,—the sea tortoise.

As it was described in the sixteenth century, so it is to-day,—a wooded, rocky island, with few inhabitants and much game. Its only good harbor is on the south, and the blue water that surrounds it is as clear as a mountain spring and deeper than the mountain itself. It covers the entrance to the little fortified Haïtian town of Port au Paix, with a strait ten miles wide between them. With its beauty of foliage, mild, sea-tempered, tropical climate, and advantage of position, nature evidently intended Tortuga for a little insular heaven, but man succeeded in making quite the reverse of it. On Tortuga the Buccaneers (formerly known as Boucaniers and Buccaniers) started and developed, till Spain rang with the terror and fame of their achievements, and throughout the Antilles and the Spanish Main they enacted one of the most terrific romances of history.

Boucaning, from which we get Buccanier, originally meant to prepare beef in a peculiar way, by smoking; and the Buccaneers were cow-boys, who were a part of the French settlement that had driven the Spanish owners from Tortuga. The horses and cattle of the latter, running wild in large droves, afforded the material for their adventurous trade. It was not long before these old time "cowpunchers" became a separate and peculiar people, living much of their lives in camp, and returning to town only to dispose of their spoils and to commit untold debaucheries. Spain, in possession of Hispaniola, naturally was

jealous of her interloping French neighbors. France disclaimed any responsibility for their acts, on the ground that she neither governed nor received tribute in Tortuga. Then the Spaniards tried to eject the Buccaneers, and only succeeded in incurring their undying enmity. At last a destruction of cattle drove the Frenchmen to more desperate adventures.

The first departure was that of Pierre Le Grand, who, tired of the waning activity of the beef business, took a small vessel, and with twenty-eight men, cruised towards Caicos, with the purpose of surprising some Spanish merchantman. Finally discovering a war vessel, instead of such game as he was in search of, this Peter the Great approached to examine his prey more closely, and succeeded in exciting the suspicions of some of the Spaniards on board of the stranger, who told their captain that they believed the little vessel to be a pirate; but the commander, who was vice-admiral of the Spanish fleet, laughed at their anxiety, replying that even if the Frenchman was near their own vessel's size they would have nothing to fear.

Waiting till cover of evening, the Buccaneers approached so close to the Spaniard that they could not have withdrawn without discovery and suspicion. In order to insure success, Pierre made the pirates' chances desperate by scuttling his own vessel; thereupon they closed with the man-of-war and boarded her with such adroitness and celerity that they succeeded in surprising the captain and some of his officers in the cabin, and, after a short struggle, shooting down those that opposed them, possessed themselves of the gun room. It was an easy but brilliant victory, an achievement that set the hot blood of the Tortuga Buccaneers in a sudden blaze, and freebooting on the high seas became at once a fashionable and much-followed profession. As for Pierre le Grand, the pioneer in piracy, he was content with his first venture, and, having taken his rich prize to France, remained there, never revisiting the Western World. Doubtless the Spaniards passing Cape de Alvarez in their little tobacco boats, or hide-laden vessels from Havana, were surprised and, not pleasantly so, by the sudden appearance and activity of canoes and small boats manned with murderous Frenchmen from Tortuga.

The Buccaneer was beginning his trade of piracy in a small way, ndustriously accumulating the capital with which to venture on greater enterprises. The small vessels he converted into little freebooting ships; the small cargoes he took home and sold in Tortuga, till he had enough saved to equip them properly. When everything was ready, and agreements as to the share of each man had been entered into, and every man had chosen his side partner, who should share his good and evil fortune and stand by him in a fracas, the notice was given to assemble. Whereupon every pirate brought his powder and arms to the appointed place, and off they went. That was the fashion of it. As we would plan a little jaunt down the river, or across the

lake, or up to the top of a mountain to see the moon rise, these jolly Buccaneers got ready and went a-pirating.

Let us not be misled at the outset by a glamour of romance which time and a partial historian have thrown about the deeds of the buccaneers. No more utterly debased, bestial, merciless, and bloodthirsty set of fiends ever figured in history; but it is no less true that their physical fearlessness led them to deeds which, by their audacity and atrocity, set the world ringing with their fame.

The first four great prizes were made within a month. Two of these were Spanish merchantmen and two were vessels loaded with plate at Campéche. Success so great, the proofs of which were at once brought to Tortuga, as to arouse the wildest enthusiasm. In a little time there were twenty vessels in the buccaneer fleet. Spain, disgusted at this new state of affairs, sent two men-of-war to guard her shipping. It is impossible to say how much more mischief might have been done had it not been for this precaution. As it was, the commerce of His Most Catholic Majesty suffered frightfully.

A second Pierre, called François, led a crew of twenty-six men in a little vessel against the pearl fleet, near the river De La Plata, where they lay at work under the protection of a gun-boat. The man-of-war was barely half a league away from the fleet, but François resolved to attempt a swoop. He feigned to be a Spanish vessel coming up the coast from Maracaibo. On reaching the fleet he assaulted the vessel of the vice-admiral, of eight guns and sixty men, and forced a surrender. He then resolved to take the man-of-war. So he sunk his own boat and, compelling the Spaniards to assist him, set sail in the prize, with Spanish colors flying. Thinking that some of the sailors were trying to run away with what they had got, the man-of-war gave chase. This did not suit François at all. It is one thing to fight a surprised and unsuspecting enemy, and quite another to combat a foe that greatly outweighs and outmeasures one's self when he is suspicious and advancing. François tried to get away. That he would have succeeded in escaping had his rigging stood, there is little doubt. As it was the mainmast gave way under the sudden strain of canvas, and the freebooters were at the mercy of their enemy. On being overhauled François and his men—twenty-two of whom could fight—made a fierce resistance, but were at length overcome, but only yielded on favorable terms, which were that they were to be put, uninjured, on shore, on free land.

It is estimated that the booty which they obtained and lost that day was worth about 100,000 pistoles, or about $400,000.

In course of time, and no very long time, Port Royal, in Jamaica, became the chief rendezvous for the pirates. On the harbor where Kingston now stands there is a little town to remind one of the city that was engulfed by the great earthquake—a city said to be the wickedest in the world. Near Port Royal, upon the same harbor, is a landing by which one could go, and still

can, by a short cut of half a dozen miles, to the capital city, Santiago de la Vega, now known as Spanish-Town. Near this landing there are large caverns and fissures of enormous depth, into which one may cast a stone and hear it bound and rebound, till the sound is lost in the distance. These caverns, tradition says, were the hiding places and silent accomplices in murder of the Buccaneers when they were hard pressed. Some are still supposed to contain vast treasure.

(*From the Portrait in "De Americaensche Zee Roovers."*)

Attracted by the great success of the Frenchmen, accessions from English, Portuguese, and Dutch mariners joined the ranks of those who preyed upon Spanish commerce. Nearly always the buccaneers appear to have sailed under some semi-official letters of marque granted by the colonial governors.

Bartholomew Portugues, a man of cat-like cunning, courage, and ferocity, was among the first to arrive. He had been a noted desperado in the old world before he ventured his fortunes in the new. With a small vessel, about thirty men, and four small cannon, he attacked a large Spaniard running from Maracaibo to Havana, and after being once repulsed succeeded in taking her. Her force of men was more than double his own, and her armament vastly larger, but she finally struck her flag to the pirate, who had lost ten or twelve men. Being bothered by head winds, Portugues sailed for a cape on the west end of Cuba, to repair and take in supplies. Just as he rounded the cape, he ran into the midst of three large Spanish vessels, by whom he was taken. Shortly afterward a storm arose and separated the ships, but the one which bore the desperado put into Campêche, where he was recognized by some

Spaniards who had suffered at his hands in other waters. He was condemned without trial, to be hung at daybreak, and for safe keeping was confined that night on the ship; but having a friend and accomplice near, he procured a knife, murdered his guard and escaped to land, floating on earthen wine jars, for he could not swim. Hiding in the woods for three days without food other than that the forest afforded, the pirate saw the parties sent in search of him, and afterward traveled nearly forty leagues, living on what he could glean on the shore, and exposed to all the discomforts, which only those who have traveled in a tropical country can at all appreciate. On his journey he performed, it is said, a remarkable feat which illustrated his tenacity of purpose, and power of will. Coming to a considerable river and being unable to cross it by swimming, he shaped rude knives from some great nails which he found attached to a piece of wreckage on the shore, and with no other instrument, cut branches with which he constructed a sort of boat. When he reached Golfo Triste and found there others of his own kidney, he told them of his sufferings and adventures and begged a small boat and twenty men with which to return to Campéche.

In the meantime the Spaniards, having supposed their foe dead, made a great rejoicing, which was summarily cut short by his unexpected return. In the dead of night he encountered the very vessel which had lately captured him, and from which he had escaped. She was lying in the mouth of the river.

Softly the pirates steal across the starlit water, slipping from shadow to shadow along the shore, starting at the whistle of the duck or the hoarse cry of the flamingo, till they are in position to pounce upon their prey. Then a sudden dash, a few shots and groans, and Portugues is again the successful Buccaneer, the master of a rich prize.

But he did not keep it long. He was wrecked on his way to Jamaica, and returned to that evil place as empty as when he started out, and although he engaged in several expeditions and made brilliant efforts to regain his advantages he never did so, but was always followed by the ill fortune he so richly deserved.

Braziliano—a Dutchman, long resident in Brazil—had his share of notoriety. He won a rich prize or two and spent his money so recklessly that a fortune slipped through his fingers in three months. At this time Port Royal was so choicely wicked that only the quaint chronicler of three hundred years ago would dare to put in words the details of its debauchery, and only in the old fashioned style of that early day would the account be readable. Literally, wine flowed in the streets like water, was thrown over the persons of passers by, who were ordered, at the pistol mouth, to partake. Murder, lust, and drunkenness, in forms indescribably beyond all precedent or comparison, were the order of the day. And this tremendous reputation for crime and

debauchery, that is pre-eminent after the lapse of centuries, was won in less than half a generation.

After a little the Spaniards, grown wary, were too well convoyed and armed to be easy conquests, and a new era was inaugurated. Lewis Scott was the first of the Buccaneers to attempt the adventures upon land which added so greatly to the fame of the freebooters. He attacked and almost destroyed the town of Campéche. His example incited the Dutchman, Mansvelt, who invaded Grenada, the island of St. Catherine, which he took, and which was for some time a pirate rendezvous, and Carthagena.

Nor must we forget John Davis, whose fame is only second to that of Morgan himself. Davis was a Jamaican by birth. His first great exploit was the sack of Nicaragua. He had in all forty men, of whom he left ten to guard the vessel, and with the remainder, in three boats, approached the city.

Sending a captive Indian slave in advance to murder the sentry, the party landed and went from house to house, knocking and entering, putting the inmates to death and looting all they could lay their hands on. They pillaged the churches and took prisoners for ransom, escaping when the hue and cry was raised, and the uproar in the suddenly awakened city taught them that it was time to retreat. The Spaniards followed them to the seashore, but too late to recover their townsmen or treasure, though not too late to receive a warm parting salute from the guns of the pirate. The value of booty acquired on this raid is said to have exceeded $300,000 in gold, besides much plate and jewels—probably all told reaching $75,000 more. We next learn of Davis as the commander of a fleet of half a dozen or more pirate vessels, and among other adventures is that of the capture of St. Augustine, Florida.

LOLONOIS AND HIS ADVENTURES.

The plans and exploits of the pirates continued to grow in magnitude. Their vessels became fleets and their fleets almost navies. One of the great leaders was Lolonois, who began in the early days of buccaneering on Tortuga, and rose to be a freebooter of great prominence and reputation. The Governor of Tortuga, Monsieur de la Place, was so struck with his qualities that he gave him his first ship. He so beset the Spaniards in her that it is said by his biographer that "the Spaniards, in his time, would rather die fighting than surrender, knowing they should have no mercy at his hands."

He gained great wealth, but after awhile lost his ship on the coast of Campéche, where he and his crew, after escaping from the wreck, were beset and almost destroyed by the Spaniards. Lolonois himself, being wounded, feigned death and was passed over by his foes. Afterwards escaping, by the aid of some negroes to whom he made great promises, the captain got back to Tortuga, and after some trouble succeeded in getting another vessel and crew.

With these he put into the port of Cayos, and learning the channel from some captive fishermen, lay in wait for a vessel which the governor of Cuba sent to capture him. After nightfall, while the vessel lay at anchor, several boats approached her, and were hailed with the inquiry whether they had seen any pirates. The fishermen in the boat replied that they had not. But beside the fishermen were pirates, compelling them to answer so. Thereupon the boats drew nearer, and presently the Buccaneers assaulted, swarming up both sides of the great vessel and forced the Spaniards below hatches. From below decks they were ordered out one by one and decapitated at Lolonois' order. One man alone was saved, to bear a message back to the governor, to the effect that the pirate captain would never spare any Spaniard thereafter, and hoped shortly to make an end of the governor himself.

(From the Portrait in "De Americaensche Zee Roovers.")

While cruising in this ship, another vessel was taken near Maracaibo—a ship loaded with plate and merchandise. With this Lolonois returned to Tortuga to receive the congratulations and praise that usually await the successful.

His next venture was with eight vessels, ten guns and nearly seven hundred men. His first prize was a ship of sixteen guns with fifty fighting men on board. She yielded after hot fighting for three hours, the flag-ship of the pirate fleet having engaged her singly without assistance from the others. She contained, besides a rich cargo, a treasure of over fifty thousand pistoles, of $200,000 in value. Other prizes soon put the fleet in a position to attempt more extensive operations.

The Gulf of Venezuela or Bay of Maracaibo, as it was called, afforded a

peculiarly tempting field for the freebooter, Lolonois. Its narrow channel, protected by the watch tower and fortress on the islands at its mouth, led to a lake near which the Spaniards had settled several towns and cities, whose wealth came to be quite disproportioned to their size or populations. Maracaibo, Gibralter, Merida—all had much to recommend them to the hungry pirate. One can hardly understand at first how so much silver and other valuable booty could have been gathered from the insignificant settlements of the Spanish Main; but when we consider that from Peru and the Pacific settlements to the islands of the Caribbean there was almost constant communication, that the inhabitants of all were reaping the full advantage of being first in a rich treasure field, and that there were no banks, each man holding or hoarding his own gains and keeping his capital under his own roof, the mystery grows less.

To Maracaibo Lolonois shaped his fleet's course. Arriving at the entrance, he landed and took the fort or earthworks by storm, in a fight which lasted for several hours, then, sailing through the passage, brought his whole fleet into the lake and towards Maracaibo, which lay about six leagues beyond. Becalmed in sight of the town, the inhabitants saw the fleet and had time to flee with much of their treasure towards Gibralter. But on the following day the invaders landed and Lolonois sent a company of men into the woods to follow the fugitives, whose houses, with stores of food and drink, stood open. By the time the search party returned with such prisoners and booty as they could recover, the remainder of the crews were not of the soberest, as might be imagined. Then began one of those revolting scenes of cruelty and crime, the details of which we follow shudderingly. Men were tortured in every conceivable way, their limbs broken, their bodies mutilated, their most sacred feelings outraged, to force them to a confession of hidden riches. Many a poor wretch died under the torments inflicted, protesting with his dying breath that he could not reveal what he had never known. For fifteen days Maracaibo was occupied, till like a lemon whose juice is exhausted and the rind flung away, it was abandoned and the murderers proceeded towards Gibralter, which was a smaller town than Maracaibo, but in communication with Merida, to which place the pirates advanced last, after having treated Gibralter as they had Maracaibo. The governor of Merida, who had been a soldier in Flanders and who made no doubt that he could hold his own in a fight with the freebooters, barricaded the roads, felled trees in the passages through the swamps and planted batteries where they would be of most avail. Over these obstructions Lolonois and his men were obliged to fight their way step by step, now taking the woods and anon the road, but swearing with curses loud and deep that the Spaniards would have to pay for their discomfiture. It came near being a defeat for the buccaneers, as they were outnumbered and overmatched, and would probably have been totally destroyed, or at least have

escaped only with severe loss, but for a very old stratagem. Pretending to flee, they drew the enemy from one of his strongest batteries, and then turning, overpowered and defeated him.

After Merida had been taken and new cruelties devised for its suffering inhabitants the captors rested there four weeks, until the increasing death-rate among them warned them to escape from a climate to which their excesses made them easy victims. Sending parties then into the woods for those who had still preserved their lives there, the pirate captain demanded a ransom for the town, promising to burn it to the ground if 10,000 pistoles were not immediately forthcoming. Finally this sum was secured, but only after part of Merida had been consumed with fire. A similar ransom was extorted from the already exhausted Maracaibo as the fleet passed out of the gulf, and then the buccaneers sailed away, having 260,000 pistoles in ready money and an immense booty in merchandise.

It would be impossible and not very instructive to follow Lolonois through his further adventures. He sacked many cities, killed and tortured numberless Spaniards, won and wasted an almost countless treasure, and at last died a miserable death of lingering torture at the hands of some enraged Indians.

Following Lolonois came Henry Morgan, the last and greatest of the Buccaneers, whose crimes and adventures have made him, in the popular conception a sort of nautical demi-god; only second in fame to Sir Francis Drake, and much greater in exploits.

Without question, Morgan was a remarkable man. A Welsh boy, sold for his passage to the New World, after the fashion of those days, he was a naval commander who belonged to no navy, a conqueror to whom conquest and pillage were equal terms, a genius in murder and robbery. He commanded at times many ships and hundreds of pirates, yet was one of those instrumental in putting down piracy. He was utterly lawless, yet always claimed that he sailed under commission from the Governor of Jamaica. He was knighted for one of his most outrageous acts of piracy at a time when the Governor who had given him his commission was in prison for doing so. He was Acting-Governor of the very island where most of the fruits of his lawlessness had been exhibited, and where he was said to have wisely maintained the laws. He became a planter of wealth and repute, and finally languished in an English prison for the crimes so long condoned. Certainly, romance need not seek further than this for material.

One of Morgan's earliest exploits was the taking of Puerto Bello, in Costa Rica. This he effected partly by stratagem, causing the sentry to be seized and approaching the strong walls of the city under cover of darkness. He also managed to surprise the inmates of some religious houses, priests and nuns, whom he afterwards put forward as a defense to his soldiers when scaling

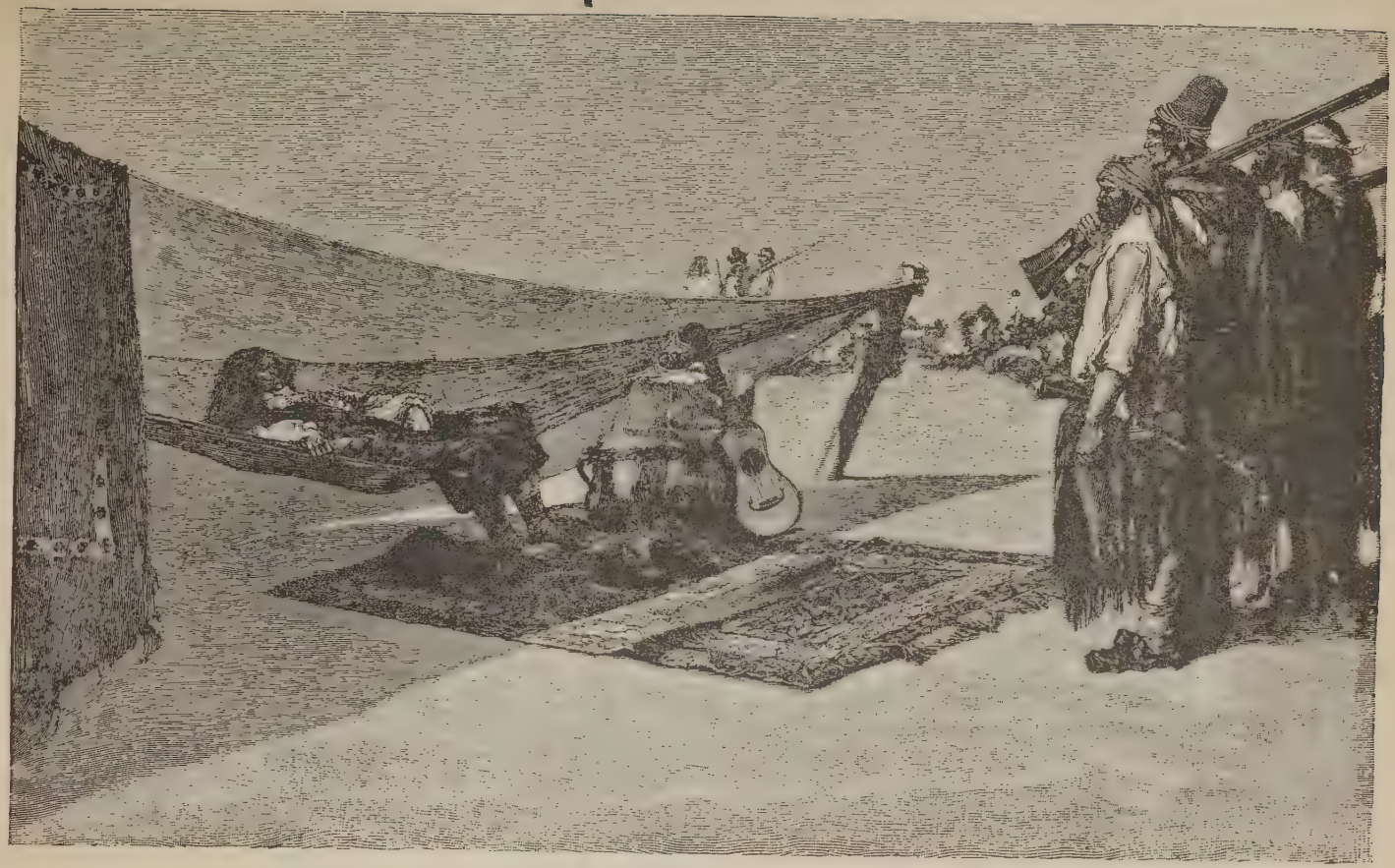
ladders were brought into use. But never was a more obstinate defense made and never was Henry Morgan more nearly defeated than that day at Puerto Bello. The Spaniards fought with fury, the Governor especially showing no mercy and finally refusing all quarter, dying with his sword in his hand, crying that he would rather fall a soldier than live a coward.

St. Catherine's Island was taken by Morgan, to be used as a pirate rendezvous, but the Governor of that place, while agreeing to capitulate before a blow had been struck, insisted on a sham battle to save his credit. To this Morgan good-naturedly acceded. Following the example of Lolonois and others, he attacked ill-fated Maracaibo and put the inhabitants to torture worse than that which they had before suffered. We will not go into details, having already supped on horrors. More interesting is the account of the dilemma in which the buccaneer found himself upon seeking to leave the Gulf of Venezuela with his ships loaded with booty and prisoners. He had eight little vessels. He found opposing him several war ships in the narrow passage already so well guarded by the guns of the fortress on the island. The Admiral of the Spanish fleet sent a letter to Morgan telling him that he might be allowed to escape on condition of leaving all his plunder behind, but that otherwise he would be treated without mercy.

The Buccaneer might have said, as General Sheridan is reported to have said on a much later occasion, "I am in a bottle and the enemy have the neck of it." However, he made a bold front and resolved to perish in fighting his way out rather than abandon his ill-gotten gains. By means of a fire ship, cunningly manned and armed with dummies, he managed to deceive and destroy the largest of the Spanish ships and then defeated the others. This accomplished, he waited for a favorable opportunity to pass the fort, the guns of which still pointed too ominously across the exit.

The question was how to turn those guns the other way. Finally he hit upon a scheme. Sending boat after boat to the shore filled with men and returning apparently empty to the ships, but in reality with their crews lying covered in the bottoms, he deceived the Spaniards into believing that he meditated a night attack on the fort from the landward side. In consequence all the great guns were turned that way, in expectation. Then the crafty captain stood out to sea, firing a salute of bullets, to which the disgusted garrison did not attempt to reply.

When Morgan had reduced Puerto Bello he had a passage of arms with the Governor of Panama, who had come vainly to the relief of that place. A little bit of theatrical civility or courtesy took place at the time, the Governor sending a message to Morgan, to know by what arms he had succeeded in overcoming so strong a fortress; and the captain politely returning a pistol and bullets with a message to the effect that he would come for them in a year.



MORGAN RECRUITING FOR THE ATTACK ON PUERTO BELLO.

After a while Morgan went for that pistol. This was in 1670. Sending some vessels in advance, which took the town of Chagres, the leader presently came and led them across the Isthmus, where they met with almost unbearable hardships on the march. It was the month of August. A little army of twelve hundred men, with artillery and ammunition, pushed on foot across a country where men have since ridden and thought it hardship. They had no food; the fatigue was great; hostile Indians added their unwelcome addresses to the pangs of starvation; yet the intrepid pirates kept on as though they expected in some way to be miraculously saved from the death that in different disguises peered at them from the ambushes along the way. One would suppose that their ardor would have been tamed; but on the contrary, when they came in sight of Panama, these irrepressible freebooters cheered and threw up their hats as though they had been out for a holiday. This was on the ninth or tenth day of the march. Almost within sight of the city they found food, which they devoured like wild beasts. They had one or two skirmishes, and at last were rejoiced to see a company of the Spaniards coming to meet them. These men, who were mounted, came near enough to call names and shout unpleasant things to them, but soon retired and left the way clear to the city. But Morgan, a schemer himself, feared an ambuscade. He made a detour to avoid the batteries which he judged rightly, the enemy had put in the way. Then the Spaniards left

BLACKBEARD, THE PIRATE.

these works and came to meet him. There were four regiments of foot, a body of horse and a large number of wild bulls that were driven by Indians. There was something humorous in the idea of sending cattle against buccaneers; but there was

DIGGING FOR KIDD'S TREASURES.

very little military judgment in it, as the sequel showed. The bulls ran away. The Spanish forces, nearly if not quite three thousand strong, were vanquished after a sanguinary battle, and the

city of Panama was taken and looted, after which Captain Morgan put it to the torch.

Two churches, eight monasteries, two hundred warehouses, and a great number of residences were the prizes which this richest of American cities offered. They were all utterly stripped, and the usual tortures resorted to in order to extort confessions concerning the treasure which might possibly be hidden. People were burned alive, eyes dug out, ears and noses cut off, arms dislocated, and all imagined or unheard-of barbarities practiced. Then the greatest of all pirates and freebooters went away with a hundred and seventy beasts laden with precious metals and jewels and merchandise of value, besides six hundred prisoners. He made, when he reached the coast, a false division of spoils among his men, and escaping with the lion's share abjured piracy and became, as has been before said, a knight of Charles the Second's creation, and an exemplary planter and Governor of the island of Jamaica!

We have dwelt long,—too long,—with the Buccaneers. There were other pirates of a later time whose names are not less familiar, and one at least of the number whose fame is world wide. I mean Captain Kidd, who stood upon a sort of middle ground between the buccaneers and the marooners proper. Teach, or Blackbeard, made his headquarters among the Bahama Islands and was a past-master of claptrap. He created theatrical effects with burned brimstone and paint, and not only tortured others but himself as well, giving us every reason to believe him an insane man. That he took and buried treasure at different points is certain, and probably the half of his villanies have never been told. But of Blackbeard and Avery and Roberts we can say very little; they were roaring, ranting, raving pirates, *per se*. Their stories lack the flavor of courage and dash of romance that make us willing to endure the recital of the crimes of Morgan, Lolonois or the rest of the Buccaneers.

But we may not leave Kidd so. Along every mile of Atlantic coast in the United States his money has been dreamed about and often searched for. The story of how he

> "Murdered William More
> And left him in his gore
> As he sailed,"

is part of our nursery education.

There were pirates troubling the shipping of the very good Dutch-English town of New York long ago, and some very good and very rich merchants obtained a commission from Lord Bellamont for William Kidd to go out and look for pirates, which he did, and found one.

It was a little hard on the respectable merchants aforementioned, that they should have been suspected by an envious world of sharing in the profits of the piratical voyages. More was a gunner, or gunner's mate, whom Captain Kidd

put to death; and it is one of the curious examples of the working of law that Kidd after his capture would have escaped under a general amnesty to pirates had he not been held on the charge of murder. He enjoyed the unenviable distinction of being the one of very few pirates who have been hung.

But, nevertheless, though the fame of Kidd and Morgan is so pre-eminent, there are others only second to them in renown—others whose names and deeds have also been chronicled by Captain Johnson, the famous historian of scoundreldom. Captain Bartholomew Roberts, for instance, if he may not have had the fortune to be so famous as the two above-mentioned worthies, yet, in his marvelous escapes and deeds of daring, he well deserves to stand upon the same pedestal of renown. And Captain Avery, though his history is, perhaps, more apocryphal in its nature, nevertheless there is sufficient stamina of trust in the account of his exploits to grant him also a place with his more famous brothers, for the four together—Blackbeard, Kidd, Roberts, and Avery—form a galaxy the like of which is indeed hard to match in its own peculiar brilliancy.

CAPTAIN BARTHOLOMEW ROBERTS.

Through circumstances the hunter name of buccaneers was given to the seventeenth century pirates and freebooters; the term "marooners" was bestowed upon those who followed the same trade in the century succeeding. The name has in itself a terrible significance. The dictionary tells us that to maroon is to put ashore as upon a desert island, and it was from this that the title was derived.

These later pirates, the marooners, not being under the protection of the West Indian Governors, and having no such harbor for retreat as that, for instance, of Port Royal, were compelled to adopt some means for the disposal of prisoners captured with their prizes other than taking them into a friendly port.

Occasionally such unhappy captives were set adrift in the ship's boats—with or without provisions, as the case might be. A method of disposing of them, maybe more convenient, certainly more often used, was to set them ashore upon some desert coast or uninhabited island, with a supply of water perhaps, and perhaps a gun, a pinch of powder, and a few bullets—there to meet their fate, either in the slim chance of a passing vessel or more probably in death.

Nor was marooning the fate alone of the wretched captives of their piracy; sometimes it was resorted to as a punishment among themselves. Many a mutinous pirate sailor and not a few pirate captains have been left to the horrors of such a fate, either to die under the shriveling glare of the tropical sun upon some naked sand-spit or to consume in the burning of a tropical fever amid the rank wilderness of mangroves upon some desert coast.

Hence the name marooners.

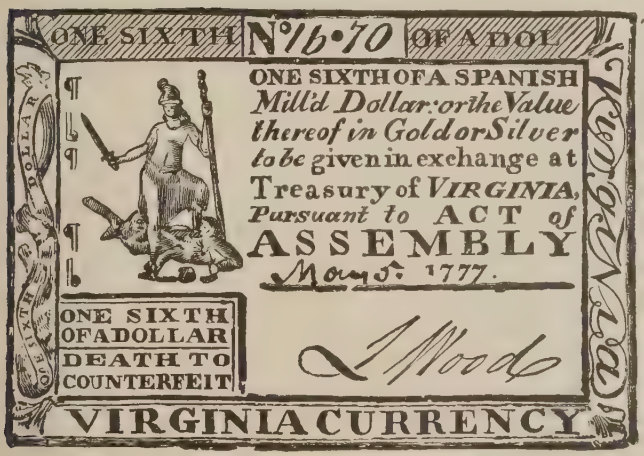
The Tudor sea-captains were little else than legalized pirates, and in them we may see that first small step that leads so quickly into the smooth downward path. The buccaneers, in their semi-legalized piracy, succeeded them as effect follows cause. Then, as the ultimate result, followed the marooners—fierce, bloody, rapacious, human wild beasts, lusting for blood and plunder, godless, lawless, the enemy of all men but their own wicked kind.

Is there not a profitable lesson to be learned in the history of such a human extreme of evil—all the more wicked from being the rebound from civilization?

Even to this day imaginative fishermen and oystermen on Connecticut and Long Island shores occasionally see a phantom ship sailing, with all sail set, across some neck of land; and more than one will tell how he started to dig for a treasure, and was driven away by having the pirate vessel bear down upon him, which goes to show that once in awhile fiction is stranger than fact.

CHAPTER VII.

CUTTING LOOSE FROM EUROPE.



THE causes which made possible the assertion of American National Independence must be sought, not merely in the oppressive legislation which directly harried the colonists into revolt, but, back of that, in the political institutions they had evolved for themselves; in the self-dependence made necessary by the distance and indifference of the mother country; in the inherited instinct for self-government common to all of the English race; in their ardor for commercial and territorial expansion, and in the occasional and temporary unity of action to which they were from time to time forced for mutual defense against a common enemy.

When the struggle which ended in the Revolution began, the thirteen colonies were, as regards internal affairs, to all ends and purposes representative democracies. All of them elected legislatures, which made laws, laid taxes, levied troops, provided for grants, and formed a real government of the people by the people. Two of the colonies, Connecticut and Rhode Island, held charters which allowed them to choose their own Governors as well. So complete were these two charter-grants that when the Union was formed no change was needed in the political structure of the two States; and, in fact, no change was made for many years. Massachusetts originally held an equally liberal charter, but was deprived of it by an arbitrary act of the Crown, as we shall see. Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland were still proprietary colonies, but through self-interest the nominal proprietors granted a large measure of self-government.

The other colonies had elective legislatures, but in each the Royal Governor had an absolute veto power over legislation. In all the bond to the English Crown was the charter or royal grant. Naturally, the colonists construed these grants very strictly, confining the power of the Governor to the closest legal construction of the charter, and assuming for themselves every power not specifically withheld. Above all, the colonists well understood the immense advantage that their power to grant or withhold supplies of money gave them. In reality, government in local matters practically rested with the Assemblies. The Royal Governors might, and did, fume and fret, complain to the English Government, and denounce their subjects as turbulent and obstinate, but they were met by passive resistance and, in more than one case, by actual force.

Looking more closely into the political structure of the colonies, we find in New England, in full swing, the purest democracy the world has ever known, in the town-meeting system. In these town meetings every citizen had his right to speak and his vote, and the meeting assumed the fullest authority over all local matters, forming, also, the unit for legislative representation. In the Southern colonies the county took the place of the New England town as the political unit, but here, also, the democratic idea had taken strong hold. Massachusetts and Virginia were by far the most advanced examples of these two types of local government. As might naturally be expected, therefore, we find them always in the lead in resenting arbitrary actions of the Royal Governors and of the Crown. They were not only the largest and oldest of the colonies, but their peoples were far the most homogeneous. In each the population was almost wholly English, and in large part was made up of the third and fourth generations of the original settlers. Differing as widely as possible in origin—the one people coming mainly from the Roundheads, the other largely from the Cavaliers; differing widely, also, in social and religious matters and in habits—the one being austere and simple in life, the other almost aristocratic;—yet each had unified, had become distinctly American, and was free from close dependence on the mother country.

Massachusetts and Virginia had also in common the bitter recollection of actual conflict with the royal authority. In Virginia Bacon's Rebellion had left the seeds of discontent. It originated in the wish of the Virginia colonists to put down Indian disturbances without waiting for the tardy action of the Governor. Nathaniel Bacon boldly led his neighbors to an attack on these Indians without due authority from Governor Berkeley,* who had promised him a commission, but had failed in this and other promises of assistance to the distressed colonists. Berkeley forthwith proclaimed Bacon a rebel, and war on a small scale ensued and continued until the latter's sudden death. Massa-

* See illustration on page 77.

chusetts had a still more irritating memory in the Andros tyranny and the loss of her charter. When Charles the Second mounted the throne his resentment at the Puritan sympathies of New England led him to lend a willing ear to various complaints against the province; his commissioners were refused recognition by the General Court of the colony, which "pleaded his Majesty's charter;" the controversy became so intense that it is recorded that in 1671 the colony was "almost on the brink of renouncing its dependence on the Crown;" finally in 1684 the charter was declared forfeited by the English Court of Chancery, and Sir Edmund Andros was sent out as "President of New England," a new and quite unconstitutional office. Connecticut, as every school-boy knows, saved her charter by hiding it in the historic oak tree; Massachusetts was less fortunate, and something very like anarchy followed until the news came of the beginning of the reign of William and Mary, when Sir Edmund was seized and thrown into prison, and an assembly of representatives at Boston provisionally resumed the old charter. In the end the colony was forced to accept a new charter by which a Royal Governor was granted a veto power. But Massachusetts never forgot her old and more perfect form of liberty, and never was as well disposed as before to the Crown.

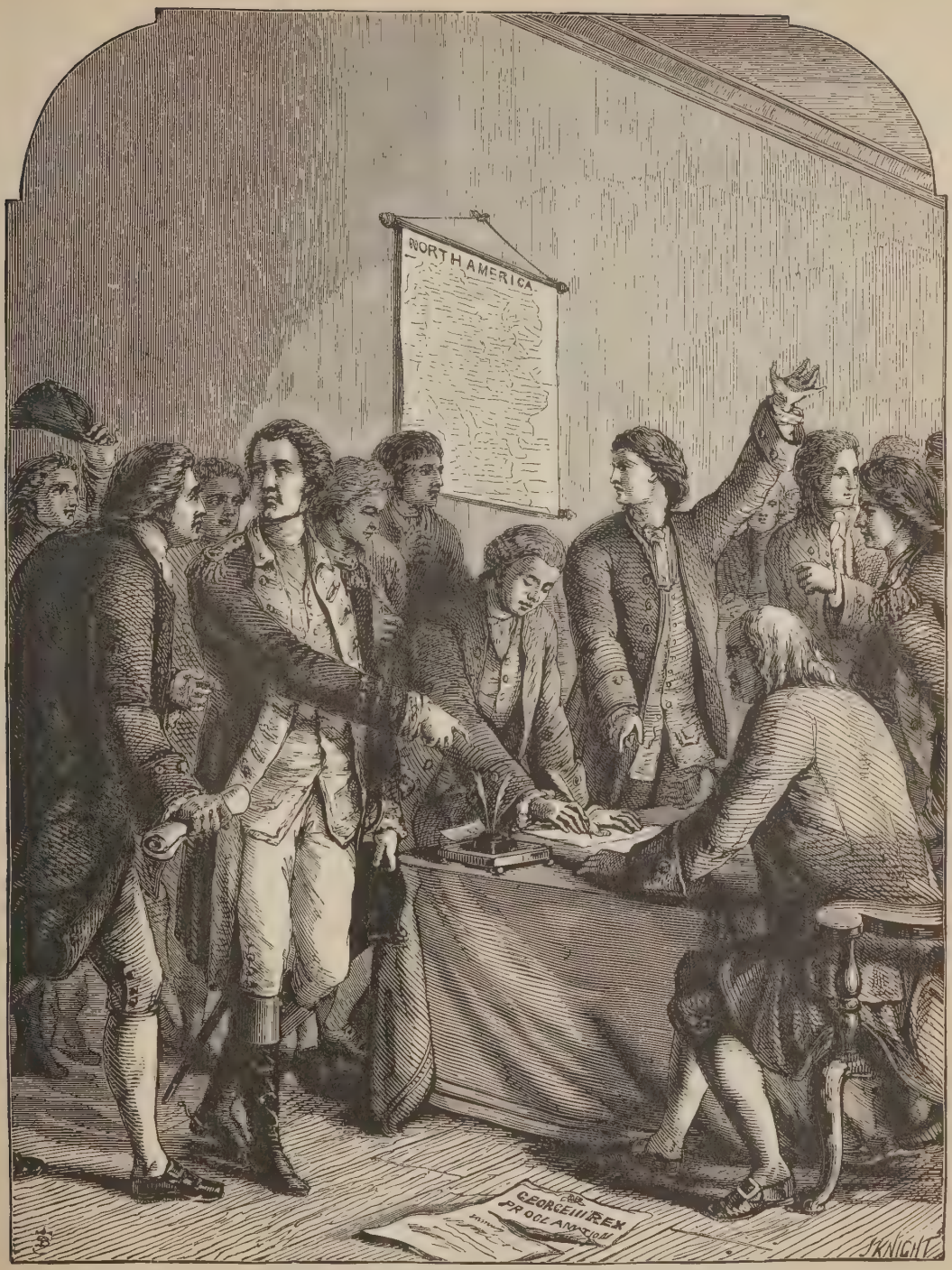
The colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the Carolinas were in population comparatively mixed, were less unified; and in them, therefore, we find, when the Revolution begins, a strong Tory element, which made their action uncertain and often reluctant. Generally speaking, the Royal Governors of the colonies were not in sympathy with the peoples; they were usually arrogant, sometimes mere adventurers, often weak and vacillating. Their quarrels with the Assemblies usually turned on grants of money.

And here, even in early times, we find everywhere cropping up the principle which later was voiced in the watchword of the Revolution, "No taxation without representation." It has been said that this watchword was illogical; that in point of fact not all people in England who were taxed were represented in Parliament, and that, on the other hand, the American colonies had no real wish for representation in Parliament. Both statements are true, but the representation demanded by the Americans was that which they already had—that of their own legislatures. The idea was succinctly expressed as far back as 1728, when the Massachusetts General Court refused to grant a fixed salary for Governor Burnet "because it is the undoubted right of all Englishmen, by Magna Charta, to raise and dispose of money for the public service, of their own free accord without compulsion." And the converse of it was seen in Pennsylvania when, the Governor having refused his assent to a bill containing a scheme of taxation, the Assembly demanded his assent as a right. The doctrine, in short, was simply that money raised from the people should be expended by the

people, that the Assemblies were the legal representatives of the people, and that they, and they only, could know what taxes the people could bear and how the sums thus raised could be expended to public advantage. The expression of this theory varied continually up to the Declaration of Independence, but its substance was consistently maintained. From the position that parliament had no right to interfere in internal taxation the colonies in the end advanced to the position that their allegiance was to the Crown; that the parliament was in no sense an Imperial Parliament; that the Crown stood for English rule over all British dominions; but that while the laws of England were to be enacted by the English parliament, the laws of the American colonies were to be formulated by their own representatives in legislatures assembled. It was only as a last resort and when driven to extremity that the colonies threw off that loyal allegiance to the Crown which they had held to be quite consistent with the maintenance of this basic principle of their liberties.

Let us look now for a moment at the imperfect and temporary union entered into from time to time by the colonists for mutual defense, and which in a way foreshadowed the greater and permanent union of the future. Along the coast the English power had become continuous; the Dutch power at New Amsterdam had been swept away; the Spaniards had been pushed back to the South; the Indians and the French were held at bay on the West and North. In King Philip's War the New England colonies had combined to raise two thousand troops and had conquered by concerted action. In the early French and Indian wars military operations had also been carried on in concert by the colonies with varying successes. Thus, the New England colonies and New York had captured Port Royal in 1690, and had even attempted an attack on Quebec, and in 1709 and 1712 expeditions were planned against Canada and Acadia, in which the colonies united. Both of these latter comparative failures led, by the way, to the issue of paper money to cancel the heavy debts incurred. When Great Britain was at war with Spain the Southern colonies—Georgia, Carolina and Virginia—had also united in an unsuccessful expedition led by Oglethorpe against Florida. In King George's War the colonies planned and carried out almost without help from England the expedition by which the French stronghold Louisburg was seized. Encouraged by this notable triumph of their four thousand troops, they projected the conquest of Canada—an undertaking so vast that it is not surprising that it was soon abandoned.

But the most serious emergency arose when France and England were for a short time at peace, after the treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle (1748). The French plan of extension of territory in America was one of unbounded ambition and of unity of purpose. From New Orleans to Quebec the French had gradually erected a line of fortified posts along the course of the explorations of La Salle, Joliet, Marquet and D'Iberville. Following their theory that the discoverers of



SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

a river were entitled to all the territory drained by it, they were occupying the Mississippi valley and were moving eastward toward the Alleghanies, thus drawing close round the English territory and threatening to invade it. Fortunately their line of outposts from Quebec to New Orleans was only as strong as its weakest part; otherwise English supremacy on the Continent had been overthrown. With their Indian allies the French were now face to face with the pioneers of the colonies who were pressing westward, and who on their side were strengthened by the Indian alliance of the Six Nations. The Ohio Company had been formed for the purpose of colonizing the valley of the Ohio River and to check the progress of the French eastward. It was believed that the territory of the company was infringed upon by French settlements, and George Washington, then a young surveyor, was sent by Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, to examine the actual condition of affairs on the frontier. The wily French gave him fair words but no satisfaction. In this, Washington's first service to the country, he showed on a small scale the calmness, firmness and courage that made him a few years later the hope and support of a nation. His report on the frontier situation was so serious that the colonists determined on immediate war and Virginia called the other provinces to her aid. How to raise men and money was a serious question. It was to solve the difficulty of conducting the campaign that Benjamin Franklin proposed, at a meeting of commissioners of the several colonies held at Albany, a plan of confederation, commonly called the Albany Plan. It provided for a form of federal government which should not interfere with the internal affairs of any colony but should have supreme power in matters of mutual defense and in whatever concerned the colonies as a body. The Albany Plan included a President or Governor-General who should be appointed and paid by the King, and a Grand Council to be made up of delegates elected once in three years by the colonial legislatures. This scheme found favor neither with the Crown nor with the colonial assemblies; each party considered that too much power was given the other, and the colonies also objected to accepting taxes imposed upon them by a body in a sense foreign to each though composed of delegates from all. Yet the project is of immense interest and significance, historically, because it shows in what way men's minds were turning and how the leaven of National unity was working almost without the knowledge of the people themselves.

The war that ensued was at first carried on in America alone, though after two years it became a part of the great Seven Years War between France and England (1755–63). At the outset the key of the territorial struggle lay at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, near where Pittsburgh now stands. Here Washington was besieged in Fort Necessity and was compelled to capitulate by overwhelming forces, but under honorable conditions. The French still held Fort Du Quesne, and against this Braddock's

unfortunate expedition was directed. Now at last the colonists were dispossessed of their old idea of the invincibility of British troops. The regulars, disregarding the advice of the Americans, who understood Indian and French warfare, fell into an ambuscade and were all but cut to pieces. The lesson must have been a startling one to the untrained, half-armed provincial troops. As one writer has said, "The provincial who had stood his ground, firing from behind trees and stumps, while the regulars ran past him in headlong retreat, came home with a sense of his own innate superiority which was sure to bring its results." Thus and in many other ways throughout the war the Americans learned their own possibilities as soldiers on their own ground. The details of the war need not here be reviewed. With the great battle on the Plains of Abraham and the death of the heroic Wolfe and the not less intrepid Montcalm, French dominion in the new world perished forever. It is well known that the mortification of the French statesmen was allayed by the astute reflection that the now undisputed power of Great Britain was likely to be but temporary. Said the Duke de Choiseul, "Well, so we are gone; it will be England's turn next." He saw—and other French statesmen predicted the same thing—that the very fact that no external enemies threatened the provinces would bring them face to face with the mother country for the final struggle.

MARTELLO TOWER ON THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM, WHERE WOLFE WAS KILLED.

Indeed, the treaty of Paris was not even signed when the mutterings of the storm were heard. Now, thought England, was the time to enforce her disregarded authority; now, thought the colonies, was the time to insist on their rights of expansion and of self-government. England's whole theory of the relation of colonies was radically wrong, though she held it in common with other great Powers. This theory was that the colony was merely a commercial dependency—a place where the mother country could extend its trade; while by no means was the colony to be allowed to compete in trade at home or in the world's markets. To this end had been enacted years before the so-called Navigation Laws. By these Americans were forbidden to export their products to other countries than England, to buy the products of other countries except from English traders, to manufacture goods which could compete in the colonies with English importations (for instance, there was even a law against the making of hats), or to ship goods from colony to colony except in British

vessels; while a high protective tariff prevented the colonists from selling grain and other raw products to England. A peculiarly ingenious and annoying repressive measure was that known as the Molasses Act, aimed to stop that extensive trade which consisted in taking dried fish to the French West Indies, receiving molasses in return, bringing it to New England, there turning it into rum, and finally, taking the rum to Africa, where it was often traded for slaves, who in turn were usually sold again in the West Indies. The Molasses Act insisted that the Yankee traders should carry their fish only to the British West Indies; and as these islands did not wish the fish there was an end, theoretically, to a very profitable if not altogether moral system.

In point of fact, all these laws had been constantly disregarded; smuggling and surreptitious trading were universal. But now it was suddenly attempted to enforce them, and that by the obnoxious Writs of Assistance—search warrants made out in blank, so that they could be filled out and used by any officer, against any person, at any time. This was quite contrary to the spirit of the English law, and met with such a sturdy resistance that, though the courts did not dare to declare the writs illegal, the practice was abandoned. James Otis, in particular, thundered against the Writs of Assistance (rather than to defend which he had thrown up his office as King's Prosecutor) in a speech at the utterance of which John Adams declared "the child, Independence, was born." Almost simultaneously with this excitement in Boston, Patrick Henry was delivering his maiden speech in Virginia against the royal veto of a bill diminishing the salaries of the clergy. He denounced any interference with Virginia's law-making power, and boldly proclaimed that when a monarch so acted he "from being the father of his people degenerated into a tyrant, and forfeits all rights to obedience."

While yet the bickering about the old laws continued, a quite novel form of taxation was rushed through Parliament, "with less opposition than a turnpike bill." The Stamp Act was indeed a firebrand such as its originators little suspected. Great Britain had been at great expense during the recent wars, and naturally thought that the Colonies should bear their share of the cost. On their side, the Colonies maintained that they had done all that with their feeble means was possible. George III had lately (1760) mounted the throne. He was narrow-minded, obstinate, a thorough believer in kingly authority; and, as he could not strive for personal supremacy by the means which proved so fatal to Charles I, he adopted the methods of wholesale political bribery, of continual intrigue, and of relentless partisan enmity to those who opposed him. It was because these opponents of his, or some of them, sympathized with America that he grew fixed in his determination to exact obedience. He hated the liberty-loving Colonists chiefly because he hated the New Whigs in England. His minister, Grenville, thought to please his royal master, and at

DEATH OF WOLFE.

the same time not to offend beyond endurance the Americans, by his invention of the Stamp Act. This ordered that in the Colonies all contracts, legal papers, wills, real-estate transfers, as well as newspapers, should be printed on stamped paper, or on paper to which stamps had been affixed. Coincident with it was passed a law ordering the colonial assemblies to support in various ways the royal troops which should be sent to them. So that this whole scheme proposed, first, to tax the Colonies illegally (as they held), then to send soldiers among

OLD BUILDING AT BOSTON WHERE THE TEA-PLOT IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN HATCHED.

them to enforce the tax, and, finally, to compel them to pay for the support of these very soldiers. No wonder that a storm of indignation raged from Maine to Georgia. Grenville himself was amazed at the result. In Massachusetts Samuel Adams declared that this was violating the liberty of self-government, to which subjects in America were entitled to the same extent as subjects in Britain. Patrick Henry, in Virginia, presented resolutions declaring that, "The taxation of the people by themselves or by persons chosen by themselves to

represent them, who can only know what taxes the people are able to bear, is the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom," and that the General Assembly of Virginia, therefore, had the sole and exclusive right and power to lay taxes upon the inhabitants of the Colony. A congress of delegates from nine of the Colonies soon met at New York and set forth the same principle of Colonial rights in a petition to the Crown. No attempt was made by this Stamp Act Congress to do more than declare the feelings of the united Colonies. But it was a distinct advance in the direction of union. Meanwhile, the people at large showed a disposition to take the matter in their own hands, without regard to Parliament or Congress, or lawyers, or finespun theories of constitutional right. When the stamps arrived they were burned or thrown into the sea; stamp officers were compelled to resign their offices; mobs in a few cases injured the property of obnoxious persons; the "Sons of Liberty" formed themselves into clubs and warned all to "touch not the unclean thing" under penalty of mob law. When the time came for the Stamp Act to go into operation there were no stamp officers to enforce it. One of them has left it on record that when he rode into Hartford to deposit his resignation, with a thousand armed farmers at his heels, he felt "like Death on the pale horse with all hell following him." No doubt there were some acts of mob law at this time which a strict sense of justice could not approve, but, as Macaulay has said, "the cure for the evils of liberty is more liberty;" and so, in the end, it proved in this case.

On May 16th, 1766, a Boston paper published what we should call to-day an "extra," in which, under the heading "Glorious News," it reported the arrival of a vessel belonging to John Hancock, with news of the repeal of the Stamp Act. Grenville's Ministry had fallen, and with it fell his measure. Rejoicings in London were, the paper stated, general. Ships in the river had displayed all their colors, and illuminations and bonfires were going on all over the city. This shows how widespread at that time was the English sympathy for Americans; even during the war it was not wholly suppressed. The "extra" from which we have quoted ends its account by saying, "It is impossible to express the joy the town is now in, on receiving the above great, glorious, and important news. The bells in all the churches were immediately set a ringing, and we hear the day for a general rejoicing will be the beginning of next week."

But even this change of front on the part of Parliament was accompanied by a gratuitous declaration to the effect that it had the power "to bind the colonies and people of America in all cases whatsoever."

Lord Rockingham's Ministry, which had repealed the futile and fruitless Stamp Act, lasted but a year; it was followed by that of which the Duke of Grafton was nominally the head, but in which the unscrupulous and audacious Lord Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was the real leader. He

at once proposed and carried a law imposing on the American Colonies import taxes on glass, paper, painters' colors, lead and tea. To such laws as this, he cunningly argued, the Colonies had often before submitted. In a way they submitted to this also; that is to say, they did not at first resist its constitutionality, but retorted by entering into "non-importation" agreements, by which they bound themselves as individuals not to purchase the taxed articles. Merchants who persisted in selling the obnoxious goods were boycotted, as we call it now, and found placards posted up in which it was demanded that—to quote one of these notices literally—"the Sons and Daughters of Liberty would not buy any one thing of him, for in so doing they will bring Disgrace upon themselves and their *Posterity*, for *ever* and *ever*, AMEN." It was not denied that it was the intention to use the sums raised by these taxes to pay the salaries of the royal governors and of the colonial judges, and to maintain British troops in the colonies. This was emphatically subversive of free government. New York refused to make provision for troops quartered upon it, and only consented tardily and imperfectly when its legislature was, as a penalty, suspended by the Crown. Massachusetts threw all kinds of technical legal obstructions in the way of providing for the two British regiments which arrived at Boston. Protests against the Townshend Act made in an orderly meeting in Boston were denounced in Great Britain as treasonable, and it was proposed that colonists guilty of such offenses should be brought to England and there tried for treason. If anything were needed to inflame still further the colonists' indignation it was this. Massachusetts sent out a circular letter to other colonies asking them to unite in petitions and remonstrances to the king; this in turn was treated as also treasonable; a disturbance caused by the seizure of a sloop belonging to John Hancock for customs' offenses was magnified into a riot; the dreaded act providing for the trial of accused colonists in England was passed; in every way the situation was becoming critical.

The presence of the British troops in Boston was irritating in the extreme to the masses of the citizens; quarreling between soldiers and citizens of the rougher class was constantly going on, and finally in March, 1770, a street brawl ended in the so-called Boston Massacre, when the troops, not without very great provocation, fired upon the citizens, killing five and wounding six. From that day the hearts of the common people were ready for armed resistance at any minute. Looking back on the "massacre" from the cool standpoint of history, it must be admitted that it was not quite the merciless and causeless act of brutality which it seemed then to the inflamed minds of the populace, but its influence at the time was enormous.

The year of the Boston Massacre saw also the accession of the subservient Lord North as the Prime Minister and tool of George III. With him began a new chapter in the attempt to enforce taxation without representation. The

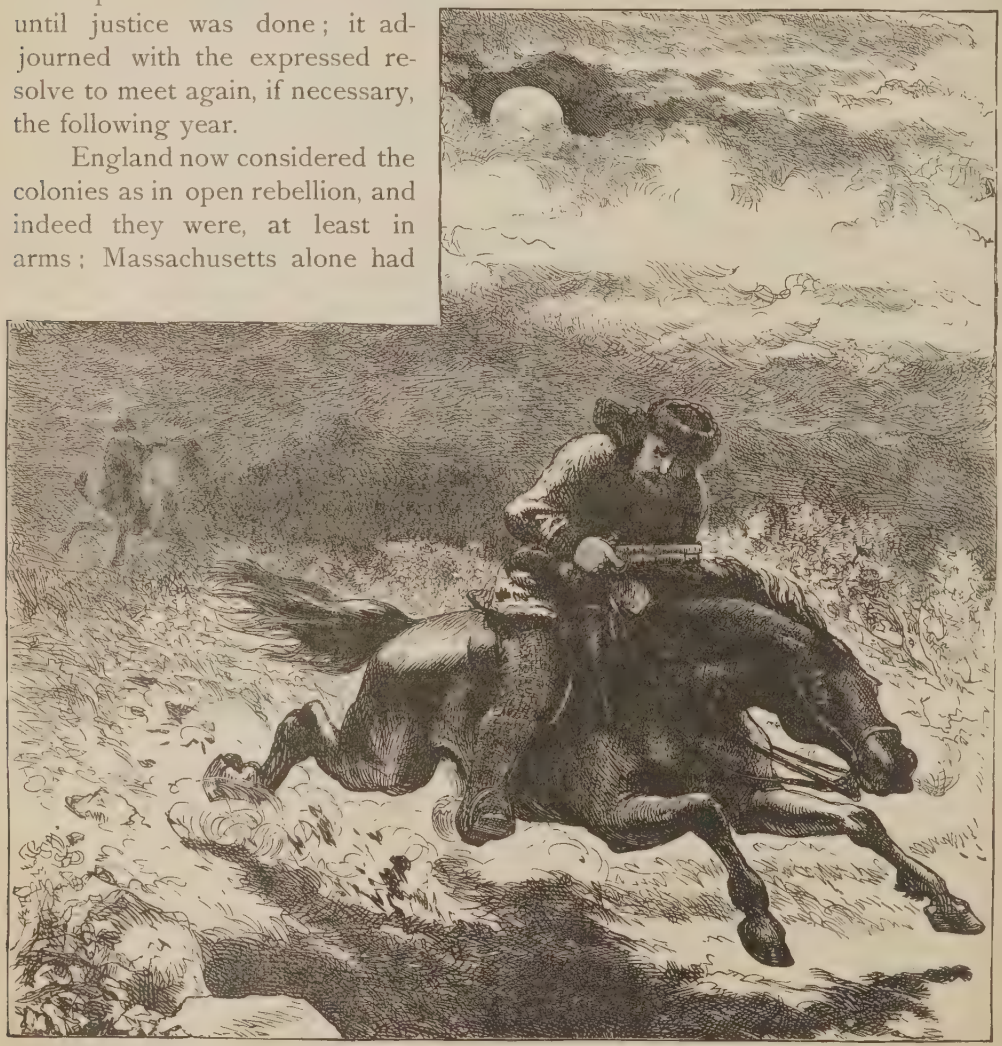
non-importation pledges were beginning to fall into disuse, and Lord North was led to hope that by removing all the taxes except that on tea the colonists would yield the point of principle involved. George III himself had said, "I am clear there must always be one tax to keep up the right," and it was thought that the threepence per pound would be regarded as a trifle not worth fighting for. But the colonists were not fighting for money but for a principle; and in 1772 it was found that the tea tax was yielding only $400 a year, while it was costing over a million of dollars to collect it. A last cunning trick was attempted by Lord North; he gave the East India Company a rebate on teas taken to America, thus making it possible for the colonists to buy the tea with the threepenny tax still on it and yet pay less than before the tax was laid. It is to the honor of our forefathers that the subterfuge was instantly detected and the new proposal resented as the deepest insult. Cargoes of tea were sent to Charleston, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. In the first city the tea was stored in damp cellars and purposely spoiled; New York and Philadelphia refused to allow the tea to be landed; Boston held her famous tea party; and in still other ports the tea was burned.

The destruction of the tea in Boston harbor was not one of those mob acts (like the brawl which led to the Boston Massacre, or the burning of the revenue schooner "Gaspé" in Rhode Island) which are the inevitable but regretable accompaniments of a great popular movement; it was rather a deliberate act, agreed on by the wisest leaders and carried out or sanctioned by the people at large. Thousands of sober citizens stood upon the shore and watched the party, disguised as Indians, who hurled the hated tea overboard; so eminent a man as Samuel Adams led the party, and to this day no American has felt otherwise than proud of the significant and patriotic deed.

Events now hurried rapidly one upon another. The British Parliament's reply to the Boston Tea Party was the Boston Port Bill, which absolutely forbade any trade in or out of the port. Simultaneously the charter of Massachusetts was changed so as to give the Crown almost unlimited power and to abolish town meetings, while it was made legal to quarter troops in Boston itself, and General Gage, the commander-in-chief of the British troops in the colonies, was made Governor of Massachusetts. This attack upon one of the colonies was regarded as a challenge to all. The system of correspondence committees, started locally in Massachusetts and extended, at Virginia's suggestion, between the colonies, for counsel and mutual support, was made the means of calling together at Philadelphia the first Continental Congress (September 5th, 1774). In this all the colonies but Georgia were represented, and among the delegates were George Washington and Patrick Henry, of Virginia; John and Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts; John Jay, of New York, and many others famous in our historical annals. This first really National Congress was moderate but firm

in its action. It drew up a declaration of rights, which was a splendid recital of the wrongs complained of, prepared an address to the King, and adopted what was called the American Association, an agreement to prevent all importation from and exportation to Great Britain until justice was done; it adjourned with the expressed resolve to meet again, if necessary, the following year.

England now considered the colonies as in open rebellion, and indeed they were, at least in arms; Massachusetts alone had



PURSUIT OF PAUL REVERE, THE SCOUT.

twenty thousand "minute men" ready to respond to the first call. And that call soon came. General Gage sent troops to the number of eight hundred to Concord, to destroy military stores there accumulated and to arrest Samuel Adams and John Hancock, to be sent for trial as traitors to

England. The events of that expedition are familiar to us all. Boston was at that time a city of 17,000 inhabitants, guarded by 3000 British regulars. The inhabitants had patiently waited for the troops to strike the first blow, until the latter attributed their inaction to cowardice. But this expedition to arrest the American leaders would bring matters to the long-waited-for crisis. On that night (April 18) Paul Revere, in company with Davies and Prescott, started with a message from Dr. Joseph Warren, one of the leading spirits in Boston. The message was flashed by a lantern across the Charles river; it was to tell the farmers and townsfolk that the hour for resistance was come. A handful of colonists collected on the Lexington Green were fired upon by the British, and eight or ten were killed; the troops pressed on to Concord and seized the stores; but their retreat to Lexington was one long fight with the "embattled farmers" posted behind stone walls and trees and hidden in houses. When, reaching Lexington, the British were reinforced from Boston, they were so exhausted that a British writer says they laid down on the ground in the hollow square made by the fresh troops, "with their tongues hanging out of their mouths like those of dogs after a chase." The British had lost two hundred and seventy-three men; the Americans one hundred and three. Paul Revere's midnight ride had fulfilled its mission. The "shot heard round the world" had been fired.

The war for independence had begun.

MEETING OF WASHINGTON AND ROCHAMBEAU.

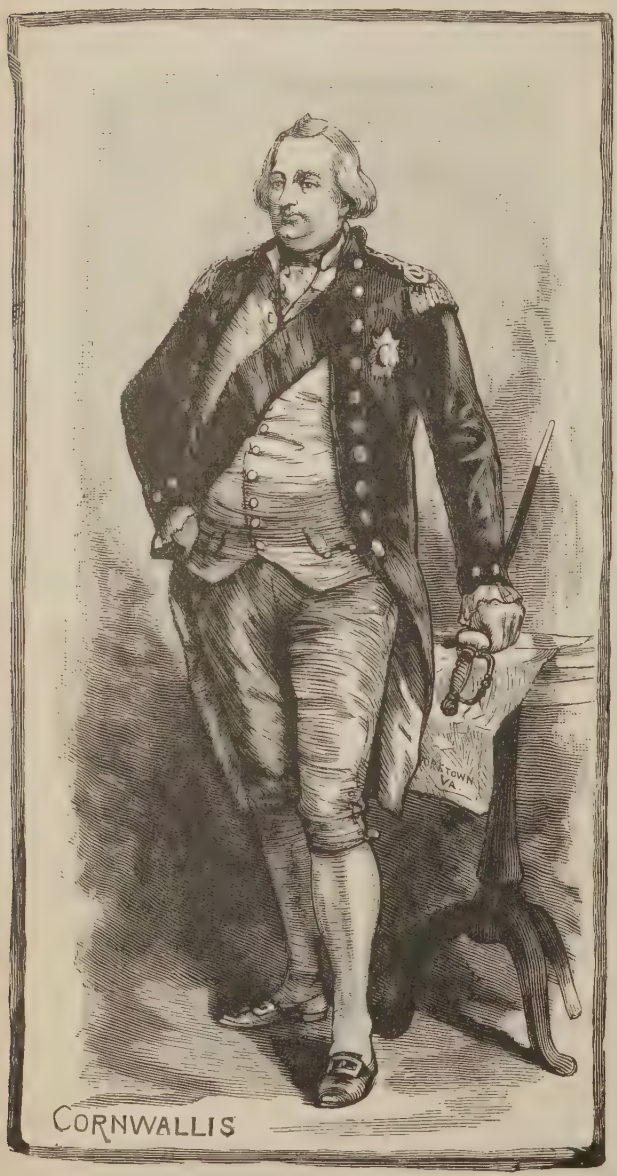
CHAPTER VIII.

THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE.

A WITTY foreigner, watching the course of the American Revolution, wrote to Benjamin Franklin that Great Britain was undertaking the task "of catching two millions of people in a boundless desert with fifty thousand men." This was a crude and inaccurate way of putting it, but it expresses succinctly the magnitude and difficulty of the campaign that lay before the British generals. They had to contend with an illusive enemy in his own country, constantly strengthened by uprisings of the people in each vicinity where the war was at the minute going on; they were unable to move far from their bases of supplies, which were necessarily the great seaport towns they might capture; they were hampered by lack of real heartiness in the English people for the struggle; and they were self-deceived as to the assistance they might hope for from Tory sympathizers in this country. When Parliament rather reluctantly authorized the raising of twenty-five thousand men for the war, Great Britain was still forced to obtain most of this number by subsidizing German mercenaries from the small principalities, who were indiscriminately called Hessians by the colonists, and the employment of whom did much to still further provoke bitterness of feeling. At one time in the Revolution Great Britain had over three hundred thousand men in arms, the world over, but of this number not more than one-tenth could be sent to America. But the greatest obstacle to British success lay in the fact that the English leaders, military and civil, constantly underrated the courage, endurance, and earnestness of their opponents. That raw militia could stand their ground against regulars was a hard lesson for the British to learn; that men from civil life could show such aptitude for strategy as did Washington, Schuyler, and Greene, was a revelation to the professional military men the significance of which they grasped only when it was too late.

Above all, the one thing that made the colonists the victors was the indomitable energy, self-renunciation, and strategic ability of George Washington. We are so accustomed to think of Washington's moral qualities, that it is only

when we come close to the history of the war that we fully recognize how great was his military genius—a genius which justly entitles him to rank with the few truly great soldiers of history, such as Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon, and Von Moltke. Almost alone among the American generals of the Revolution, he was always willing to subordinate his own personal glory to the final success of his deep laid and comprehensive plans. Again and again he risked his standing with Congress, and ran the danger of being superseded by one or another jealous general of lower rank, rather than yield in a particle his deliberate scheme of campaign. Others received the popular honors for brilliant single movements while he waited and planned for the final result. What the main lines of his strategy were we shall endeavor to make clear in the following sketch :—



When the news of the running fight from Concord to Lexington spread through the country, the militia hurried from every direction toward Boston. Israel Putnam literally left his plough in the field; John Stark, with his sturdy New Hampshire volunteers, reached the spot in three days; Nathaniel Greene headed fifteen hundred men from Rhode Island; Benedict Arnold led a band

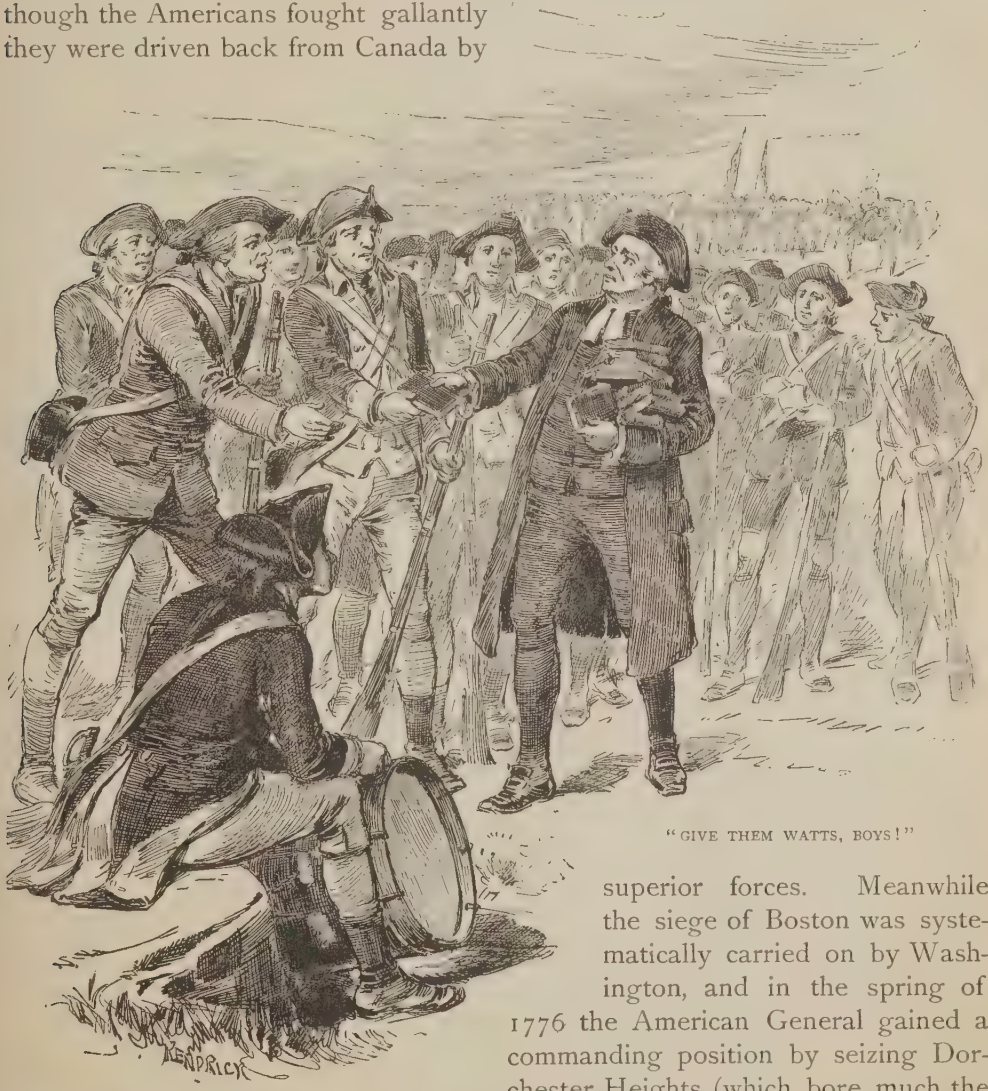
WASHINGTON'S RECEPTION AT TRENTON.

of patriots from Connecticut; the more distant colonies showed equal eagerness to aid in the defense of American liberties. Congress displayed deep wisdom in appointing George Washington Commander in Chief, not only because of his personal ability and the trust all men had in him, but because it was politically an astute measure to choose the leader from some other State than Massachusetts. But before Washington could reach the Continental forces, as they soon began to be called, the battle of Bunker Hill had been fought. And before that, even, Ethan Allen, with his Green Mountain Boys, had seized Fort Ticonderoga "in the name of Jehovah and the Continental Congress"—which Congress, by the way, showed momentarily some reluctance to sanction this first step of aggressive warfare. The occupation by Allen and Arnold of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, at the southern end of Lake Champlain, was of great military importance, both because of the large quantities of ammunition stored there, and because these places defended the line of the Hudson River valley against an attack from Canada.

The battle of Bunker Hill, looked at from the strictly military point of view, was a blunder on both sides, astonishing as was its moral effect. The hill, properly named Breed's Hill, but to which the name of Bunker Hill is now forever attached, rises directly back of Charlestown, on a peninsula connected with the main land by a narrow isthmus. The American forces seized this on the night of June 16th, 1775, and worked the night through intrenching themselves as well as they could. With the morning came the British attack. The position might easily have been reduced by seizing the isthmus, and for this reason the Americans had hardly shown military sagacity in their occupation of the hill. But the British chose rather to storm the works from the front. Three times the flower of the English army in battle line swept up the hill; twice they were swept back with terrible loss, repulsed by a fire which was reserved until they were close at hand; the third time they seized the position, but only when the Americans had exhausted their ammunition, and even then only after a severe hand to hand fight. The British loss was over a thousand men; the American loss about four hundred and fifty. When Washington heard of the battle he instantly asked if the New England militia had stood the fire of the British regulars, and when the whole story was told him he exclaimed, "The liberties of the country are safe." The spirit shown then and thereafter by our sturdy patriots is well illustrated by the story (chosen as the subject of one of our pictures) of the minister, who when in one battle there was a lack of wadding for the guns, brought out an armful of hymn books and exclaimed "Give them Watts, boys!"

The next clash of arms came from Canada. General Montgomery led two thousand of the militia against Montreal, by way of Lake Champlain, and easily captured it (November 12, 1775). Thence he descended the St. Lawrence to

Quebec, where he joined forces with Benedict Arnold, who had brought twelve hundred men through the Maine wilderness, and the two Generals attacked the British stronghold of Quebec. The attempt was a failure; Arnold was wounded, Montgomery was killed, and though the Americans fought gallantly they were driven back from Canada by



"GIVE THEM WATTS, BOYS!"

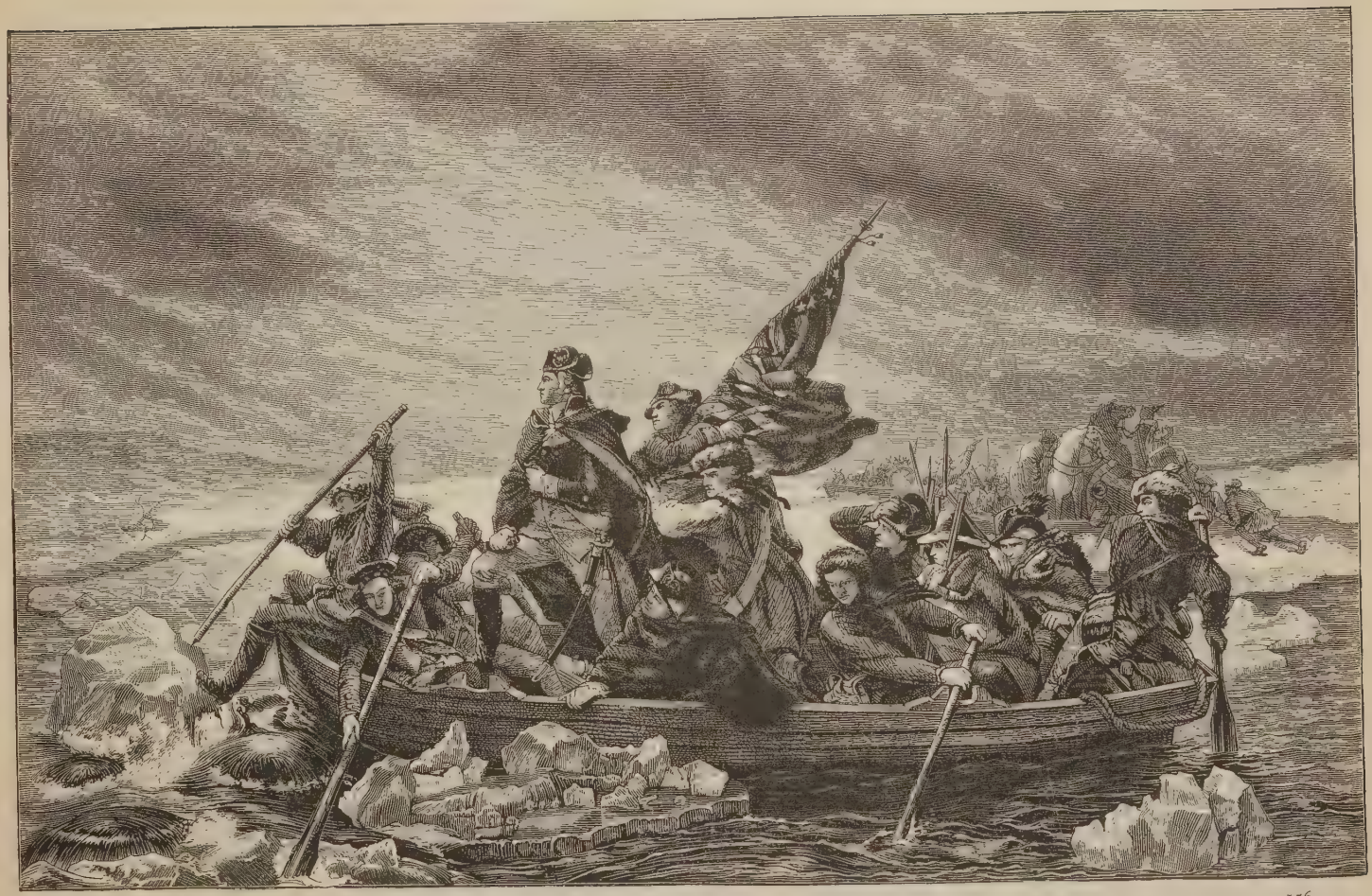
superior forces. Meanwhile the siege of Boston was systematically carried on by Washington, and in the spring of 1776 the American General gained a commanding position by seizing Dorchester Heights (which bore much the same relation to Boston on the South that Breed's Hill did on the North) and General Howe found himself forced to evacuate the city. He sailed with his whole force for Halifax, taking with him great numbers of American sympathizers with British rule, together with their property.

The new Congress met at Philadelphia in May. During the first month of its sessions it became evident that there had been an immense advance in public opinion as to the real issue to be maintained. Several of the colonies had expressed a positive conviction that National independence must be demanded. Virginia had formally instructed her delegates to take that ground, and it was on the motion of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, seconded by John Adams, of Massachusetts, that Congress proceeded to consider the resolution "That these united colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved." This bold utterance was adopted on July 2d by all the colonies except New York. The opposition came mainly from Pennsylvania and New York, and was based, not on lack of patriotism, but on a feeling that the time for such an assertion had not yet come, that a stronger central government should first be established, and that attempts should be made to secure a foreign alliance. It should be noticed that the strongest opponents of the measure, John Dickinson and Robert Morris, of Pennsylvania, were among the most patriotic supporters of the Union. To Robert Morris in particular, whose skill as a financier steered the young Nation through many a difficulty, the country owes a special debt of gratitude. The Declaration of Independence, formally adopted two days later, was written mainly by the pen of Thomas Jefferson. It is unique among State papers—a dignified though impassioned, a calm though eloquent, recital of injuries inflicted, demand for redress, and avowal of liberties to be maintained with the sword. Its adoption was hailed, the country through, as the birth of a new Nation. Never before has a country about to appeal to war to decide its fate put upon record so clear-toned and deliberate an assertion of its purposes and its reasons, and thus summoned the world and posterity to witness the justice and righteousness of its cause.

Thus far in the war the engagements between the opposing forces had been of a detached kind—not related, that is, to any broad plan of attack or defense. Of the same nature also was the British expedition against South Carolina, led by Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis. Their fleet attacked Charleston, but the fort was so bravely defended by Colonel Moultrie, from his palmetto-log fortifications on Sullivan's Island, that the fleet was forced to abandon the attempt and to return to New York. But the British now saw that it was imperative to enter upon a distinct and extensive plan of campaign. That adopted was sagacious and logical; its failure was due, not to any inherent defect in itself, but to lack of persistency in adhering to it. Washington understood it thoroughly from the first, and bent all his energies to tempting the enemy to diverge from the main object in view. The plan, in brief, was this: New York City was to be seized and held as a base of supplies and centre of

operations; from it a stretch of country to the west was to be occupied and held, thus cutting off communication between New York and the New England States on the one side and Pennsylvania and the Southern States on the other. Meanwhile a force was to be pushed down from Canada to the head of the Hudson River, to be met by another force pushed northward up the Hudson. In this way New England would be practically surrounded, and it was thought that its colonies could be reduced one by one, while simultaneously or later an army could march southward upon Philadelphia. The plan was quite feasible, but probably at no time did the British have sufficient force to carry it out in detail. They wofully over-estimated, also, the assistance they might receive from the Tories in New York State. And they still more wofully under-estimated Washington's ability as a strategist in blocking their schemes.

General Howe, who was now Commander-in-Chief of the British army, drew his forces to a head upon Staten Island, combining there the troops which had sailed from Boston to Halifax, with Clinton's forces which had failed at Charleston, and the Hessians newly arrived. In all he had over thirty thousand soldiers. Washington, who had transferred his headquarters from Boston to the vicinity of New York after the former city had been evacuated by the British, occupied the Brooklyn Heights with about twenty thousand poorly equipped and undrilled colonial troops. To hold that position against the larger forces of regulars seemed a hopeless task; but every point was to be contested. In point of fact, only five thousand of the Americans were engaged in the battle of Long Island (August 27, 1776) against twenty thousand men brought by General Howe from Staten Island. The Americans were driven back after a hotly contested fight. Before Howe could follow up his victory Washington planned and executed one of those extraordinary, rapid movements which so often amazed his enemy; in a single night he withdrew his entire army across the East River into New York in boats, moving so secretly and swiftly that the British first found out what had happened when they saw the deserted camps before them on the following morning. Drawing back through the city Washington made his next stand at Harlem Heights, occupying Fort Washington on the east and Fort Lee on the west side of the Hudson, thus guarding the line of the river while prepared to move southward toward Philadelphia if occasion should require. In the battle of White Plains the Americans suffered a repulse, but much more dispiriting to Washington was the disarrangement of his plans caused by the interference of Congress. That over-prudent body sent special orders to General Greene, at Fort Washington, to hold it at all odds, while Washington had directed Greene to be ready on the first attack to fall back upon the main army in New Jersey. The result was the capture of Fort Washington, with a loss of three thousand prisoners. To add to the misfortune, General Charles Lee, who commanded a wing of the American



WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE.

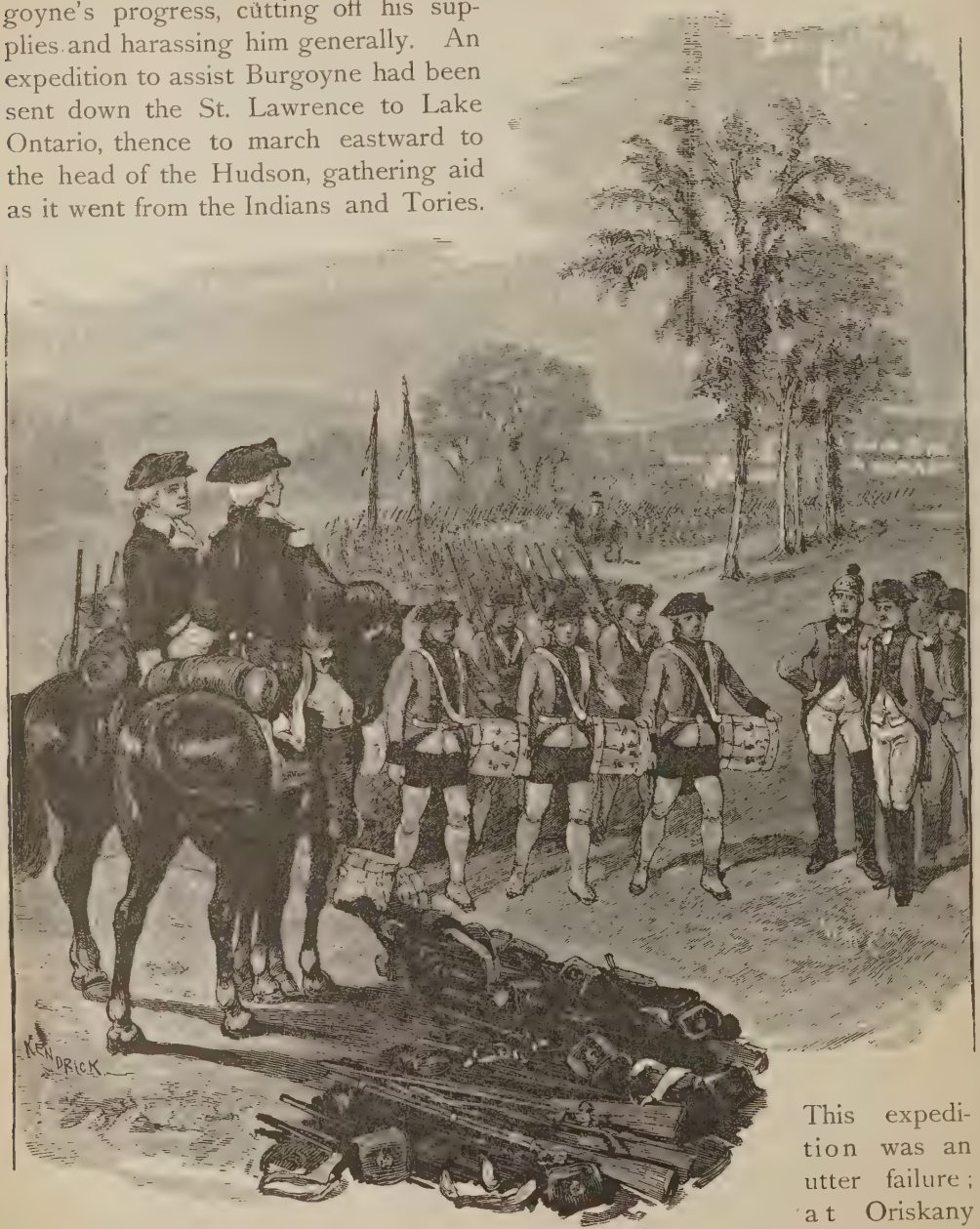
(From the Painting by Leutze.)

army on the east side of the river, absolutely ignored Washington's orders to join him. Lee was a soldier of fortune, vain, ambitious, and volatile, and there is little doubt that his disobedience was due to his hope that Washington was irretrievably ruined and that he might succeed to the command. Gathering his scattered troops together as well as he could, Washington retreated through New Jersey, meeting everywhere with reports that the colonists were in despair, that many had given in their allegiance to the British, that Congress had fled to Baltimore, and that the war was looked on as almost over. In this crisis it was an actual piece of rare good fortune that Charles Lee should be captured by soldiers while spending the night at a tavern away from his camp, for the result was that Lee's forces were free to join Washington's command, and at once did so. Altogether some six thousand men were left in the army, and were drawn into something like coherence on the other side of the Delaware River. General Howe announced that he had now nothing to do but wait the freezing of the Delaware, and then to cross over and "catch Washington and end the war."

But he reckoned without his host. Choosing, as the best time for his bold and sudden movement, Christmas night, when revelry in the camp of the enemy might be hoped to make them careless, Washington crossed the river. Leading in person the division of twenty-five hundred men, which alone succeeded in making the passage over the river, impeded as it was with great blocks of ice, he marched straight upon the Hessian outposts at Trenton and captured them with ease. Still his position was a most precarious one. Cornwallis was at Princeton with the main British army, and marching directly upon the Americans, penned them up, as he thought, between Trenton and the Delaware. It is related that Cornwallis remarked, "At last we have run down the old fox, and we will bag him in the morning." But before morning came Washington had executed another surprising and decisive manœuvre. Maintaining a great show of activity at his intrenchments, and keeping camp-fires brightly burning, he noiselessly led the main body of his army round the flank of the British force and marched straight northward upon Princeton, capturing as he went the British rear guard on its way to Trenton, seizing the British post of supplies at New Brunswick, and in the end securing a strong position on the hills in Northern New Jersey, with Morristown as his headquarters. There he could at last rest for a time, strengthen his army, and take advantage of the prestige which his recent operations had brought him.

Let us turn our attention now to the situation further north. General Burgoyne had advanced southward from Canada through Lake Champlain and had easily captured Ticonderoga. His object was, of course, to advance in the same line to the south until he reached the Hudson River; but this was a very different matter from what he had supposed it. General Schuyler was in com-

mand of the Americans, and showed the highest military skill in opposing Burgoyne's progress, cutting off his supplies and harassing him generally. An expedition to assist Burgoyne had been sent down the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, thence to march eastward to the head of the Hudson, gathering aid as it went from the Indians and Tories.



SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE.

This expedition was an utter failure; at Oriskany the Tories and British were defeated in a fiercely fought battle, in which a greater proportion

of those engaged were killed than in any other battle of the war. Disheartened at this, and at the near approach of Benedict Arnold, St. Leger, who was at the head of the expedition, fled in confusion back to Canada. Meanwhile Burgoyne had sent out a detachment to gather supplies. This was utterly routed at Bennington by the Vermont farmers under General Stark. Through all the country round about the Americans were flocking to arms, their patriotism enforced by their horror at the atrocities committed by Burgoyne's Indian allies and by the danger to their own homes. Practically, Burgoyne was surrounded, and though he fought bravely in the battles of Stillwater (September 19, 1777) and Bemis's Heights (October 7th), he was overmatched. Ten days after the last-named battle he surrendered with all his forces to General Gates, who was now at the head of the American forces in that vicinity and thus received the nominal honor of the result, although it was really due rather to the skill and courage of General Schuyler and General Arnold. Almost six thousand soldiers laid down their arms, and the artillery, small arms, ammunition, clothing, and other military stores which fell into General Gates's hands were immensely valuable. Almost greater than the practical gain of this splendid triumph was that of the respect at once accorded throughout the world to American courage and military capacity.

General Burgoyne had every right to lay the blame for the mortifying failure of his expedition upon Howe, who had totally failed to carry out his part of the plan of campaign. It was essential to the success of this plan that Howe should have pushed an army up the Hudson to support Burgoyne. In leaving this undone he committed the greatest blunder of the war. Why he acted as he did was for a long while a mystery, but letters brought to light eighty years after the war was over show that he was strongly influenced by the traitorous arguments of his prisoner, Charles Lee, who for a time, at least, had decided to desert the American cause. While in this frame of mind he convinced Howe that there was plenty of time to move upon and seize Philadelphia and still come to Burgoyne's aid in season. Howe should have known Washington's methods better by this time. At first the British General attempted a march through New Jersey, but for nearly three weeks Washington blocked his movements, out-manœuvred him in the fencing for advantage of position, and finally compelled him to withdraw, baffled, to New York. Though no fighting of consequence occurred in this period, it is, from the military standpoint, one of the most interesting of the entire war. The result was that Howe, unwilling to give up his original design, transported his army to the mouth of the Delaware by sea, then decided to make his attempt by way of Chesapeake Bay, and finally, after great delay, landed his forces at the head of that bay, fifty miles from Philadelphia. Washington interposed his army between the enemy and the city and for several weeks delayed its inevitable

capture. In the Battle of Brandywine the Americans put eleven thousand troops in the field against eighteen thousand of the British, and were defeated, though by no means routed (September 11, 1777). After Howe had seized the city he found it necessary to send part of his army to capture the forts on the Delaware River, and this gave the Americans the opportunity of an attack with evenly balanced forces. Unfortunately, the battle of Germantown was, by reason of a heavy fog, changed into a confused conflict, in which some American regiments fired into others, and which ended in the retreat of our forces. Washington drew back and went into winter quarters at Valley Forge. Congress, on the approach of the enemy, had fled to York. Howe had accomplished his immediate object, but at what a cost! The possession of Philadelphia had not appreciably brought nearer the subjugation of the former colonies, while the opportunity to co-operate with Burgoyne had been irretrievably lost, and, as we have seen, a great and notable triumph had been gained by the Americans in his surrender.

The memorable winter which Washington spent at Valley Forge he often described as the darkest of his life. The course of the war had not been altogether discouraging, but he had to contend with the inaction of Congress, with cabals of envious rivals, and with the wretched lack of supplies and food. He writes to Congress that when he wished to draw up his troops to fight, the men were unable to stir on account of hunger, that 2898 men were unfit for duty because they were barefooted and half naked, that "for seven days past there has been little else than a famine in the camp." Meanwhile an intrigue to supersede Washington by Gates was on foot and nearly succeeded. The whole country also was suffering from the depreciated Continental currency and from the lack of power in the general government to lay taxes. What a contrast is there between Washington's position at this time and the enthusiasm with which the whole country flocked to honor him in the autumn of the first year of his Presidency (1789), when he made a journey which was one long series of ovations. An idea of the character of these is given in the accompanying picture of his reception at Trenton, where the date on the triumphal arch recalled that famous Christmas night when he outwitted the British.

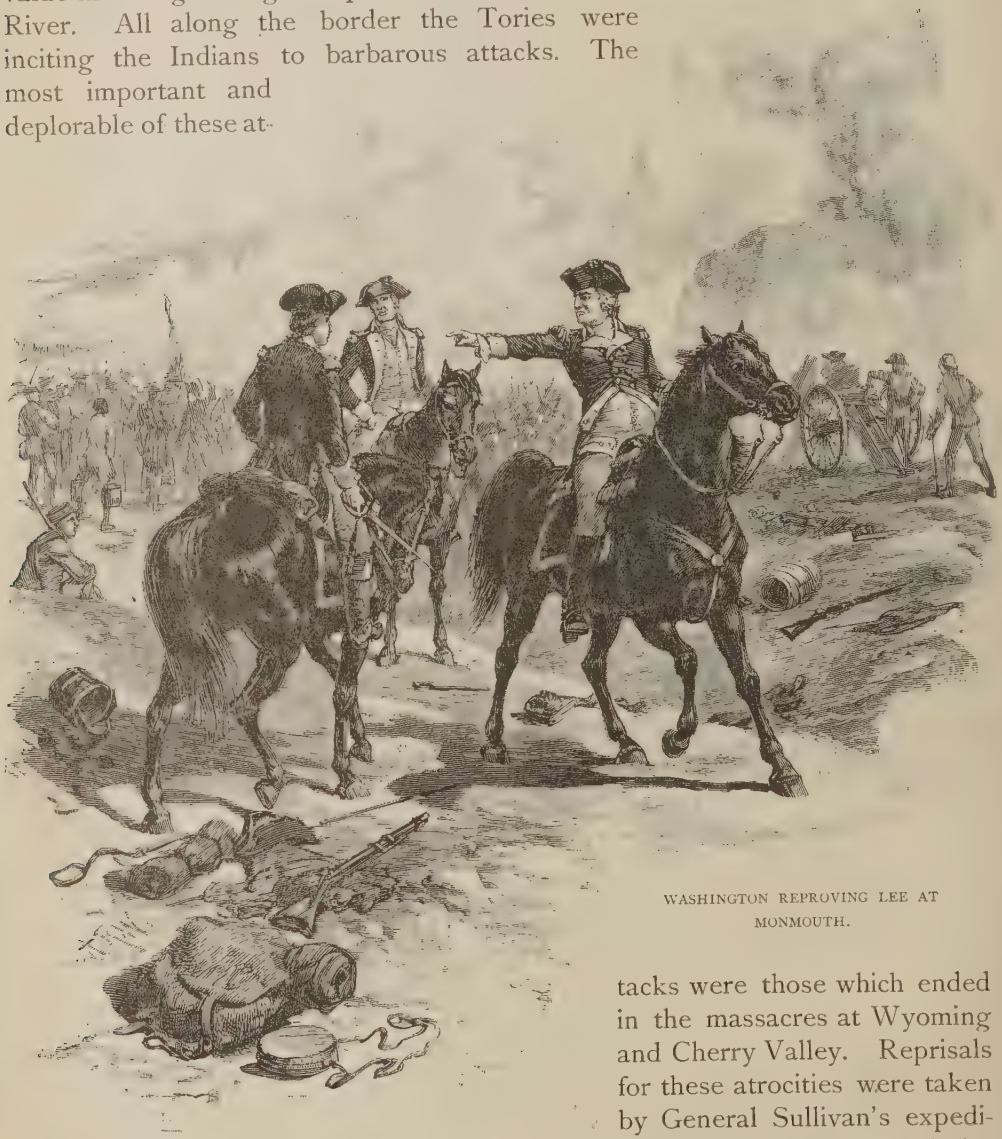
But encouragement from abroad was at hand. Perhaps the most important result of Burgoyne's surrender was its influence in procuring us the French Alliance. Already a strong sympathy had been aroused for the American cause in France. The nobility were influenced in no small degree by the sentimental and philosophical agitation for ideal liberty which preceded the brutal reality of the French Revolution. Lafayette, then a mere boy of eighteen, had fitted out a ship with supplies at his own expense, and had laid his services at Washington's command. Our Commissioners to France —John Adams, Arthur Lee, and Benjamin Franklin—had labored night and

day for the alliance. Franklin, in particular, had, by his shrewd and homely wit, his honesty of purpose and his high patriotism, made a profound impression upon the French people. We read that on one occasion he was made to embrace the rôle of an Apostle of Liberty at an elegant *fête* where "the most beautiful of three hundred women was designated to go and place on the philosopher's white locks a crown of laurel, and to give the old man two kisses on his cheeks." Very "French" this, but not without its significance. But after all, the thing which turned the scale with the French Government was the partial success of our armies. France was only too willing, under favoring circumstances, to obtain its revenge upon Great Britain for many recent defeats and slights. So it was that in the beginning of 1778 the independence of the United States was recognized by France and a fleet was sent to our assistance. During the winter, meanwhile, the thirteen States had adopted in Congress articles of confederation and perpetual union, which were slowly and hesitatingly ratified by the legislatures of the several States.

The news of the reinforcements on their way from France, led Sir Henry Clinton, who had now succeeded Howe in the chief command of the British, to abandon Philadelphia, and mass his forces at New York. This he did in June, 1778, sending part of the troops by sea and the rest northward, through New Jersey. Washington instantly broke camp, followed the enemy, and overtook him at Monmouth Court House. In the battle which followed the forces were equally balanced, each having about fifteen thousand men. The American attack was entrusted to Charles Lee, who had been exchanged, and whose treachery was not suspected. Again Lee disobeyed orders, and directed a retreat at the critical minute of the fight. Had Washington not arrived, the retreat would have been a rout; as it was he turned it into a victory, driving the British from their position, and gained the honors of the day. But had it not been for Lee, this victory might have easily been made a crushing and final defeat for the British army. A court-martial held upon Lee's conduct expelled him from the army. Years later he died a disgraced man, though it is only in our time that the full extent of his dishonor has been understood.

The scene of the most important military operations now changes from the Northern to the Southern States. But before speaking of the campaign which ended with Cornwallis's surrender, we may characterize the fighting in the North, which went on in the latter half of the war, as desultory and unsystematic in its nature. The French fleet under Count d'Estaing was unable to cross the New York bar on account of the depth of draught of its greatest ships; and for that reason the attempt to capture New York City was abandoned. Its next attempt was to wrest Rhode Island from the British. This also was defeated, partly because of a storm at a critical moment, partly through a misunderstanding with the American allies. After these two failures,

the French fleet sailed to the West Indies to injure British interests there. The assault on the fort at Stony Point by "Mad Anthony" Wayne has importance as a brilliant and thrilling episode, and was of value in strengthening our position on the Hudson River. All along the border the Tories were inciting the Indians to barbarous attacks. The most important and deplorable of these at-



WASHINGTON REPROVING LEE AT MONMOUTH.

tacks were those which ended in the massacres at Wyoming and Cherry Valley. Reprisals for these atrocities were taken by General Sullivan's expedition, which defeated the Tories and Indians combined, near Elmira, with great slaughter. But all these events, like the British sudden attacks on the Connecticut ports of New Haven,

Fairfield, and Norwalk, were, as we have said, rather detached episodes than related parts of a campaign.

We should also note before entering upon the final chapter of the war, that Great Britain had politically receded from her position. Of her own accord she had offered to abrogate the offensive legislation which had provoked the colonies to war. But it was too late; the proposition of peace commissioners sent to America to acknowledge the principle of taxation by colonial assemblies

NEGRO VILLAGE IN GEORGIA.

was not for a moment considered. The watchword of America was now Independence, and there was no disposition in any quarter to accept anything less than full recognition of the rights of the United States as a Nation.

The second and last serious and concerted effort by the British to subjugate the American States had as its scene of operations our Southern territory. At first it seemed to succeed. A long series of reverses to the cause of independence were reported from Georgia and South Carolina. The plan formed by

Sir Henry Clinton and Cornwallis was, in effect, to begin at the extreme South and overpower one State after another until the army held in reserve about New York could co-operate with that advancing victoriously from the South. Savannah had been captured in 1778, while General Lincoln, who commanded our forces, was twice defeated with great loss—once at Brier Creek, in an advance upon Savannah, when his lieutenant, General Ashe, was actually routed with very heavy loss; and once when Savannah had been invested by General Lincoln himself by land, while the French fleet under d'Estaing besieged the city by sea. In a short time Georgia was entirely occupied by the British. They were soon reinforced by Sir Henry Clinton in person, with an army, and the united forces moved upward into South Carolina with thirteen thousand men. Lincoln was driven into Charleston, was there besieged, and (May 12, 1780) was forced to surrender not only the city but his entire army. A desultory but brilliant guerrilla warfare was carried on at this time by the Southern militia and light cavalry under the dashing leadership of Francis Marion, "the Swamp Fox," and the partisan, Thomas Sumter.

These men were privateers on horseback. Familiar with the tangled swamps and always well mounted, even though in rags themselves, they were the terror of the invaders. At the crack of their rifles the pickets of Cornwallis fled, leaving a score of dead behind. The dreaded cavalry of Tarleton often came back from their raids with many a saddle emptied by the invisible foes. They were here, they were everywhere. Their blows were swift and sure; their vigilance sleepless. Tarleton had been sent by Cornwallis with a force of seven hundred cavalry to destroy a patriot force in North Carolina, under Buford, which resulted in his utterly destroying about four hundred of the patriots at Waxhaw, the affair being more of a massacre than a battle. Thus the name of Tarleton came to be hated in the South as that of Benedict Arnold was in the North. He was dreaded for his celerity and cruelty. As illustrative of the spirit of the Southern colonists, we may be pardoned for the digression of the following anecdote. The fighting of Marion and his men was much like that of the wild Apaches of the southwest. When hotly pursued by the enemy his command would break up into small parties, and these as they were hard pressed would subdivide, until nearly every patriot was fleeing alone. There could be no successful pursuit, therefore, since the subdivision of the pursuing party weakened it too much.

"We will give fifty pounds to get within reach of the scamp that galloped by here, just ahead of us," exclaimed a lieutenant of Tarleton's cavalry, as he and three other troopers drew up before a farmer, who was hoeing in the field by the roadside.

The farmer looked up, leaned on his hoe, took off his old hat and mopping his forehead with his handkerchief looked at the angry soldier and said:—

"Fifty pounds is a big lot of money."

"So it is in these times, but we'll give it to you in gold, if you'll show us where we can get a chance at the rebel; did you see him?"

"He was all alone, was he? And

TARLETON'S LIEUTENANT AND THE FARMER (JACK DAVIS).

he was mounted on a black horse with a white star in his forehead, and he was going like a streak of lightning, wasn't he?"

"That's the fellow!" exclaimed the questioners, hoping they were about to get the knowledge they wanted.

"It looked to me like Jack Davis, though he went by so fast that I couldn't get a square look at his face, but he was one of Marion's men, and if I ain't greatly mistaken it was Jack Davis himself."

Then looking up at the four British horsemen, the farmer added, with a quizzical expression :—

"I reckon that ere Jack Davis has hit you chaps pretty hard, ain't he?"

"Never mind about *that*," replied the lieutenant; "what we want to know is where we can get a chance at him for just about five minutes."

The farmer put his cotton handkerchief into his hat, which he now slowly replaced, and shook his head: "I don't think he's hiding round here," he said; "when he shot by Jack was going so fast that it didn't look as if he could stop under four or five miles. Strangers, I'd like powerful well to earn that fifty pounds, but I don't think you'll get a chance to squander it on me."

After some further questioning, the lieutenant and his men wheeled their horses and trotted back toward the main body of Tarleton's cavalry. The farmer plied his hoe for several minutes, gradually working his way toward the stretch of woods some fifty yards from the roadside. Reaching the margin of the field, he stepped in among the trees, hastily took off his clothing, tied it up in a bundle, shoved it under a flat rock from beneath which he drew a suit no better in quality, but showing a faint semblance to a uniform. Putting it on and then plunging still deeper into the woods, he soon reached a dimly-marked track, which he followed only a short distance, when a gentle whinney fell upon his ear. The next moment he vaulted on the back of a bony but blooded horse, marked by a beautiful star in his forehead. The satin skin of the steed shone as though he had been traveling hard, and his rider allowed him to walk along the path for a couple of miles, when he entered an open space where, near a spring, Francis Marion and fully two hundred men were encamped. They were eating, smoking and chatting as though no such horror as war was known.

You understand, of course, that the farmer that leaned on his hoe by the roadside and talked to Tarleton's lieutenant about Jack Davis and his exploits was Jack Davis himself.

Marion and his men had many stirring adventures. A British officer, sent to settle some business with Marion, was asked by him to stay to dinner. Marion was always a charming gentleman, and the visitor accepted the invitation, but he was astonished to find that the meal consisted only of baked sweet potatoes served on bark. No apology was made, but the guest could not help asking his host whether that dinner was a specimen of his regular bill of fare. "It is," replied Marion, "except that to-day, in honor of your presence, we have more than the usual allowance."

North Carolina was now in danger, and it was to be defended by the overrated General Gates, whose campaign was marked by every indication of military incapacity. His attacks were invariably made recklessly, and his positions were ill-chosen. At Camden he

ESCAPE OF BENEDICT ARNOLD.

was utterly and disgracefully defeated by Lord Cornwallis (August 16, 1780). It seemed now as if the British forces could easily hold the territory already won and could advance safely into Virginia. This was, indeed, one of the darkest periods in the history of our war, and even Washington was inclined to despair.

To add to the feeling of despondency came the news of Benedict Arnold's infamous treachery. In the early part of the war he had served, not merely with credit but with the highest distinction. Ambitious and passionate by temper, he had justly been indignant at the slights put upon him by the promotion over his head of several officers who were far less entitled than he to such a reward. He had also, perhaps, been treated with undue severity in his trial by court-martial on charges relating to his accounts and matters of discipline. No doubt he was greatly influenced by his marriage to a lady of great beauty, who was in intimate relations with many of the leading Tories. It is more than probable, still further, that he believed the cause of American independence could never be won. But neither explanations nor fancied wrongs in the least mitigate the baseness of his conduct. He deliberately planned to be put in command of West Point, with the distinct intention of handing it over to the British in return for thirty thousand dollars in money and a command in the British army. It was almost an accident that the emissary between Arnold and Clinton, Major André was captured by Paulding and his rough but incorruptible fellows. André's personal charm and youth created a feeling of sympathy for him, but it cannot be for a moment denied that he was justly tried and executed, in accordance with the law of nations. Had Arnold's attempt succeeded, it is more than likely that the blow dealt our cause would have been fatal. His subsequent service in the British army only deepened the feeling of loathing with which his name was heard by Americans; while even his new allies distrusted and despised him, and at one time Cornwallis positively refused to act in concert with him.

A bright and cheering contrast to this dark episode is that of the glorious victories at sea won by John Paul Jones, who not only devastated British commerce, but, in a desperately fought naval battle, captured two British men-of-war, the "Serapis" and the "Countess of Scarborough," and carried the new American flag into foreign ports with the prestige of having swept everything before him on the high seas. Here was laid the foundation of that reputation for intrepidity and gallantry at sea which the American navy so well sustained in our second war with Great Britain.

As the year 1780 advanced, the campaign in the South began to assume a more favorable aspect. General Greene was placed in command of the American army and at once began a series of rapid and confusing movements, now attacking the enemy in front, now cutting off his communications in the rear, but always scheming for the advantage of position, and usually obtaining it. He was aided ably by "Light Horse Harry" Lee and by General Morgan. Even before his campaign began the British had suffered a serious defeat at King's Mountain, just over the line between North and South Carolina, where a body of southern and western backwoodsmen had cut to pieces and finally

captured a British detachment of twelve hundred men. Greene followed up this victory by sending Morgan to attack one wing of Cornwallis's army at Cowpens, near by King's Mountain, where again a large body of the enemy were captured with a very slight loss on the part of the Americans. Less decisive was the battle of Guilford Court House (March 15, 1781), which was contested with great persistency and courage by both armies. At the end of the day the British held the field, but the position was too perilous for Cornwallis to maintain long, and he retreated forthwith to the coast. General Greene continued to seize one position after another, driving the scattered bodies of the British through South Carolina and finally meeting them face to face at Eutaw Springs, where another equally contested battle took place; in which, as at Guilford, the British claimed the honors of the day, but which also resulted in their ultimately giving away before the Americans and intrenching themselves in Charleston. Now, indeed, the British were to move into Virginia, not as they had originally planned, but because the more southern States were no longer tenable. It seemed almost as if Greene were deliberately driving them northward, so that in the end they might lie between two American armies. But they made a strong stand at Yorktown, in which a small British army under Benedict Arnold was already in possession and had been opposed by Lafayette.

Washington, who had been watching the course of events with the keen eye of the master strategist, saw that the time had come for a decisive blow. The French fleet was sent to the Chesapeake, and found little difficulty in reducing the British force and approaching Yorktown by sea. Washington's own army had been lying along the Hudson, centered at West Point, ready to meet any movement by Sir Henry Clinton's army at New York. Now Washington moved southward down the Hudson into the upper part of New Jersey. It was universally believed that he was about to attack the British at New York. Even his own officers shared this belief. But with a rapidity that seems astonishing, and with the utmost skill in handling his forces, Washington led them swiftly on, still in the line toward the south, and before Clinton had grasped his intention he was well on his way to Virginia. Cornwallis was now assailed both by land and by sea; he occupied a peninsula, from which he could not escape except by forcing a road through Washington's united army of sixteen thousand men. The city of Yorktown was bombarded for three weeks. An American officer writes: "The whole peninsula trembles under the incessant thunderings of our infernal machines." General Rochambeau who had been placed in command of the French forces in America, actively co-operated with Washington. The meeting of the two great commanders forms the subject of one of our illustrations. Good soldier and good general as Cornwallis was, escape was impossible. On October 19, 1781, he suffered the humiliation of a formal sur-

render of his army of over seven thousand men, with two hundred and forty cannon, twenty-eight regimental standards, and vast quantities of military stores and provisions. When Lord North, the English Minister, heard of the surrender, we are told, he paced the floor in deep distress, and cried, "O God, it is all over!"

And so it was, in fact. The cause of American independence had practically been won. Hostilities, it is true, continued in a feeble and half-hearted way, and it was not until September, 1783, that the Treaty of Peace secured by John Jay, John Adams, and Benjamin Franklin was actually signed—a treaty which was not only honorable to us, but which, in the frontier boundaries adopted, was more advantageous than even our French allies were inclined to approve, giving us as it did the territory westward to the Mississippi and southward to Florida. Great Britain as a nation had become heartily sick and tired of her attempt to coerce her former colonies. As the war progressed she had managed to involve herself in hostilities not only with France, but with Spain and Holland, and even with the native princes of India. Lord North's Ministry fell, the star of the younger Pitt arose into the ascendency, and George the Third's attempt to establish a purely personal rule at home and abroad was defeated beyond redemption.

As we read of the scanty recognition given by the American States to the soldiers who had fought their battles; as we learn that it was only Washington's commanding influence that restrained these soldiers, half starved and half paid, from compelling that recognition from Congress by force; as we perceive how many and serious were the problems of finance and of government distracting the State Legislatures; as, in short, we see the political disintegration and chaotic condition of affairs in the newly born Nation, we recognize the fact that the struggle which had just ended so triumphantly was but the prelude to another, more peaceful but not less vital, struggle—that for the founding of a strong, coherent, and truly National Government. The latter struggle began before the Revolution was over and lasted until, in 1787, by mutual concession and mutual compromise was formed the Constitution of the United States.

172 VIEW OF THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON.

CHAPTER IX.

THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY AND GOVERNMENT BEFORE AND AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

BY FRANCIS NEWTON THORPE, PH. D.,
Professor of American Constitutional History, University of Pennsylvania.

At the time of the colonization of America the land of Great Britain was controlled, if not owned, by not more than a hundred men, and political privileges were exercised by less than a thousand times as many. The principal rights of the masses were of a civil nature. The jury trial was an ancient right guaranteed by Magna Charta, but by the union of church and state, the thought and the activities of the English people were authoritatively uniform, and any departure from traditional belief, either in matters ecclesiastical or civil, was viewed with disapproval.

FRANCIS NEWTON THORPE, PH. D.

But a people of so diversified a genius for good government as are the people of Anglo-Saxon stock could not long remain subject to serious limitations on their prosperity. America was the opportunity for liberty, the first opportunity for the diversification of Anglo-Saxon energies, and for the realization of the hopes of mankind. There is a uniformity in the development of human affairs. Agriculture is improved in means and methods by improvements in manufactures, and a larger conception of the nature of the State always finds response in the home comforts of the people. The opportunities of America caused greater comfort and happiness among the English people who stayed at home.

The colonization of America by the English was after two systems, that of the

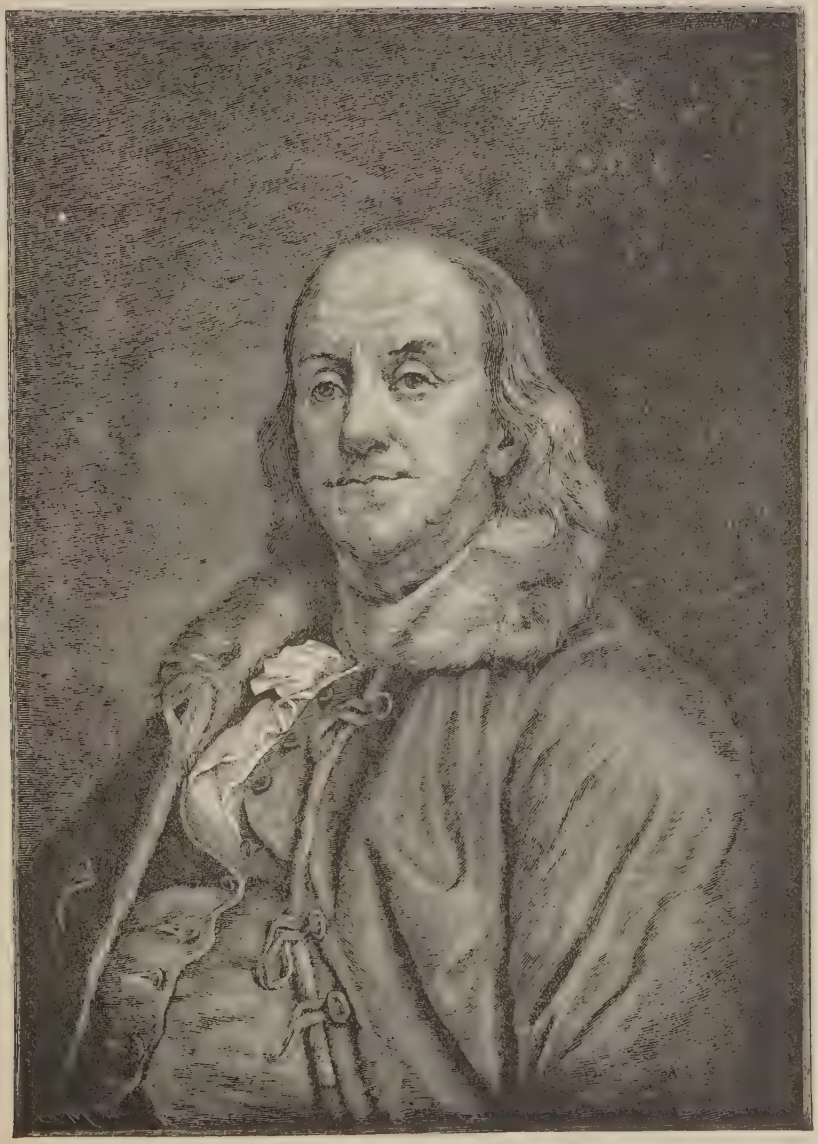
commercial enterprise, that of the religious undertaking: the commercial system was illustrated in the Virginia enterprise, the religious undertaking, in the New England. Sir Walter Raleigh had conceived of planting a colony in the Carolinas, but his colony, had it succeeded, would have been a repetition of an English shire, continuing the limitations on the common life, the limitations of property and condition incident to English life at the close of the sixteenth century. Providence saved America for larger undertakings, and though the ideas of Raleigh were at the foundation of the first Virginia adventure, the charter of 1606 gave larger privileges to the adventurers than had the charter to Raleigh or to Gilbert of nearly a quarter of a century before; and the first adventure to Virginia demonstrated that a new age had come, for the conditions of life in the wilderness would not permit the transplanting of the feudal system, and the enterprise failed because it lacked men and women who were willing to work and to make homes for themselves.

The second charter of three years later gave larger inducements to embark in the undertaking, but little guarantee of privilege to individuals who might seek their fortunes in Virginia. It was yet two years before King James granted the third charter empowering the little colony at Jamestown to enter upon the serious undertaking of local self-government.

As soon as the instincts of the Anglo-Saxon could have room in America for the exercise of those persistent ideas which make the glory of the race, the winning of American liberty was assured. A little Parliament was called in Virginia, and this assembly of a score of men began the long history of free legislation, which, in spite of many errors, has given expression to the wishes of millions of men in America who have toiled in its fields, worked in its factories, instructed in its schools, directed its finances, controlled its trade, developed its mines, and spread its institutions westward over the continent. But the first victory of liberty was in the forum, not in the field.

The ancient and undoubted rights of the people of England gave to the inhabitants of each borough the right to representation in Parliament, and the plantations in Virginia, becoming the first shires of the New World, became also the first units of civil jurisdiction. The planters claimed and exercised the right to choose deputies to meet in General Court in the colony for the purpose of considering the wants of the various plantations, and particularly for the purpose of levying such taxes as might be required for the general welfare. The long struggle for liberty in America began when the House of Burgesses in Virginia asserted and assumed its right to levy the taxes of the colony, to vote the supplies to the governor, and to control the financial affairs of the plantations.

The New England settlements from Plymouth to Portland, following hard after the settlements in Virginia, began local government after the same model.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

The town-meeting was the local democracy which examined and discussed freely all matters of local interest. In the town-meeting assembled the freemen who wrote and spoke as they thought; elected "men of their own choosing," and made laws to please themselves; chose both servants to execute and to administer the laws, and held their representatives responsible for their public service. But the local communities in New England,—the several towns,—soon applied the representative principle in government, and each town chose its deputies to meet with the deputies of other towns in General Assembly for the purpose of taking into consideration the affairs of the colony.

THE LIBERTY BELL, AS EXHIBITED AT THE NEW ORLEANS EXPOSITION.

The settlers in Salem and Boston, when they arrived with John Winthrop, had brought with them a Great Charter, transferring the government from old England to Massachusetts, and there they enlarged the membership of the Company of Massachusetts Bay, and transformed the government into a representative republic. The inhabitants of Virginia had not authority to elect their own governor, save for a short time during the days of the Commonwealth in England, but for more than half a century the people of Massachusetts chose all their public officers and instructed them at their pleasure. The immediate responsibility of the representative of the town to the townsmen was the fundamental notion in the New England idea of government.

But the representative republic, the commonwealth, of New England, was not composed of freemen only, for there were many inhabitants of Massachusetts who were excluded from participation in the political life of the colony. During the half century of government under the old charter, the people of Massachusetts comprised both church members and non-church members,

but only the church members were eligible to public office. Persons dissenting from the congregational polity in church and state, persons not communicants in the orthodox establishment, were excluded from direct participation in the government; they could not vote, they could not hold office, their children could not be baptized. When Charles II caused the forfeiture of the Massachusetts charter in 1684, although the liberty of Massachusetts seemed greatly endangered, yet a nearer approach to the definition of liberty was made; for the careless King, in order to win approval of his procedure among the colonists, had already intimated his desire to enlarge the franchise in Massachusetts, and to open the privileges of freedom more liberally to the inhabitants of the colony. This proposition to enlarge the liberties of the inhabitants met with disfavor among the conservatives, and the voice of the established church in the colony was raised against the innovation.

In spite, however, of the limitations on the political rights of the inhabitants of Massachusetts, their civil rights were carefully guarded and freely exercised. It should be observed that throughout the history of America the ancient civil rights under Anglo-Saxon institutions have generally been carefully observed.

The winning of liberty in America has been largely the liberty of exercising political rights, until it has become common to estimate all privileges in America by the standard of political freedom. We should not forget that there are other rights than those political; there are moral, civil, and industrial rights, whose exercise is as important for the welfare of the citizen as is the exercise of rights political.

The winning of civil independence is the glory of the barons of 1215; for it was impossible for them to win civil rights for themselves without winning civil rights for the whole nation, and the application of the principle for which they struggled was necessarily universal, so that the humble tenant of the landed estate must participate in the privileges of civil liberty.

The New England colonists, moving westward and southwestward over the domain which we call New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, spread the customs of civil privilege and carried with them the constitution of government to which they had been accustomed. Williams, in Rhode Island, attempted a pure democracy, which in its early days was a tumultuous assemblage, but taught by experience became a happy and prosperous community. Connecticut, differing but slightly in its colonial ideas from those of Massachusetts, was empowered by its liberal charter of 1663 to become almost an independent commonwealth. The whole spirit of the New England people in government was to exercise liberty in civil affairs and a qualified liberty in political affairs. The civil rights of the inhabitants of New England down to the time of the Revolution were quite uniform, but their political rights were

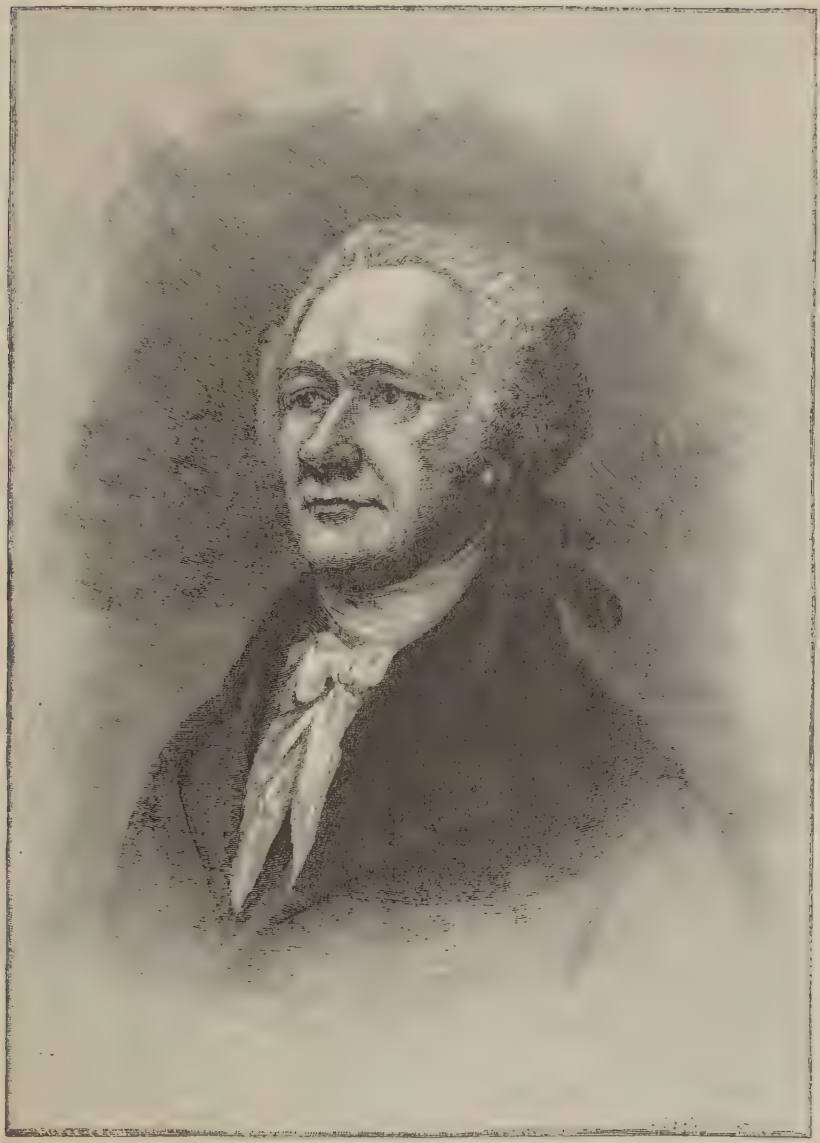
determined by qualifications of property, of religious opinion, of sex, of age, and of residence.

The old English idea of political right carried with it similar qualifications, and the conservative Virginians, like the conservative people of New England, could not conceive of citizenship apart from a landed estate and established religious opinions. Were we to use the language of our day we should say that the voter in colonial times was required, whether citizen of a northern or of a southern colony, to subscribe to a creed and to possess an acreage. At a time when land was to be had without cost, save of labor and cultivation, the qualification of real property was not a heavy burden, and so long as the earnest judgment of the majority of the inhabitants favored the supremacy of any ecclesiastical system, conformity to that system was equally easy; but as soon as free investigation of the questions of church and state became the spirit of the age, there would necessarily follow modification in the requirements for citizenship, and the qualifications for an elector would necessarily change.

In all the charters establishing colonial governments there was inserted a provision that the legislation permitted to the colonial Assemblies created by the charters should be as nearly as may be according to the laws of England. This provision recognized the necessity for a liberal interpretation of legislative grants to the colonial Assemblies. Isolated from the home government and left to themselves, the colonists learned the habits of self-government and they made most liberal interpretations of their charters. The House of Burgesses in Virginia and its successors throughout the land construed the privileges of legislation practically as the admission of their independence, and colonial legislation was a departure from parliamentary control.

The local American Assemblies, the colonial legislatures, were composed of two branches: the upper, consisting of the governor and his council; the lower, of the representatives, or delegates, from the counties or towns. The latter, after the manner of the English burgesses, the representatives of the counties and towns in the colony, took control of the taxing power in America.

England, by her navigation laws, compelled the colonies to transport all their productions in English ships, manned by Englishmen and sailing to English ports; no manufacturing was allowed in the colonies, and inter-colonial trade was discouraged. The immediate consequence of the navigation acts, which to the number of about thirty were passed from time to time in the British Parliament, was to keep the colonies in an agricultural condition, to strip them of gold and silver coin, and to leave them to their own devices to find substitutes for money; for, unable to manufacture the articles they needed, they were obliged to buy these articles principally in England, and to pay for them either with the raw productions which they exported or with coin, and the exportation of coin from the colonies was relatively as great as the exportation of produce.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Money is the instrument of exchange and the means of association; the colonists were compelled to exchange, and to seek that economic association which is the assurance and the health of civil life.

REAR VIEW OF INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA.

The people were constantly clamoring for more money and for the issuing of a circulating medium. Massachusetts, in the middle of the seventeenth century had set up a mint, which coined a small quantity of shillings; but the

mint was a trespass upon the sovereign right of the king and had no legal standing in the kingdom. The colonists, therefore, soon entered upon the experiment of making substitutes for money. Paper money, in a great variety of forms, was issued by the colonial Assemblies, and the issues were made chiefly for local circulation. The paper money of New Jersey circulated in New York, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, and to a less amount as the distance from New Jersey increased. New England money was little known in the southern colonies, and the paper issues of the Carolinas were rarely seen in New York. There was no acquaintance, no public faith common to the colonies, and although sanguinary laws were made to maintain the value of paper issues, there is evidence that counterfeits were almost as common as the original bills.

So long as the issue of paper money was limited, and the colony which issued it had perfect faith in its value, the issue circulated, though its value constantly tended to depreciate throughout the colony; but there was no unit of measure, no fixed standard of values, and it was quite impossible to fix the value of the issue in one colony by that of any issue in another colony. By the time the American Revolution was passed, the over-issue of paper moneys was evident to all thoughtful people, but there was no production of gold or silver; there was little export of commodities which brought in coin, and the Legislatures of the various States—for so the General Assemblies of the colonies had now become—were compelled to enter upon a course of legislation, having in view the maintenance of a truly valuable circulating medium.

Another great question had meantime been brought forward: the relation of the local communities to the common or general government. As early as 1643 the New England colonies, comprising committees of "like membership in the church," had consolidated for the purpose of defense and general welfare, and the principle which led to the union was the principle which led to the "more perfect union" of a hundred and thirty years later. If any change should come over the colonies by which the people should become like minded, as were the inhabitants of the New England colonies in 1643, then a union of the people of the colonies could be made. One of the causes which led to the American Revolution was this latent but powerful tendency in the colonies toward a common understanding of their character, conditions, and wants.

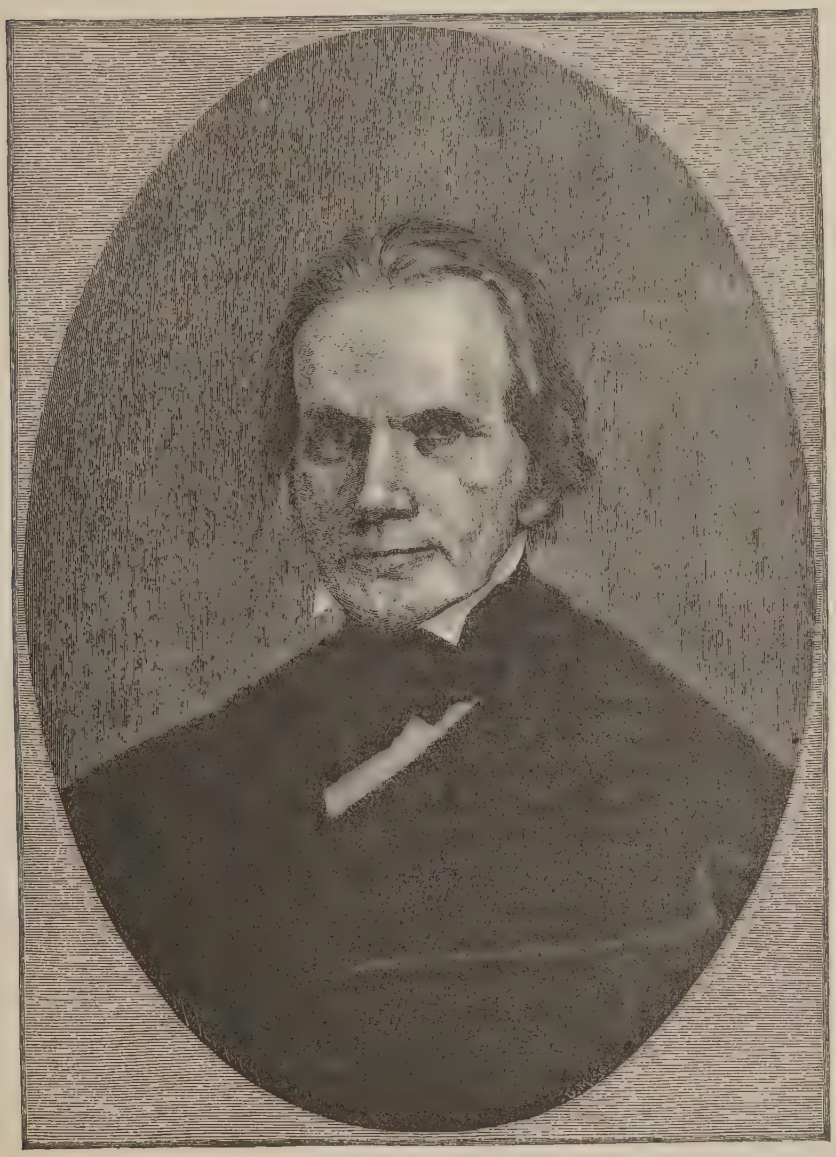
The local Assemblies of the colonies had assumed unto themselves gradually what may be called the prerogatives of legislation. They enacted laws on the whole range of subjects political, industrial, social, and ecclesiastical. They did not hesitate to attempt to solve any of the questions which arose from time to time, and as they attempted the solution of the economic questions of the colonies, they departed further and further from the strict interpretation of their charters, and made laws less and less "as near as may be conformable to the laws of England." But the Assemblies were uniform in claiming and in exercis-

ing the right of levying taxes. As delegates of the people, they assumed the exclusive right of distributing the burden of the State upon the inhabitants. This assumption was never acknowledged by the King or by Parliament; for it was an assumption which denied the sovereignty of the King, and the supremacy of Parliament in legislation. The liberty to levy taxes was the greatest privilege in practical government claimed by the Americans of the colonial era, and the winning of colonial independence was the victory of freedom in taxation.

While the latent tendency in the colonies was undoubtedly toward union, it may be said that there never existed colonies which exhibited stronger tendencies to diversity than the English colonies in America. The whole range of American life was toward individualism, and the freedom from those restrictions which ever characterize older communities favored the tendency. As the New England people went into the west, planting civil institutions in New York and along the southern shores of the Great Lakes, the individualistic tendencies in religion, in politics, in education, and invention strengthened with every wave of population. As the Virginians and the Carolinians passed over the mountains, they also were strengthened in their individualistic notions, and the founders of Kentucky and of Tennessee, while following their instincts and the customs of the tide-water region whence they came, enlarged upon their notions, and organized government under more liberal provisions than those which prevailed eastward over the mountains. While the continental troops were winning the victories of the Revolution, the settlers in the State of Franklin were claiming independence.

It is an error to suppose that the people of the colonies were unanimous in demanding independence, or that the majority of them supported the idea or, it may be said, ever understood its true meaning. The thirteen Colonies entered upon the struggle at a time when the United Kingdom was unable to compel them to submit to the legislation of Parliament. England possessed no great soldiers who could direct her armies in America; the colonies were therefore free to convert all the advantages of their isolation into a strong self-defense. Colonial legislation had isolated them, the imperfect facilities in transportation isolated them, and the whole tendencies of colonial institutions strengthened them in this isolation.

The assumption of the taxing power by the Lower House in the several colonies, and its persistent exercise for more than a century and a half, necessarily brought Parliament and the local Assemblies into collision. The Navigation Acts and the Stamp Act were financial measures of Parliament for the purpose of raising an imperial revenue in the colonies. A clearer idea is gained of the reasons for the hostility against this Parlimentary measure when we reflect that no common taxing power was known to the colonists; the



HENRY CLAY.

local Legislature of each colony was supreme within its jurisdiction; a proposition for a continental power which could levy a tax for continental purposes had never been entertained by the colonists and they would have resented a proposition emanating from among themselves for continental taxation quite as quickly as they resented the proposition in Parliament to levy a tax on tea. The continuous legislation of the local Assemblies had taught the Americans to believe that local interests were supreme. It can now be seen that the Stamp Act and the Tea Tax operated to compel the colonies toward the union which they would in all probability never have made of themselves without this external pressure.

The throwing overboard of the tea in Boston harbor is a picturesque incident in American history, because it stands for the fundamental idea of American right—the right of the taxpayer to levy taxes through his representative.

As soon as Parliament closed the port of Boston, a latent tendency in American affairs was displayed in various parts of the country, and nowhere more clearly than in Virginia, where Patrick Henry, in an address to the Convention of delegates, with vision enlarged by the tendency of affairs, declared the relations of the colonies to the home government. Petitions, remonstrances, supplications, and prostrations before the throne had been in vain; "the inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending," the privileges of independent colonial taxation and of choosing delegates to levy the taxes, could be preserved only by war; "three millions of people armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us." For the first time Massachusetts and Virginia were united in a common sense of danger, and the danger consisted chiefly in the denial of the right of the local legislature, chosen by qualified electors, to levy a tax, and the assumption of the exclusive right of the British Parliament to levy a continental tax directly, ignoring the popular branch of the colonial Legislatures.

From a consideration of colonial finances it seems clear that the Americans were not so unwilling to pay a trifling duty on tea, on legal papers, and on painters' material, as they were to admit the right of the British Parliament itself to levy the tax. Had the proposition to tax America embodied a provision that the tax should be levied by the local Legislatures, the American Revolution would have been long delayed. It cannot be said that the Americans would have accepted representation in Parliament as a compensation for the tax. The first Declaration of Rights, in 1765, had settled that point. The American colonists were English subjects, and entitled to all the rights and liberties of natural born subjects within the kingdom of Great Britain, and, exercising the undoubted rights of Englishmen they insisted "that no tax be imposed on them but with

their own consent, given personally or by their representatives," and "that the people of these colonies are not, and from their local circumstances cannot be, represented in the House of Commons in Great Britain," and "that the only representatives of the people of these colonies are persons chosen therein by themselves, and that no taxes ever have been or can be constitutionally imposed on them but by their respective Legislatures." All supplies to the crown were "the free gifts of the people." The claim of the Americans at that time might be illustrated if the people of the United States should now insist that the revenue for the National Government should be collected through the lower branch of the State Legislatures, but to make the illustration go on all fours we should have to suppose that the people of the several States were not represented and did not care to be represented in Congress.

The objection to an imperial tax involved the whole issue of the war, for it involved the fundamental idea of government in America, the idea of representative government. It was not representation of the Americans in the British parliament, it was the representation of the Americans in their own Legislatures. One of the tests of independence is the possession of the right to levy taxes; if England withdrew her claim to levy a continental tax directly through Parliament, the independence of the colonies was at once acknowledged. It is evident then that the question of taxation goes to the foundation of American institutions, and from the time of the calling of the House of Burgesses in 1619 unto the present hour, the definition of liberty in America has depended upon the use or the abuse of the taxing power. As soon as the Continental Congress attempted to levy a tax, it became unpopular.

The time from the revolt against the stamp duties in 1775 to the inauguration in 1789 of the National Government under which we live has been called the critical period of American history. It was a period which displayed all the inaptitude of the Americans for sound financiering. There is hardly an evil in finances that cannot be illustrated by some event in American affairs at that time. The Americans began the war without any preparation, they conducted it on credit, and at the end of fourteen years three millions of people were five hundred millions of dollars or more in debt. The exact amount will never be known. Congress and the State Legislatures issued paper currency in unlimited quantities and upon no security. The Americans were deceived themselves in believing that their products were essential to the welfare of Europe, and all European nations would speedily make overtures to them for the control of American commerce. It may be said that the Americans wholly over-estimated their importance in the world at that time; they thought that to cut off England from American commerce would ruin England; they thought that the bestowal of their commerce upon France would enrich France so much

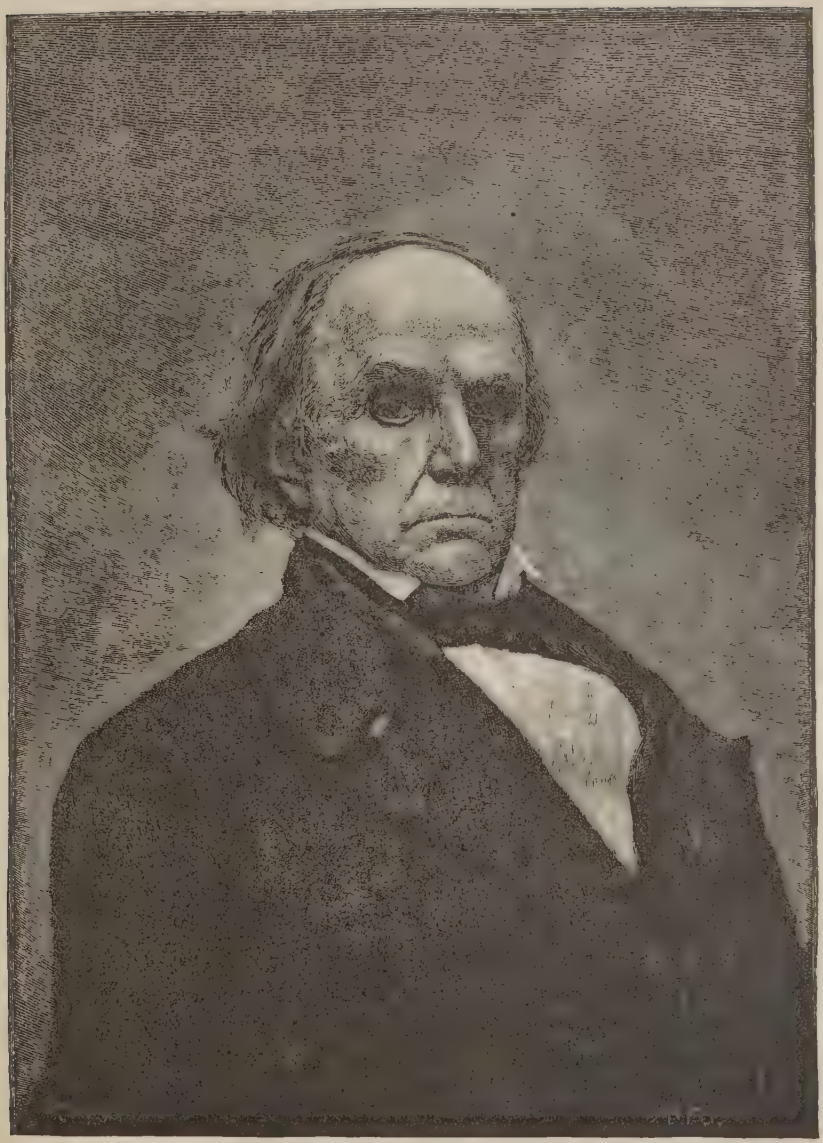
that the French King, for so inestimable a privilege, could well afford to loan them, and even to give them, money.

The doctrine of the rights of man ran riot in America. Paper currency became the infatuation of the day. It was thought that paper currency would meet all the demands for money, would win American independence. Even so practical a man as Franklin, then in France, said: "This effect of paper currency is not understood on this side the water; and, indeed, the whole is a mystery even to the politicians, how we have been able to continue a war four years without money, and how we could pay with paper that had no previously fixed fund appropriated specifically to redeem it. This currency, as we manage it, is a wonderful machine: it performs its office when we issue it; it pays and clothes troops and provides victuals and ammunition, and when we are obliged to issue a quantity excessive, it pays itself off by depreciation."

If the taxing power is the most august power in government, the abuse of the taxing power is the most serious sin government can commit. No one will deny that the Americans are guilty of committing most grievous financial offenses during the critical period of their history. They abused liberty by demanding and by exercising the rights of nationality, and at the same time by neglecting or refusing to burden themselves with the taxation necessary to support nationality.

It has long been the custom to describe the American Revolution as a righteous uprising of an abused people against a cruel despot; we were taught in school that taxation without representation was tyranny, and that our fathers fought the war out on this broad principle. Much of this assumption is true, but it is also true that the winning of American independence was not complete until Americans had adequately provided for the wants of nationality by authorizing their representatives in State Legislatures and in the Congress of the United States to support the dignity which liberty had conferred, by an adequate system of common taxation. We now consider the American Revolution as the introduction to American nationality.

The hard necessities which brought the Americans to a consciousness of their obligations, led to the calling of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787. If the liberty of self-government was won by the war, it was secured by the Constitution; for the first effort toward a national government, the old Confederation, utterly failed, for lack of a Supreme Legislative, a Supreme Executive, and a Supreme Judiciary. The government under the Articles of Confederation broke down wholly in its effort to collect money. This collapse of the Confederation emphasized the difference between the theory and the administration of government, for the articles of Confederation and the Declaration of Independence emanated from two committees appointed the same day: the report of one committee was the Declaration of Independence, which was



DANIEL WEBSTER.

debated but little and universally adopted a few days after it was reported; the report of the other committee, the Articles of Confederation, was debated in Congress for more than a year and in the State Legislatures for nearly five years, and when at last adopted, it was found that the Articles were wholly inadequate for the wants of the people. The reason for the different fate of these two instruments is clear; the Declaration formulated a theory of government, it created no officers, it called for no taxes, it stated in a pleasing form opinions common to thoughtful men in the country, it formulated a pleasing theory for the foundation of government. On the other hand the Articles attempted to provide for the administration of government, it established offices and it called for taxes, and necessarily provoked support and hostility; for while men might agree as to the common theory of government in America, they speedily fell to differing about the methods of civil administration.

The inability of the Congress of the Confederation to legislate under the provisions of the Articles compelled their amendment; for while the exigencies of war had forced the colonies into closer union,—a "perpetual league of friendship," they had also learned additional lessons in the theory and administration of local government, for each of the colonies, with the exception of Connecticut and Rhode Island, had transformed colonial government into government under a constitution. The people had not looked to Congress as a central power, they considered it as a central committee of the States. The individualistic tendencies of the colonies strengthened when the colonies transformed themselves into commonwealths.

The struggle, which began between the thirteen colonies and the imperial Parliament, was now transformed into a struggle between two tendencies in America: the tendency toward sovereign commonwealths and the tendency toward nationality. The first commonwealth constitutions did not acknowledge the supreme authority of Congress; there was yet lacking that essential bond between the people and their general government, the power of the general government to address itself directly to individuals. Interstate relations in 1787 were scarcely more perfect than they had been fifteen years before. The understanding of American affairs was more common, but intimate political association between the commonwealths was yet unknown. The liberty of nationality had not yet been won. A peculiar tendency in American affairs from their beginning is seen in the succession of written constitutions, instruments peculiar to America. The commonwealths of the old Confederation demonstrated the necessity for a clearer definition of their relations to each other and of the association of the American people in nationality.

A sense of the necessity for commercial integrity led to the calling of the Philadelphia Convention to amend the old Articles, but when the Convention assembled it was found that an adequate solution of the large problem of

nationality compelled the abandonment of the idea of amending the Articles and the formulation of a new constitution. As the Convention proceeded to frame the Supreme Law of the land, it moved in accord with the whole tendency of American affairs, establishing a National Government upon the representative idea, organizing a tripartite government, a Supreme Executive, a Supreme Legislative, and a Supreme Judiciary.

In the organization of the legislative department the representative idea was expressed in the Congress; the Upper House of which represented the commonwealths as corporations; the Lower House representing the people as individuals. Liberty in America received a more perfect definition in this arrangement; for had representation been based wholly on that which created the Senate or on that which created the House of Representatives, representation would not have been equitable. But the equities of representation were preserved by establishing two houses. In creating two houses, however, the peculiar power of the lower branch of the colonial Legislatures was continued by giving to the national House of Representatives the sole power "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, and to pay the debt, and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States." The complaint against the tea tax can never be raised against any tax levied by Congress, for the members of the House of Representatives are elected directly by the taxpayers, and the right of individual representation was forever secured.

Not only does the National Constitution guarantee this individual immunity,—the right of representation, but it also guarantees all the civil rights now known to civilized society. The "rights of man" so frequently on the lips of Americans of the Revolutionary period are defined in our National Constitution, particularly in the amendments which forever warrant to the citizens of the United States all that range of constitutional liberty which assures the largest definition of civil life. Freedom of speech and of conscience, the right of jury trial, exemption from unreasonable searches and seizures, the reservation to the people of all powers not delegated by them, the sovereignty of freedom as universally declared in the abolition of slavery, and the exercise of the franchise, show how the definition of liberty has become more and more perfect in the United States during the century.

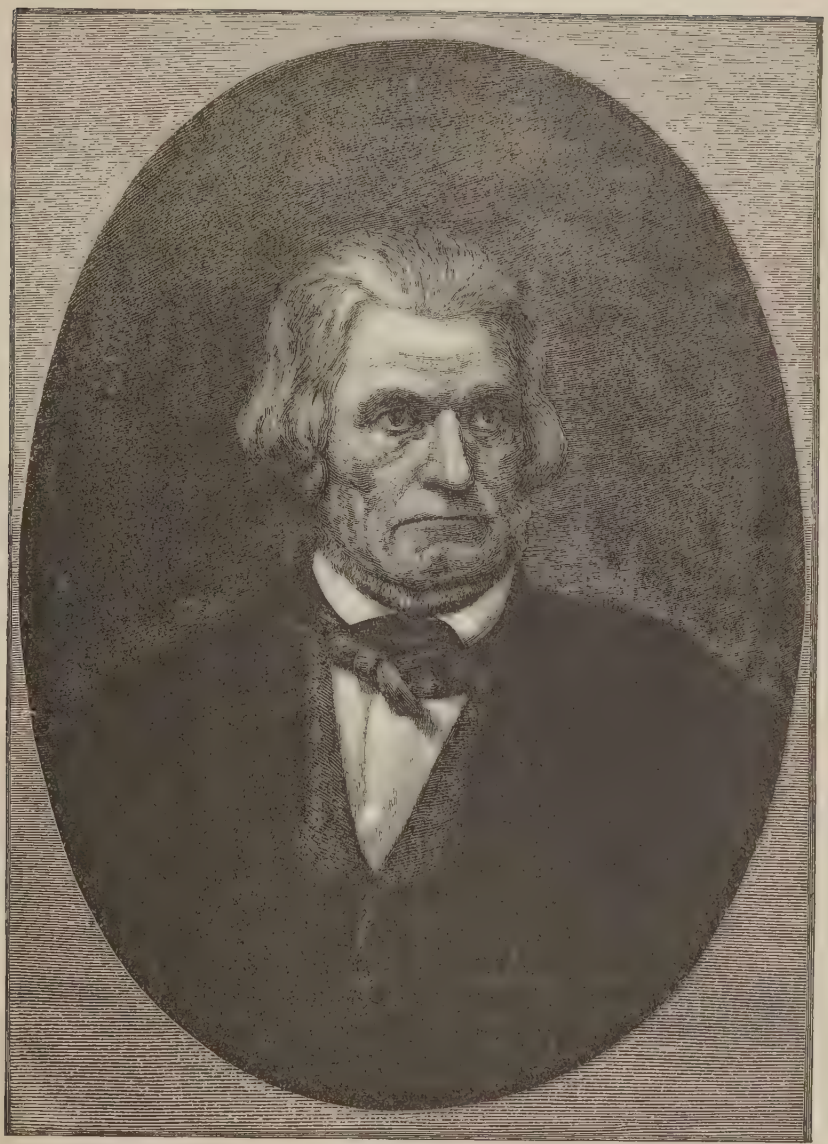
But the people who were capable of receiving a National Constitution like our own would not long endure the constitutions of commonwealths which fixed unreasonable limits on the rights of citizens. The first State constitutions were less liberal in their provisions than the National Constitution; nearly all of them limited the electorate in the commonwealth to a small body whose holding of real estate and whose religious notions were in accord with the conservative ideas of the colonial time. At the time of the making of the National Constitution, the property required of an elector varied in the dif-

ferent commonwealths. In New Jersey he must have property to the value of fifty pounds, in Maryland and the Carolinas an estate of fifty acres, in Delaware a freehold estate of known value, in Georgia an estate of ten dollars or follow a mechanic trade; in New York, would he vote for a member of Assembly he must possess a freehold estate of twenty pounds, and if he would vote for State Senator, it must be a hundred. Massachusetts required an elector to own a freehold estate worth sixty pounds or to possess an annual income of three pounds. Connecticut was satisfied that his estate was of the yearly value of seven dollars, and Rhode Island required him to own the value of one hundred and thirty-four dollars in land. Pennsylvania required him to be a freeholder, but New Hampshire and Vermont were satisfied with the payment of a poll-tax.

The number of electors was still further affected by the religious opinions required of them. In New Jersey, in New Hampshire, in Vermont, in Connecticut, and in South Carolina, no Roman Catholic could vote; Maryland and Massachusetts allowed "those of the Christian religion" to exercise the franchise, but the "Christian religion" in Massachusetts was of the Congregational Church. North Carolina required her electors to believe in the divine authority of the Scriptures; Delaware was satisfied with a belief in the Trinity and in the inspiration of the Bible; Pennsylvania allowed those, otherwise qualified, to vote who believed "in one God, in the reward of good, and the punishment of evil, and in the inspiration of the Scriptures." In New York, in Virginia, in Georgia, and in Rhode Island, the Protestant faith was predominant, but a Roman Catholic, if a male resident, of the age of twenty-one years or over, could vote in Rhode Island.

The property qualifications which limited the number of electors were higher for those who sought office. Would a man be governor of New Jersey or of South Carolina, his real and personal property must amount to ten thousand dollars; in North Carolina to one thousand pounds; in Georgia an estate of two hundred and fifty pounds or of two hundred and fifty acres of land; in New Hamsphire of five hundred pounds; in Maryland of ten times as much, of which a thousand pounds must be of land; in Delaware he must own real estate; in New York it must be worth a hundred pounds; in Rhode Island, one hundred and thirty-four dollars; and in Massachusetts a thousand pounds. Connecticut required her candidate for governor to be qualified as an elector, as did New Hampshire, Vermont, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. In all the commonwealths the candidate for office must possess the religious qualifications required of electors.

From these things it followed that the suffrage in the United States was limited when, after the winning of American independence, the Constitution of the United States was framed and the commonwealths had adopted their first



JOHN C. CALHOUN.

constitutions of government. It may be said that in 1787 the country was bankrupt, America was without credit, and that of a population of three million souls, who, by our present ratio, would represent six hundred thousand voters, less than one hundred and fifty thousand possessed the right to vote. African slavery and property qualifications excluded above four hundred thousand men from the exercise of the franchise. It is evident then, at the time when American liberty was won, American liberty had only begun ; the offices of the country were in the possession of the few, scarcely any provision existed for common education, the roads of the country may be described as impassable, the means for transportation, trade, and commerce were feeble. If the struggle for liberty in America was not to be in vain, the people of the United States must address themselves directly to the payment of their debts, to the enlargement of the franchise, to improvements in transportation, and to the creation, organization, and support of a national system of common taxation. It is these great changes which constitute the history of this country during the present century.

By 1830 the people had moved westward, passing over the Appalachian mountains whose forests had so long retarded the movements of population, and having reached the eastern edge of the great central prairie, they rapidly spread over the Northwest Territory, successively founding the five great commonwealths which were created north of the river Ohio. This vast migration of not less than five millions of people carried westward the New England idea of government modified by the ideas prevailing in New Jersey, in Pennsylvania, and in New York. Along the highway which extends from Boston to Chicago sprang up a cordon of thriving towns which have since become prosperous cities. The school-house, the church, and the printing-press were at the foundation of the civil structure.

The forests of western New York, in the first decade of the century, were burned in order to clear the land, and from the ashes were made the pearlash or "salts," which, after great labor, were delivered in Canada or at Pittsburgh, and the silver money in payment was returned as taxes and for payment of the homestead. A generation later and the pine forests of New York were no longer burned, but among them were built innumerable mills which speedily transformed them into lumber which, floated down the Genesee, found an outlet in the Erie Canal, and a market in New York. The great canal of 1826 between Albany and Buffalo brought the Northwest to the market of the Atlantic seaboard, and raised the value of land, of labor, and of all productions throughout the northern States.

By this time too the children of the Old Dominion had passed over the mountains and had located plantations in Kentucky and in Missouri, and the territory south of the river Ohio had become a region of prosperous communities.

About the time of the building of the Erie Canal, property qualifications had disappeared from nearly all the American commonwealths. It was in 1829, in the Convention of Virginia, called to frame a new Constitution for the people

THE STATUE OF LIBERTY IN NEW YORK HARBOR.
(*Presented to the United States by Bartholdi.*)

of that commonwealth, that one of the last debates in America discussed the retention of the property qualification. It was said in that Convention, by President Monroe, "My object is to confine the elective franchise to an interest in land; to some interest of moderate value in the territory of the Common-

wealth. What is our country? Is it anything more than our territory; and why are we attached to it? Is it not the effect of our residence in it, either as the land of our nativity or the country of our choice, our adopted country; and of our attachment to its institutions? And what excites and is the best evidence of such attachment? Some hold in the territory, which is some interest in the soil, something that we own, not as passengers or voyagers who have no property in the State and nothing to bind them to it; the object is to give firmness and permanency to our attachment, and these (the property qualification) are the best means by which it may be accomplished."

The conservative opinions of the distinguished Monroe were supported by the Convention and the Constitution framed for Virginia at that time required of the elector that he should be a white male citizen of the Commonwealth, twenty-one years of age and upward, and possess "an estate of freehold in land of the value of twenty-five dollars."

By the middle of the century public opinion had changed the provisions in the State Constitutions and abolished the property qualification of the elector: this limitation on citizenship disappeared about thirty years after the disappearance of the religious qualifications. From the introduction of government into the colonies these two qualifications had been intimately associated together.

But liberty was not complete so long as the right to vote was limited to "free male white citizens." The history of the winning of universal suffrage is the history of the United States till the thirtieth of March, 1870, when the right of citizens of the United States to vote, a right that cannot be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, was proclaimed in force by Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State in the administration of President Grant.

With this provision inserted in the Constitution of the United States, all commonwealth constitutions at once, as subordinate to the Supreme Law of the land, were made to conform, and although the National Constitution did not give the right to vote, it led practically to the admission of male persons of any race or color or from a previous condition of servitude to the body of the American electorate. Universal suffrage, against which earnest patriots like Monroe had at one time raised their voices, at last became the common condition of American political life. The struggle for liberty of 1776 was not ended as an effort to realize the "political rights of man" until 1870.

Within recent years the Union has become a Union of forty-four States. The stream of population which has developed this Union has moved in three great currents. The northern current is from New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, along the line of the forty-second parallel. In the early years of the century this course was a convergence of smaller streams from various parts of New England at Albany, thence westward along the bridle path to Utica, Syracuse,

Rochester, Buffalo, Erie, Cleveland, and Chicago. The "main road" from Boston to Chicago is the original line of this current, which by reason of the increase in travel and transportation has been paralleled successively by the Erie Canal, by sail-boat and steam-boat lines on the Great Lakes, and later by several railroad lines; the New York Central, the West Shore, the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, the Canada Southern, and their connecting lines at Chicago, with the Trunk lines of the Northwest, have given to the entire northern half of the United States a uniform and distinct character in their customs and laws. The width of this northern stream is plainly marked by the northern boundary of the United States, and by the varying line of settlements on the southern edge, of which the principal are from Trenton, New Jersey, to Franklin in Pennsylvania; Columbus, Ohio; Indianapolis, Indiana; Springfield, Illinois; the southern boundary of Iowa, Kansas City, and thence westward in scattered settlements, including a portion of northern California, northern Oregon, and northern Washington. All the States within this area have been settled by people from the older eastern States, especially from New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

The second current of population, which may be called the Virginia current, moved westward and southwestward over the area extending from the Potomac river and the northern boundary of North Carolina on the east, and widening as it coursed westward to the Ohio river on the north, including the State of Missouri, the southern portion of Kansas and Colorado, and thence to the Pacific, excluding the greater part of northern California. The southern boundary of this stream extended from the Carolinas southwestward, but included the greater part of Georgia, Alabama, and the States and Territories directly west of the eighty-third meridian (Pittsburg) and from the thirty-first to the forty-first parallel. Within this area the States as settled have contributed to the population of the States immediately west of them, imparting uniformity to the government and institutions of the States and Territories within this zone of settlements.

The third and more recent line of movement has been along the Atlantic seaboard, beginning at various ports on that line, but especially at ports receiving large numbers of immigrants; continuing from town to town along that line from Portland Maine, to New Orleans and the eastern towns of Florida, and also Galveston and Austin, Texas, and thence westward into the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona, into southern California, and thence northwestward into Oregon, Washington and Montana. This line of the movement of population has been marked since 1865 and has been intensified and widened by the rapid construction of railroads.

Along the northern or New England line of settlements have also moved the millions of immigrants from European countries in the corresponding latitude:

from Germany, from Scandinavia, from Austria, from Russia, and from the British Isles. Along the middle or Virginia line moved a native population, chiefly from the older southern States, which spent its force at the foot of the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. The Virginia stream has been second in size to that of New England. The recent coast stream has combined Northern and Southern and foreign elements, and reaching Washington and Montana by a backward flow, it presents for the first time in our national history a meeting of northern and of southern elements north of the latitude of Kansas.

With the westward movements of the millions of human beings who have occupied the North American continent have gone the institutions and constitutions of the east, modified in their journey westward by the varying conditions of the life of the people. The brief constitutions of 1776 have developed into extraordinary length by successive changes and additions made by the more than seventy Constitutional Conventions which have been held west of the original thirteen States. These later constitutions resemble elaborate legal codes rather than brief statements of the fundamental ideas of government. But these constitutions, of which those of the Dakotas and of Montana and Washington are a type, express very clearly the opinions of the American people in government at the present time. The earnest desire shown in them for an accurate definition of the theory and the administration of government proves how anxiously the people of this country at all times consider the interpretation of their liberties, and with what hesitation, it may be said, they delegate their powers in government to Legislatures, to Judges, and to Governors.

The struggle for liberty will never cease, for with the progress of civilization new definitions of the wants of the people are constantly forming in the mind. The whole movement of the American people in government, from the simple beginnings of representative government in Virginia, when the little Parliament was called, to the present time, when nationality is enthroned and mighty Commonwealths are become the component parts of the "more perfect union," has been toward the slow but constant realization of the rights and liberties of the people. Education, for which no Commonwealth made adequate provision a century ago, is now the first care of the State. Easy and rapid transportation, wholly unknown to our fathers, is now a necessary condition of daily life. Trade has so prospered that "in the year 1891 the loan and trust companies, the State savings and private banks loaned in personal securities alone two billions and sixty millions of dollars," and the accumulated wealth of the country is sixty billions of dollars. Newspapers, magazines, books and pamphlets are now so numerous as to make it impossible to contain them all in one library, and the American people have become the largest class of readers in the world.

A century ago there were but six cities of more than eight thousand

people in this country ; the number is now four hundred and forty-three. Three millions of people have become seventy millions. The area of the original United States has expanded from eight hundred and thirty thousand square miles to four times that area. With expansion and growth and the amelioration in the conditions of life, the earnest problems of government have been brought home to the people by the leaders in the State, by the clergy, by the teachers in schools and colleges, and by the press.

But though we may be proud of these conquests, we are compelled in our last analysis of our institutions to return to a few fundamental notions of our government. We must continue the representative idea based upon the doctrine of the equality of rights and exercised by representative assemblies founded on popular elections ; and after our most pleasing contemplation of the institutions of America, we must return to the people, the foundation of our government. Their wisdom and self-control, and these alone, will impart to our institutions that strength which insures their perpetuity.

FRANCIS NEWTON THORPE.

A PALM GROVE IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.

MAMMOTH HOT SPRINGS OF GARDINER'S RIVER, YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK, WITH TERRACES OF TRAVERTINE OR CALCAREOUS TUFA.

CHAPTER X.

PATHFINDERS AND PIONEERS.

DANIEL BOONE.

BOONE'S name was among the most prominent and his life one of the most exciting as well as useful of the early pioneers. His name is indissolubly connected with Kentucky. Boone's father emigrated from Bucks County, Pennsylvania, to North Carolina when Daniel was a boy. Grown to manhood, here the future pioneer married Rebecca Bryan, their life being such as was common in the backwoods settlements of that time. A young man marrying then did not start with a competency. Boone, like David Crockett, thought that when he had offered his broad hand and stout heart to the girl of his choice he had given her property enough to start with. Household furniture was of such simple pattern as could be made with an axe and a saw, while clothes were homespun or shaped from the dressed skins of animals, and dyed by utilizing the butternut and goldenrod. A woman's holiday costume was of her own make from first to last, and a man's best suit had been previously worn by a deer.

The political troubles in North Carolina, the imposition of illegal fines and taxes, no doubt made many settlers besides the Boones anxious to escape to some more favored region. Perhaps the love for adventure, the fertility of resource, hardiness, accuracy of aim and coolness in danger which Boone displayed throughout his life was owing somewhat to the training he received during the Indian troubles, and especially the Seven Years' War, in which he served. However it was acquired, we know that he developed a steady and cold character, with great perseverance and a remarkable love of nature.

Boone had a forerunner, who was Dr. Thomas Walker, of Virginia. This gentleman, fired by hunters' accounts of Western lands, now the State of Tennessee, started in company with Colonels Woods, Patton, and Buchanan, and a number of hunters and others, on an exploring tour. To them are due the names of the Cumberland Mountains, Gap, and River, which with one single exception are the only names of purely English origin in earlier Tennessee geography.

At that time Tennessee was claimed as part of Virginia, which State made grants of its territories. Twelve years later Dr. Walker again passed over Clinch and Powell's Rivers and penetrated into what is now Kentucky. Others followed in his footsteps as far as Tennessee and some probably into Kentucky. That Daniel Boone was with one of these expeditions as far back as 1760 is considered to have been proven by the discovery of his name carved, with a date, upon an old tree near the stage road between Jonesboro and Blountsville, in the valley of Boone's Creek, which is a tributary of the Watauga. The legend inscribed on the tree runs thus: "D. BOON cilled a BAR on tree in THE year 1760."

A MUSK-OX HUNT.

A hunter named John Finley penetrated into Kentucky some time after this and brought back marvelous accounts of the hunter's paradise he found there. Boone resolved to go into this new country. The preparations for his departure took time. Even homespun and deerskin had to be gotten ready; the necessary money for the maintenance of his family had to be provided; and when, finally, all was ready, Boone shouldered his rifle and started with John Finley, John Steuart, Joseph Holden, James Moncey, and William Cool, to traverse a mountainous wilderness for several hundred miles. Our pioneer's physique at this time was perfect. He is described as being of full size, hardy, robust, and sinewy, with mild, hazel eyes.

After numerous hardships, which we have not space to chronicle, the explorers finally stood on a mountain crest overlooking the fertile valleys watered by the Kentucky River. There were herds of buffalo and of deer in sight, and evidences of game were everywhere plenty. The country was luxuriant almost beyond description in its vegetation, and it seemed indeed, as Finley had described it, "a hunter's paradise." From the cane-brakes in the river bottoms to the forest trees that crowned the wooded hills, it appeared to be a land of peace and plenty. And yet this very territory had among the Indians a

DANIEL BOONE AND HIS BROTHER IN "HUNTERS' PARADISE."

name of ominous import; it was called "The dark and bloody ground." No one tribe made these valleys their home, although they were claimed by the Cherokees; but both Cherokee, Shawnee, and Chickasaw bands occasionally hunted over them, and they were the scene of many bloody feuds and forest encounters.

Boone and his party encamped within view of all this beauty and wealth of nature, in a rock-cleft over which had fallen a giant tree. This camp from time to time they improved and enlarged, as it remained their headquarters during the succeeding summer and autumn. In all that time they roamed and

hunted freely, finding abundance of game, exploring the country thoroughly, but meeting with none of the red men.

In the autumn of 1760 Boone and John Steuart one day left their companions and plunged into the forest for a little longer excursion than usual. One cannot but imagine what the scene must have been at that season of the year in the forest primeval. The rich luxuriance of vegetable life and the plentiful supply of game must have appealed strongly to the feelings of these hunters, whose sense of security had not yet been disturbed by any encounters. Of all this domain they had literally been in peaceful possession until then. Suddenly the feeling of safety was rudely dissipated by the appearance of a band of Indians, who surprised Boone and Steuart so completely that resistance was out of the question, and they were taken prisoners.

On the seventh night after the capture the Indians encamped in a cane-brake and built their fire. Perhaps the fatigue of a long march made them abate something of their customary caution; at all events, as they slept by the fire, Boone, who was always on the alert, saw his opportunity to extricate himself from among them and escape. Refusing, however, to abandon his companion, although knowing that the risk of waking him was very great, as the slightest noise would alarm their captors, he went to where Steuart was sleeping, and taking hold of him, succeeded in rousing him without noise. By morning the hunters were far away on their return to camp, where they arrived without being overtaken, only to find that Finley and the others had disappeared. They were never heard of again.

Early in the next year Squire Boone, Daniel's brother, arrived with a companion. On their approach to camp they were sharply challenged, not being at once recognized; but the meeting was naturally one of great rejoicing when the hermits found who their visitors were. Now, for the first time during his long banishment from home, Boone heard from his family, received messages from his wife, and learned how his boys were progressing with the little farm. It was not long after the arrival of Squire Boone that Boone and Steuart were again attacked by the Indians, and this time Steuart was killed. Following this, Squire Boone's companion strayed from camp and never returned. That left the two brothers entirely alone, and as ammunition was running low the later comer decided to return home and get the necessary supplies. We hardly know which to admire most, the courage of the man who would face the perils of that return journey by himself, or the fortitude of the other who remained alone in that wild country, infested by his enemies, where for three months he constantly shifted his camp to avoid discovery. From his own account of this part of his life we find, however, that those days which he passed alone in the wild woods of Kentucky, depending upon his own skill and vigilance, eluding his enemies and tracking his game, were far from being the least pleasant in his life. After

three months Squire Boone returned, and together the brothers pursued their calling once more, until finally, with a very thorough knowledge of the country and its capabilities, Daniel Boone returned to his family in North Carolina.

Boone's account of what he had seen, of the game, the fertility of the country, the beauty of the mountains and rivers, and of all that had so impressed his own imagination, is said to have set North Carolina on fire.

DEATH OF JOHN STEUART, BOONE'S FAITHFUL COMPANION.

And now, while the discoverer is preparing for still another start, we may explain the purpose of these several expeditions. As we have said, Kentucky,—that is, the southern part of it,—nominally belonged to the Cherokee Indians. It was claimed by Virginia and North Carolina and afterwards by Tennessee. A noted character of the day, Colonel Henderson, with several other gentlemen, concerted a scheme for the purchase of all that country from the Cherokees and the founding of an independent State or Republic, which should be called Transylvania. There is hardly a question that Boone's first expedition to

Kentucky and long sojourn there was undertaken in the employ of Colonel Henderson and his Land Company.

The second journey was unquestionably for the purpose of negotiating with the Cherokees, and making all the preliminary arrangements for the purchase of the tract. If his report of the nature of the land induced the formation of the Company, he was no less successful in conducting the second part of the business. When he had arranged terms with the Cherokees, Colonel Henderson joined him on the Watauga to conclude the bargain. There he met the Indians in solemn conclave, took part in their council, smoked the pipe, and paid in merchandise the purchase-money for Kentucky, receiving from the Indians a deed for the same.

Colonization was next in order, and Boone undertook with a party to open a road from the Holston River to the Kentucky River, and to erect stations or forts. Gathering a party for the purpose, on April 1st they succeeded, after a laborious march through the wilderness, in the course of which they lost several men, in arriving at the spot where Boonesborough now stands. There they fixed their camp and built the foundations for a fort. Near this place was a salt lick. A few days after the commencement of the fort another of the party was killed during an attack by Indians, but after that there was no disturbance for some time. This was the beginning of colonization in Kentucky. It was, of course, commenced under the impression that the Cherokee purchase was good, but the validity of the deed was at once denied by the Governor of North Carolina and also by the Government of Virginia as well as that of Tennessee. Each State, however, granted to the Land Company large tracts of land on the same territory, so that while unsuccessful in founding an independent Republic, Colonel Henderson and his associates became very wealthy. For a long time those who were doing the actual work on the frontier, bearing the hardships and the brunt of battle, did not know that any question had been raised as to the validity of the title under the Indian purchase, and still supposed themselves to be engaged in the founding of a Commonwealth.

A KENTUCKY FORT.

A fort at that day meant a structure of a very primitive kind. Butler, in his History of Kentucky, says: "A fort in those times consisted of pieces of timber sharpened at the ends and firmly lodged in the ground. Rows of these pickets enclosed the desired space which embraced the cabins of the inhabitants. One or more block houses, of superior care and strength, commanding the sides of the ditch, completed the fortifications or stations, as they were called. Generally, the sides of the interior cabins formed the sides of the fort."

About thirty or forty new settlers came to Boonesborough with Colonel Henderson, to whom Boone had written. So far the new-comers were all men. Before long, however, the leader returned for his own family, and others, to the

number of twenty-six men, four women, and half a dozen boys and girls, accompanied him back through the Cumberland Gap. Before arriving at Boonesborough the little caravan separated, part of them settling at another point, where they built a fort of their own. Mrs. Boone and her daughters were the first white women to arrive at Boonesborough to settle there. Other settlers followed with new colonies, and these began to make Kentucky their home. One of the stations was called Harrod's Old Cabin ; another was Logan. Among the men of prominence were Simon Kenton, John Floyd, Colonel Richard Callaway, and other names that appear again and again in the early annals of the country.

INDIAN CAPTURES.

At the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, the Indians, excited by the British, greatly disturbed and harassed the new settlers, and many of the latter, becoming frightened or discouraged, abandoned the promised land and went back to North Carolina. In 1775 the settlers still kept their faith in the Cherokee purchase, and holding this view, took leases from the Company, established courts of justice, and, through a Convention or Congress which met at Boonesborough made laws and provided for a militia organization. This Convention was the first of its kind ever held in the West.

Among the exciting episodes of the first years in Kentucky was the capture of one of Boone's daughters and two of Callaway's daughters by the Indians. The eldest of these girls was about twenty and the youngest fourteen years of age. They were sitting in a canoe under the trees which overhung the opposite bank of the river. There they were surprised by the Indians and taken away before their friends at the Fort discovered their peril. This happened so near nightfall that pursuit was impossible, but in the morning Boone and Floyd started in pursuit. They surprised the Indians that day as they halted to cook, and killing one or two, drove the rest away. Feeling their own force too weak for pursuit, they were glad to return with the almost heart-broken girls. The account of this, affording, as it did, evidence of the renewed hostility of the savages, induced nearly three hundred people to return to their homes during the next few months.

We cannot follow the fluctuating fortunes of the colonists or give a detailed account, interesting as that would be, of the incidents of border warfare. For a long time Kentucky was not recognized as a free State, and its people not acknowledged as citizens. Virginia still made claim to the territory, and yet when General George Clark was sent as a Representative to the Virginia House his claim was rejected by that party. Failing to receive recognition, Clark labored to obtain the independence of Kentucky as a State. This he finally succeeded in doing, in opposition to Colonel Henderson and others. The formation of Kentucky politically was first as a county of Virginia. It was the bulwark of

Virginia during the Indian troubles, and General Clark was nicknamed the Hannibal of the West. In 1786 the Virginia Legislature enacted the necessary provisions for permitting Kentucky to assume the position of a separate State on condition that the United States would admit her to the sisterhood, which was accomplished June 1, 1792.

Daniel Boone lost all his Kentucky property through carelessness or ignorance of legal forms, and after the prosperity and growth of the new State was fully assured he went to Virginia to begin life over again. There he stayed until the accounts brought from Missouri of the rich land and good hunting there aroused his pioneer spirit once more, and he again emigrated to settle in Spanish territory. He made his home in the Femme Osage district, over which, before long, he became military commander with a commission from the Spanish governor. Upon the acquisition of Missouri by the United States our backwoodsman again found himself stripped of his property. The Government under which he had been lately serving had presented him with ten thousand arpents of land (an arpent is eighty-five one-hundredths of an acre) to which he had neglected to secure or record his title. Through the intervention of the Kentucky Legislature in the Congress of the United States by a strong memorial, Boone was finally put in legal possession of the land.

Only once did the great Kentucky pioneer return to the country that he had explored and settled, where, according to his own account, he had lost so much. He says: "I may say that I have verified the words of the old Indian who signed Colonel Henderson's deed. Taking me by the hand at the delivery thereof, 'Brother,' he said, 'we have given you a fine land, but I believe you will have much difficulty in settling it.' My footsteps have often been marked by blood, and therefore I can truly subscribe to its original name. Two darling sons and a brother have I lost by savage hands, which have also taken from me forty valuable horses and abundance of cattle. Many dark and sleepless nights have I been a companion for owls, separated from the cheerful society of men, scorched by the summer's sun and pinched by the winter's cold, an instrument to settle the wilderness."

Boone's death occurred in 1820 at his home in Missouri. He was then in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

DAVID CROCKETT.

David Crockett, who died the last of those who were defenders of the Alamo in Texas, is one of the picturesque figures in American history. David, or, as he is familiarly called, "Davy" Crockett was born in 1786, of Irish-American parentage. His boyhood was spent in his father's cabin in Tennessee, from which he ran away, and, after various vicissitudes, took service with a Quaker, where he remained until his marriage. Then, after several years of hardship, he moved to

the Elk River country, and when the Creek War broke out he was living near Winchester, Tennessee. He became well known as an Indian fighter, one of his earliest services being in 1813, when at Beatty's Spring he was chosen by his captain to act as a scout with Major Gibson to go into the Creek country and reconnoitre. On the first day of his journey he lost the Major, but pushed on with five companions for sixty-five miles into the enemy's country, bringing back news of an important nature. The garrison was hastily fortified and General

EXPLORING THE ECHO RIVER, MAMMOTH CAVE, KENTUCKY.

Jackson summoned by express. We will not attempt to follow the details of this war. Crockett saw much vigorous fighting, was present at the burning of an Indian village (of the horrors of which he tells in his autobiography without the slightest apparent compunction), acted with Major Russell's "spies," and when he returned to his Tennessee home had quite a reputation as an Indian fighter.

After the Creek War Crockett was one of those who tried to bring order out

of the chaotic state in which Tennessee society was at that time. His home was among a reckless set, and the organization of a temporary government was imperative. Upon its formation Crockett was made Magistrate. Afterwards he became a member of the Legislature, although one of his biographers states that at this time he could hardly read a newspaper. Later in life he showed the acquisition of more "book learning," and the best account of his life and adventures is found in the autobiography which he left. His early success as a politician was due principally to his qualities of humor, good story-telling, hard sense, and true marksmanship with a rifle, a combination that is sure to win favor among backwoodsmen.

Crockett served in Congress two terms, and won national reputation and popularity as one of the "half horse, half alligator" class. His career in Washington was brought to an end by his quarrel with General Jackson, to whose party he had at first been an adherent. He then cast his lot with those who were battling for Texan independence, and died, as we have already noticed, with Travis and Bowie, at the Alamo.

Equally important with the exploration, settlement, and conquest of Kentucky and the Southwest were the expeditions of those who found a path through the great mountain divide and were the forerunners of those that should afterwards settle the Pacific slope.

LEWIS AND CLARK.

Among the earliest explorers of Rocky Mountain fame were Lewis and Clark, who, in 1804, were sent to command the expedition in search of the headwaters of the Columbia River and to mark its course. General Clark was the brother of George R. Clark, of whom mention has been made in an earlier part of this chapter. The family were from Virginia, but had become identified with the early history of Kentucky, and William Clark was known from his youth as an Indian fighter. At eighteen years of age he was made ensign, and in 1792 became a lieutenant of infantry, being appointed in the following year adjutant and quartermaster. He served on the frontier until 1796, when he resigned on account of ill health and went to reside in St. Louis. Seven years later President Jefferson offered him the rank of second lieutenant of artillery, to assume with Merriwether Lewis the command of the exploring expedition to the Columbia River.

Lieutenant Lewis was also a Virginian, whose first service had been in quelling the whiskey insurrection in Western Pennsylvania, in 1794. Afterward entering the regular army he rose to the rank of captain, was then private secretary to President Jefferson, and so won the President's respect and favor by his superior qualities of mind that he was appointed to the scientific and general command of the expedition of which we have just spoken.

Lewis and Clark left St. Louis in the summer of 1803. They encamped for the winter on the bank of the Mississippi opposite the mouth of the Missouri River. The company included nine Kentuckians, who were used to Indian ways and frontier life, fourteen soldiers, two Canadian boatmen, an interpreter, a hunter, and negro boatman. Besides this, a corporal and guard with nine boatmen, were engaged to accompany the expedition as far as the territory of the Mandans.

THE FAR WEST—YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK.

The party carried with it the usual goods for trading with the Indians, looking glasses, beads, trinkets, hatchets, etc., and such provision as were necessary for the sustenance of its members. While the greater part of the command embarked in a fleet of three large canoes, the hunters and packhorses paralleled their course along the shore. In this way, in the spring of 1804, the ascent of the Mississippi was commenced. In June the country of the Osages was reached, then the lands occupied by the Ottawa tribes, and finally, in the fall, the hunting grounds of the Sioux. Here the leaders of the expedition

ordered cabins to be constructed, and camped for the winter among the Mandans, in latitude 27° 21′ north. They found in that country plenty of game, buffalo and deer being abundant; but the weather was intensely cold and the expedition was hardly prepared for the severity of the climate, so that its members suffered greatly.

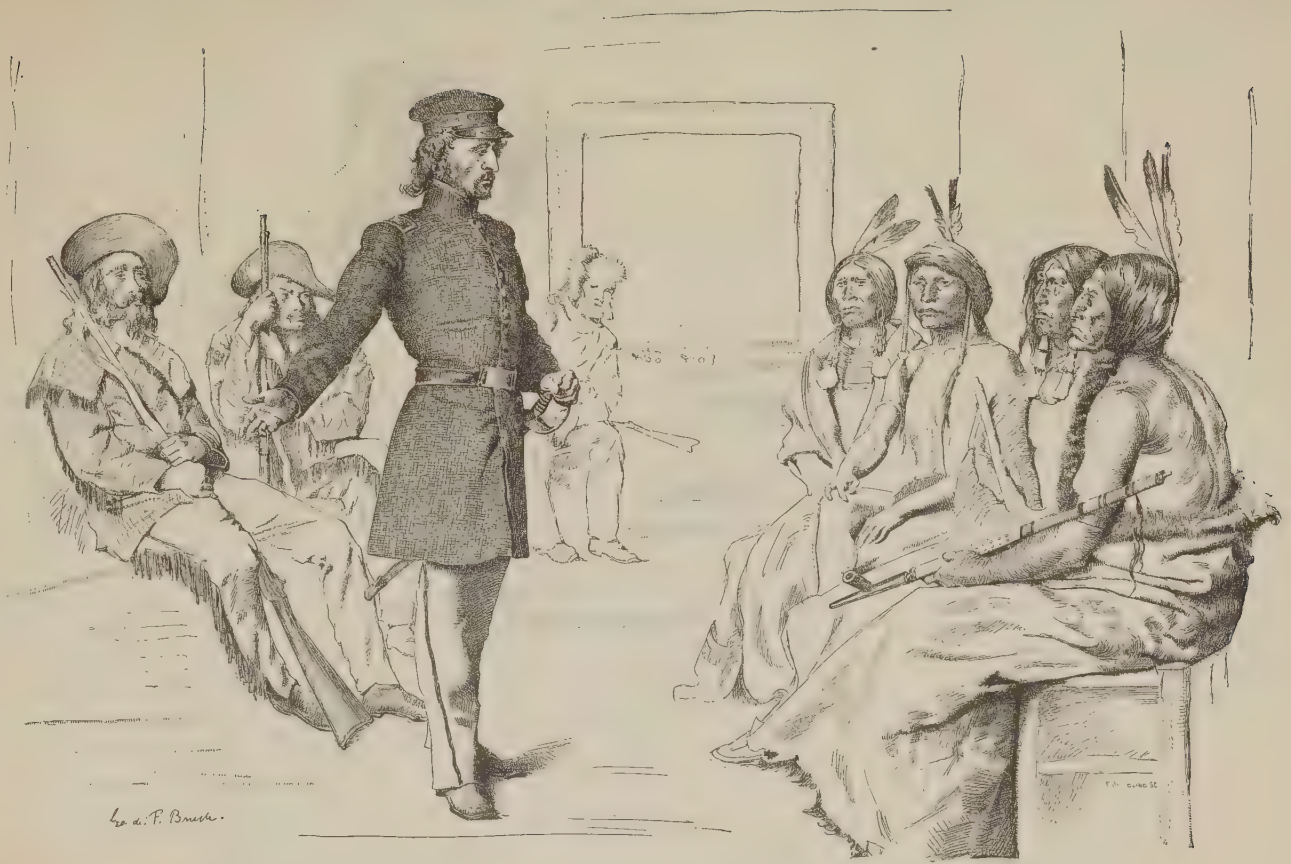
In April a fresh start was made and they ascended the Missouri, reaching the great falls by June. Here they named the tributary waters and ascended the Northernmost, which they called the Jefferson River, until further navigation was impossible; then Captain Lewis with three companions left the expedition in camp and started out on foot toward the mountains, in search of the friendly Shoshoné Indians, from whom he expected assistance in his projected journey across the mountains.

A RIVER WHICH RAN TO THE WEST.

On the twelfth of August he discovered the source of the Jefferson River in a defile of the Rocky Mountains and crossed the dividing ridge, upon the other side of which his eyes were gladdened by the discovery of a small rivulet which flowed toward the west. Here was proof irrefutable "that the great backbone of earth" had been passed. The intrepid explorer saw with joy that this little stream danced out toward the setting sun—toward the Pacific Ocean. Meeting a force of Shoshonés and persuading them to accompany him on his return to the main body of the expedition, Captain Lewis sought his companions once more. Captain Clark then went forward to determine their future course, and coming to the river which his companion had discovered he called it the Lewis River.

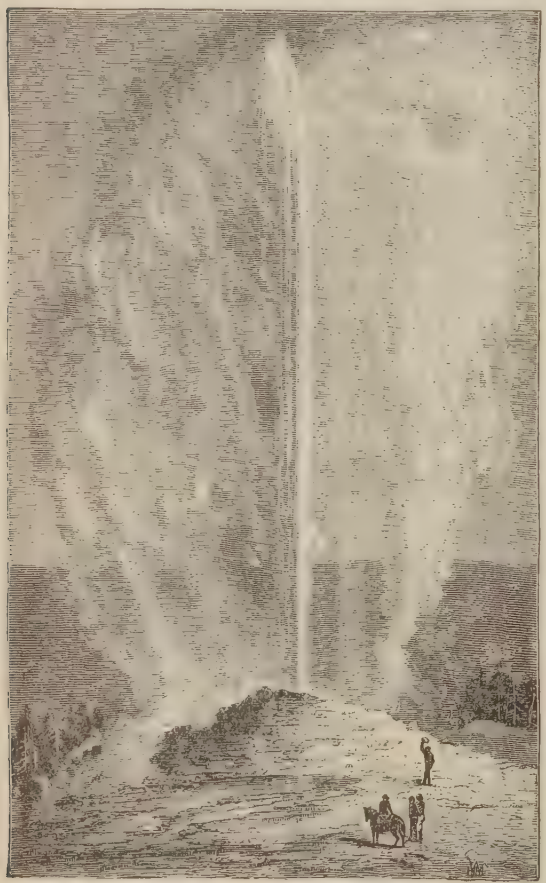
A number of Indian horses were procured from their red-skinned friends and the explorers pushed on to the broad plains of the western slope. The latter part of their progress in the mountains had been slow and painful, because of the early fall of snow, but the plains presented all the charm of early autumn. In October the Kaskaskia River was reached, and leaving the horses and whatever baggage could be dispensed with in charge of the Indians, the command embarked in canoes and descended to the Columbia River, upon the south bank of which, four hundred miles from their starting point, they passed the second winter. Much of the return journey was a fight with hostile Indians, and the way was much more difficult than it had been found while advancing toward the West. Lewis was wounded before reaching home, by the accidental discharge of a gun in the hands of one of his force.

Finally, after an absence of two years, the expedition returned, the leaders reaching Washington while Congress was in session, and grants of land were immediately made to them and to their subordinates. Captain Lewis was rewarded also with the governorship of Missouri. Clark was appointed briga-



FREMONT, THE GREAT PATHFINDER, ADDRESSING THE INDIANS AT FORT LARAMIE.

dier general for the territory of upper Louisiana, and in 1813 was appointed governor of Missouri, holding office till that territory became a state, after which he retired into private life till 1822, when Mr. Monroe made him Superintendent of Indian Affairs, which office he successfully filled until his death. Lewis's end was a sad one. An inherited tendency to melancholia developed itself and led him, after a long and useful career, to take his own life.



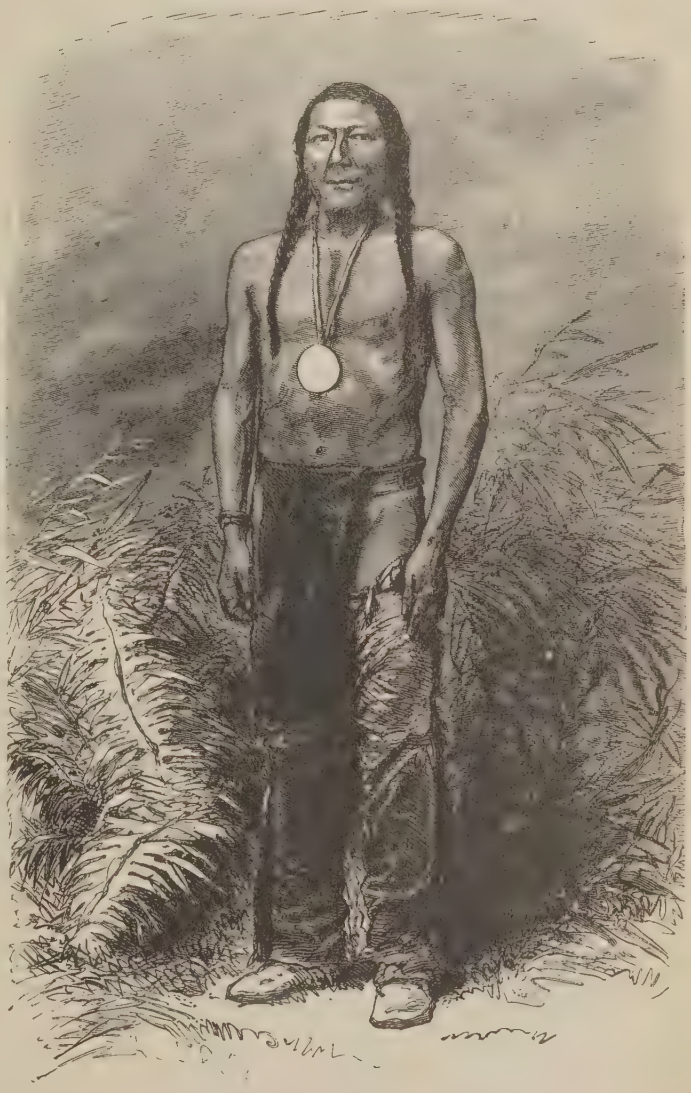
THE FAR WEST—GEYSER, YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK, IDAHO AND MONTANA.

Of later, though not less fame, were the successors of Lewis and Clark in the exploration of the Rocky Mountains and the plains beyond. We refer to General Fremont and his famous scout, Kit Carson. It may be said without exaggeration that in all human probability the reputation achieved by the young lieutenant and his subordinate in the South Pass was based upon a love adventure.

When in 1840 General Fremont was a second lieutenant, he was called to Washington, and while there met and fell in love with Jessie, the daughter of Thomas H. Benton. Colonel Benton liked the young Lieutenant, but thought that a fifteen-year-old daughter was altogether too young to contract an engagement, and failing in other efforts, he is thought to have procured the imperative order from the War Department which sent Fremont to explore the Rocky Mountains. Colonel Benton's influence at that time was paramount in Washington. The duty assigned was finished by Lieutenant Fremont, perhaps more speedily than would have been the case under other circumstances, and upon his return the lovers were secretly married; but the love for adventure and exploration had been fully kindled, and a plan was forming in the brain of the future Pathfinder to explore the whole Western country, to study its topography, facilities, etc. As a part of this

general scheme he was ordered, at his own request, to make a geographical survey of the Rocky Mountains, especially the South Pass.

While engaged in this work the explorer met Kit Carson, a professional hunter and trapper, who had been for eight years regular hunter for Bent's Fort. Fremont at once engaged him as hunter and scout. Many of those who are inclined to detract from the reputation belonging to the former have averred that the credit of the discoveries made was mainly due to Carson; but a knowledge of the fact that barometric observations, topographical data, and other scientific records beyond Carson's capacity were made, and not only so, but excited the admiration and attention of foreign as well as American authorities, shows such a charge to be without foundation. Yet the fame of the subsequent candidate for the Presidency will always be linked with that of the humbler companion whose knowledge of the frontier made so much success possible.



SHAWANÔH, THE UTE CHIEF WHO WAS SENT TO WASHINGTON IN 1863 TO TREAT WITH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

Carson was sent to Washington as a bearer of dispatches in 1847, and there received an appointment as lieutenant in the United States Rifle Corps. He was

afterward appointed Indian agent, a post for which his experience admirably fitted him.

Of other Western explorers, discoverers, and pioneers we have not space to speak in this chapter. We have sketched the lives and deeds of a few of the more prominent only, indicating how the West was opened for the march of the millions that have come after. We honor the brave men who risked everything and sacrificed everything to open the way, and cannot but believe, in the words of Daniel Boone, that they were "instruments to settle the wilderness."

VOLCANIC REEFS OF ARIZONA.

CHAPTER XI.

PUSHING BACK THE BOUNDARIES.

HE definitive treaty of peace between England and the United States, signed at Paris, France, September 3d, 1783, by the Duke of Manchester, and David Hartley, son of the great philosopher, accredited representatives of the King of Great Britain, was an exact transcript of the preliminary treaty which had been signed in the same city, November 30th, 1782, by Richard Oswald, commissioner for the English Ministry, and by Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and John Adams, the American commissioners. It was provided by that treaty that the boundary line of the United States should start at the mouth of the St. Croix River (named also the Passamaquoddy, and the Schoodic), which now divides the present State of Maine from British New Brunswick, and running to a point near Lake Madawaska in the highlands separating the Atlantic water-shed from that of the St. Lawrence River, should follow those highlands to the Connecticut River and then descend the middle of that stream to the forty-fifth parallel of latitude; thence running westward and through the centre of the water communications of the Great Lakes to the Lake of the Woods, and thence to the source of the Mississippi, which was supposed to be west of this lake. This line was marked in red ink, by Oswald, on one of Mitchell's maps of North America, in 1782, to serve as a memorandum establishing the precise meaning of the words used in the description. It ought to have been accurately fixed in its details, by surveys made upon the spot; but no commissioners were appointed for that purpose. The language relating to the north-eastern portion of this northern boundary line contained some inaccuracies, which were revealed by later surveys, and the map used by Oswald was lost. Hence a further question arose between Great Britain and the United States, which was not settled until the Ashburton treaty in 1842.* The nominal boundaries of many of the colonies with which the King entered into treaty, declaring them to be

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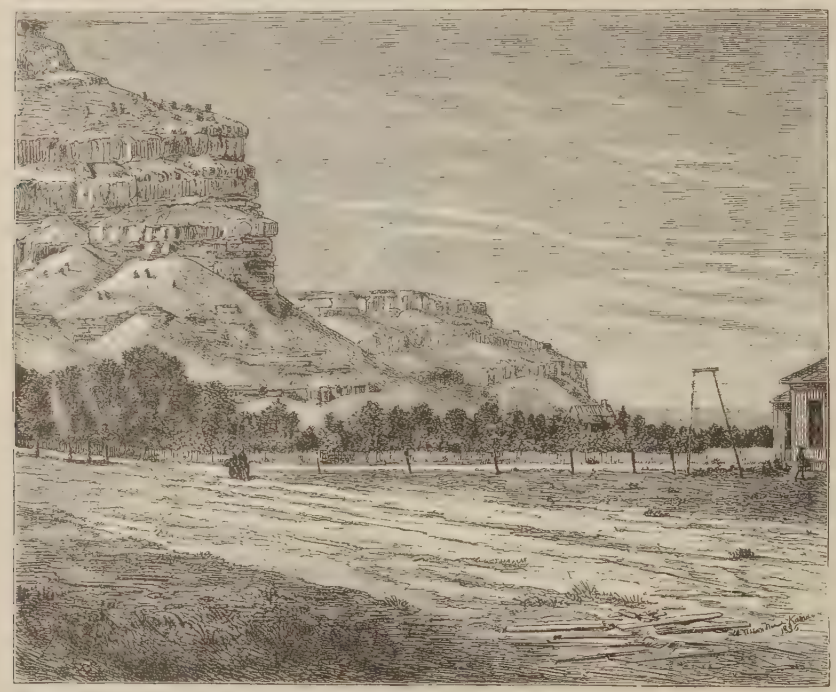
* Critical Period of American History. By John Fiske. 1891, pp. 25, 26.

"free, sovereign and independent States,"* as constituted by their charters, extended to the Pacific Ocean, but in practice they ceased at the Mississippi River. Beyond that river the sovereignty, by discovery, settlement, and active exercise, was vested in the King of Spain. Here, therefore, was the western boundary line, at the Mississippi River. On the south the Spanish possessions ran east from that river, and took in the lower portions of the present States of Mississippi and Alabama, with all the present State of Florida. The eastern line was the Atlantic Ocean, starting from about the thirty-first parallel of latitude and running north and east to the St. Croix, the point of departure.



GRANDE AVENUE.

It requires effort for one to carry the conception of these facts in mind, and recall the actualities of our national existence and activity as shut within these lines;—not to say to go behind them, and remember that there was then but very little United States to the west of the Alleghany Mountains. It is the aim of the present chapter to stimulate and aid this effort, pointing out

* New Hampshire; Massachusetts Bay; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations; Connecticut; New York; New Jersey; Pennsylvania; Delaware; Maryland; Virginia; North Carolina; South Carolina; Georgia.

the successive increments by which the present domain of the country took on its vast proportions, opening to general apprehension the simple truth of Berkeley's lines :—

"Westward the course of Empire takes its way;
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

The following statements exhibit the

ADMISSION OF STATES SINCE THE FORMATION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, A. D. 1789—IN THE ORDER OF TIME.

	A. D.
VERMONT, (Formed from portions of New York and New Hampshire.)	1791.
KENTUCKY, (Formed from Territory ceded to United States by Virginia.)	1792.
TENNESSEE, (Formed from Territory ceded to United States by the Carolinas.)	1796.
OHIO, (Formed from the Northwestern Territory.)	1802.
LOUISIANA, (Formed from the Louisiana Purchase.)	1812.
INDIANA, (Formed from the Northwestern Territory.)	1816.
MISSISSIPPI, (Formed from Territory ceded to United States by Georgia.)	1817.
ILLINOIS, (Formed from the Northwestern Territory.)	1818.
ALABAMA, (Formed from Territory ceded to United States by Georgia.)	1819.
MISSOURI, (Formed from Louisiana Purchase.)	1820.
MAINE, (Part of Colony of Massachusetts Bay from A. D. 1651.)	1820.
ARKANSAS, (Formed from the Louisiana Purchase.)	1836.
MICHIGAN, (Formed from the Northwestern Territory.)	1837.
FLORIDA, (Formed from Territory ceded by Spain, 1819.)	1845
TEXAS, (Annexed by vote of United States Congress.)	1845.
IOWA, (Formed from Louisiana Purchase.)	1846.
WISCONSIN, (Formed from Northwestern Territory.)	1848.

A. D.

CALIFORNIA, ... 1850.
(Formed from Territory acquired from Mexico.)

MINNESOTA, ... 1858.
(Formed from Louisiana Purchase and Northwestern Territory.)

OREGON, ... 1858.
(Claimed by United States by right of prior discovery.)

KANSAS, ... 1861.
(Formed from Louisiana Purchase.)

WEST VIRGINIA, ... 1863.
(Formed after secession of Virginia, 1861.)

NEVADA, ... 1864.
(Formed from territory acquired from Mexico.)

NEBRASKA, ... 1867.
(Formed from Louisiana Purchase.)

COLORADO, ... 1871.
(Formed from Territory acquired from Mexico, and from Louisiana Purchase.)

MONTANA, ... 1889.
(Formed from Louisiana Purchase.)

WASHINGTON, ... 1889.
(Claimed by United States by right of prior discovery.)

WYOMING, ... 1889.
(Formed from Louisiana Purchase.)

NORTH DAKOTA, ... 1889.
(Formed from Louisiana Purchase.)

SOUTH DAKOTA, ... 1889.
(Formed from Louisiana Purchase.)

IDAHO, ... 1890.
(Formed from Louisiana Purchase.)

For the sake of completeness, let there be added to the foregoing, these statements concerning the

TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1892.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (organized), ... 1791.
(Ceded to the United States by Maryland in 1788, and by Virginia in 1789; seat of United States Government located there, 1800.)

INDIAN TERRITORY (set apart), ... 1830.
(Formed from Louisiana Purchase.)

NEW MEXICO (organized), ... 1850.
(Formed from Territory acquired from Mexico.)

UTAH (organized), ... 1850.
(Formed from Territory acquired from Mexico.)

ARIZONA (organized), ... 1863.
(Formed from Territory acquired from Mexico.)

ALASKA (acquired), ... 1867.
(Purchased from Russia.)

OKLAHOMA (organized), ... 1889.
(Formed from Indian Territory.)

If we add to these statements that the forty-four States and seven Territories which make the United States of to-day, comprise, in the aggregate, an area of 3,602,990 square miles, and were peopled, in 1890, by 62,049,523 souls, we may have some adequate ground for a just contrast between the *status* of the country at the present time, and at the time when peace was made between King George III, of England, and our forefathers. For then it covered but 827,844 square miles, and had within it a population of, say, 3,000,000 persons. We are to trace, in some detail, the successive acquisitions out of which that increase has been derived which differences the United States wherein we live, and the United States of America at the close of the Revolution of 1775–83.

SEAL CATCHING IN ALASKA.

It is, doubtless, within the knowledge of few readers outside the closer students of American history, that before that time the prescient mind of George Washington was grappling, in earnest, with one of the two questions more imminent than others in the determination of that coming territorial expansion, the greatness and the nearness of which were both hidden from the vision of the men of that period. The first was the provision of lines of inter-communication between the whites who had settled in the Mississippi Valley, westward of the Alleghanies, and the inhabitants of the original thirteen States. This was essential in case the new settlements were to be permanently held within the Union, and the attention of Washington had doubtless been occupied by its consideration, rather than by that of the second, upon which we shall speedily touch. For,

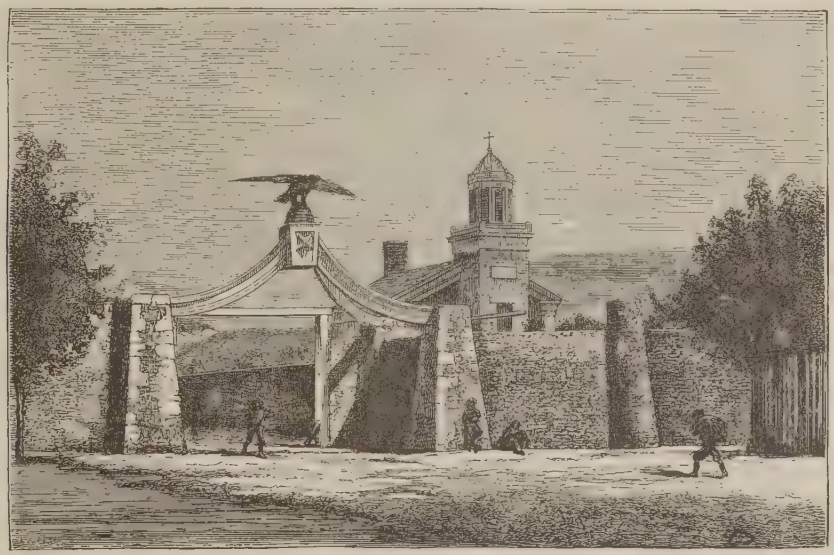
in 1784, a tour to Pittsburg, Pa., and a personal examination of the Alleghanies, had convinced him that by deepening the Potomac and the James Rivers, on the eastern side, and the headwaters of the Ohio River, on the other side of the Alleghenies, canal communication between the East and West would be practicable. Probably the scheme would have offered engineering difficulties almost insurmountable at that time. It had really gone so far, however, as incorporation, in both the States of Virginia and Maryland, when Washington reluctantly suffered himself to be drawn away from it by the voice of the whole country, to the Presidency of the Convention of 1787, and afterwards of the United States. It was reserved for other men to establish communications between these sections of the country, such in nature and in number as neither Washington or his contemporaries dreamed of.

Another essential, if the emigrants then settled in the Mississippi Valley and those who should follow them, were to be retained in the Federal Union, was, plainly, that they should be relieved from existing Spanish restrictions upon the free navigation of the Mississippi River and its affluents. The auspicious settlement of this point was at hand,—nigher, indeed, than might have been looked for. It came with the acquirement by the United States, in the year 1803 of that which went into history under the name of "The Louisiana Purchase."

It had been the fixed policy of Spain to exclude all foreign commerce from the Mississippi. Having had the ownership and control, since 1763, of the vast tract west of that stream, she had been so resolute in this purpose that in 1780–82 she refused to conclude a treaty with the United States, her main reason being that the United States Minister, John Jay, had then demanded the free navigation of the river. So definite and so determined was her purpose that it was apparent that she designed to confine the area of the United States to the country east of the Alleghanies, using, for pretext, a proclamation which had been issued in 1763 by the King of Great Britain, in which he forbade his North American governors to grant lands west of the sources of the streams that fell into the Atlantic Ocean. By the month of July, 1785, the claims of Spain had been modified to the occupation of the Floridas, all the west bank of the Mississippi,—the east bank to a point considerably north of the present southerly boundary of the State of Mississippi,—and an exclusive navigation thence to the mouth of the river. Her insistence upon this exclusive navigation had been so strenuous that by a vote of seven Northern to five Southern States, the Congress of the American Confederation had, in August, 1786, withdrawn all demand upon Spain for any share in it. Indeed, before the 6th October of that year, John Jay, as Secretary of the Confederation for Foreign Affairs, had agreed with Spain upon an article by which this claim on the part of the Americans was totally withdrawn for twenty-five years, although it was not formally relinquished.

But the remonstrances and in some cases the violence, of the rapidly

increasing American settlers in the valley east of the Mississippi grew to such frequency and to such proportions, that, in 1793, renewed, but still fruitless efforts were made by the United States government to secure a treaty with Spain that should open the river and relieve the settlers. In the year 1795, the attempt was once more renewed, and Thomas Pinckney, the American envoy, then succeeded in negotiating a treaty which stipulated that navigation of the said river (the Mississippi) from its source to the ocean was thereafter to be free to the subjects of the Spanish ruler, and to the citizens of the United States, and allowed these same citizens "to deposit their merchandise and effects in New Orleans, and to export them thence, without import or export duty, for a space of three years. The Spanish government promised, as well, that this permission should



EAGLE GATE OF BRIGHAM YOUNG'S SCHOOL.

be continued, if it was found, during the three years, that the arrangement was not prejudicial to Spanish interests; or, if the arrangement should not be continued, that His Majesty would assign to American citizens, "on another part of the banks of the Mississippi, an equivalent establishment." And with this the western United States people were fairly satisfied.

Five years subsequent to this (1800), by the third article of a secret treaty between Spain and France, the former ceded to the latter the whole of the vast province of Louisiana, so-called, stretching from the source to the mouth of the Mississippi River, and thence westward to the Pacific Ocean. As the result of this cession, the United States were thenceforth to be hemmed in between France and England, the "two professional belligerents

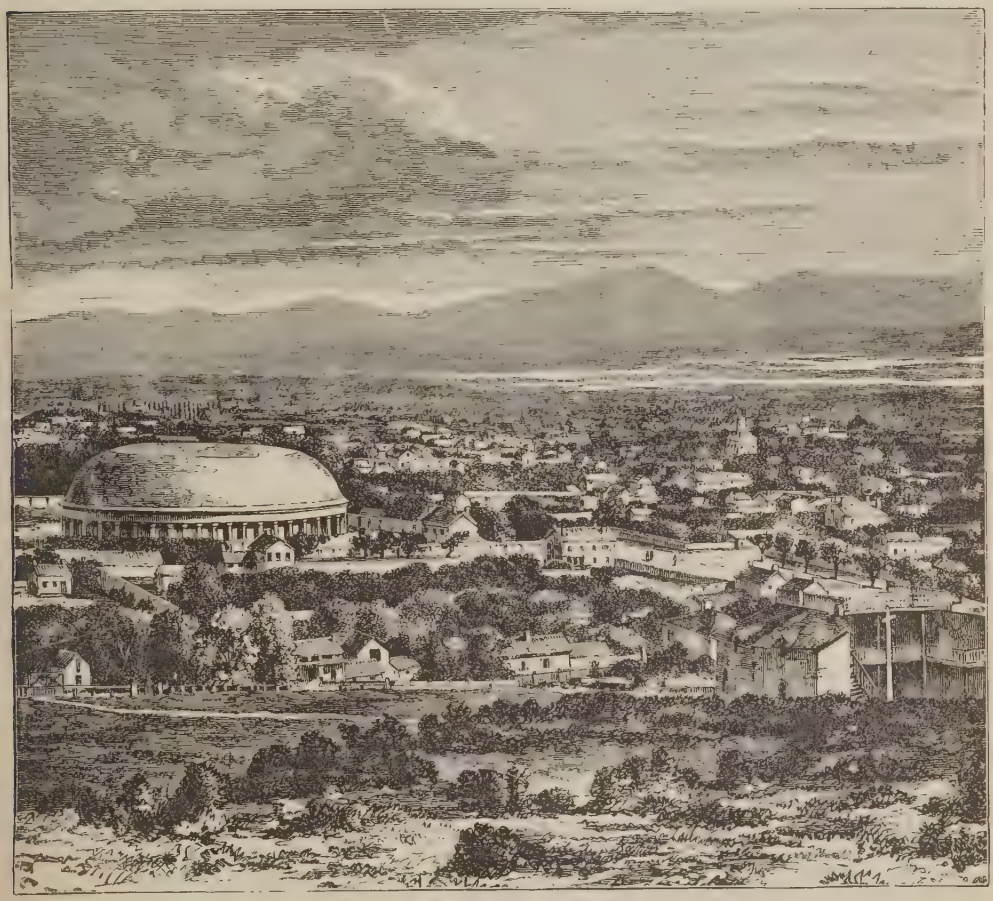
of Europe,"—and toward the end of 1801 Napoleon Bonaparte, then at the head of French affairs, sent from France a fleet and army intended to take possession of New Orleans, although they were ostensibly to operate against St. Domingo. The excitement in the United States which naturally followed this cession was increased by a Spanish order (October, 1802) abrogating the right of deposit secured by the Pinckney treaty of 1795, without substituting any place for New Orleans, and a Pennsylvania Senator introduced resolutions into the United States Congress authorizing President Jefferson to call out 50,000 militia and occupy New Orleans. Instead of this, however, Congress appropriated $2,000,000 for the purchase of that place, and (January, 1803) the President sent James Monroe to Paris as Minister Extraordinary, with discretionary powers, to co-operate with Robert R. Livingston, then United States Minister at the French Court, in the proposed purchase. A new war between France and England was on the eve of outbreak, and in that event the omnipotent navy of England would make Louisiana a more than useless possession to France. On the 11th of April, Livingston was invited by Napoleon to make an offer for the whole of the vast territory. Monroe reached Paris on the 12th, and the two Ministers decided to offer $10,000,000. The price was finally fixed at $15,000,000, one-fourth of it to consist in the assumption by the United States, of $3,750,000 worth of claims by American citizens against France. The treaty for the purchase was signed by the American Ministers and by Barbé Marbois, for France, April 30th (1803).

The news came upon Spain like a thunderbolt. She filed a protest against it, because of the fact (as is supposed) that a secret condition that France should not alienate Louisiana had accompanied the Spanish cession to France in 1800. But her protest did not avail, and at an early session of the United States Senate, called for the purpose by the President, the purchase was ratified by that body (October 19, 1803). The acquisition of Louisiana added 1,171,931 square miles to the United States, comprising Alabama and Mississippi south of parallel 31°; all Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska and Oregon, North and South Dakota, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Minnesota west of the Mississippi, and Kansas except the southwest part, south of the Arkansas; Colorado and Wyoming east of the Rocky Mountains, and the Indian Territory, with the Territory of Oklahoma. This purchase of the Louisiana Territory, first in order of time in the acquisition of land by the United States, was by far the largest of all that have succeeded it.

The engraving, "The Banks of the Mississippi" (page 68), is a suggestion of the teeming commercial life, which, for many years past has grown in volume and importance along the sides of the great "Father of Waters" then brought within the national domain, and the picture of Great Salt Lake City, the capital of

Utah, gives a view of another noted feature in this territorial expansion, to which we add (page 198) a singularly graphic delineation of "The Mammoth Hot Springs in Yellowstone National Park," also within the limits of the purchase made in 1803.

The second addition came to the country in 1819. On the 22d of February of that year the Spanish Minister at Washington signed a treaty, by which his



GREAT SALT LAKE CITY.

country ceded Florida, in area 59,268 square miles, to the United States in return for the payment by the latter country of the claims of American citizens against Spain, amounting to $5,000,000. The ratification of this cession was obtained from the Spanish Home Government in 1821. The steps leading up to the acquisition may be stated in brief:—

At the formation of the United States Government, in 1789, Spain had

possession of both Eastern and Western Florida, separated from each other by the river Appalachicola. These divisions of territory had been created by Great Britain in 1763, and the two, taken together, ran from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River. The retrocession of the Louisiana Territory to France by Spain, in 1800, did not convey to the latter nation any portion of Western Florida, and in Spanish judgment all territory east of the Mississippi and west of the Perdido River was a part of Western Florida. She had, therefore, set up a custom-house at the mouth of the Alabama River, and levied heavy duties on goods to or from the upper country.

The United States, however, after the purchase of the Louisiana Territory, in 1803, claimed that this purchase included the territory east of the Mississippi River as far as the Perdido, which is in our day the western boundary of the State of Florida; and in 1810, after the overthrow of the Government in Spain, and when a part of the people in Western Florida had declared themselves independent of Spain and had assumed nationality, President Madison sent Governor Claiborne, of the United States Territory of (New) Orleans, into their country, with a sufficient force, and took possession of it, with the exception of the fort and city of Mobile. In 1812, when Louisiana came into the Union as a State, her eastern boundary was fixed at the Pearl River, and what remained of Western Florida between the Pearl and the Perdido was annexed to the Mississippi Territory, General James Wilkinson, General-in-Chief of the United States Army, taking possession of Mobile in 1813. This left only Eastern Florida, then stretching from the Perdido River to the Atlantic Ocean, under Spanish rule.

Throughout these years the purpose had grown in the Southern States to gain that portion of Spanish dominion, as well as Western Florida, for the United States. January 15th and March 3d, 1811, the United States Congress passed, in secret,—and its action was not made known until 1818,—acts which authorized the President of the United States to take "temporary possession" of East Florida. The Commissioners appointed under these acts, Matthews and Mitchell, both Georgians, had stirred up insurrection in the coveted territory, and when the President (Madison) refused to sustain them, the State of Georgia formally pronounced Florida needful to its own peace and welfare, and practically declared war on its private account. But its expedition against Florida came to nothing. In 1814, General Andrew Jackson, then in command of United States forces at Mobile, having, by a raid into Pensacola, driven out a British force which had settled there, restored the place to its Spanish authorities and retired. Four years after (1818), during the Seminole War, annoyed by Spanish assistance given to the Indians, General Jackson again raided Eastern Florida, captured St. Marks and Pensacola, hung Arbuthnot and Ambrister, two Englishmen who had aided the Seminoles, as "outlaws and pirates," and again demonstrated the fact that Florida was at the mercy of the United States. It was this series of events which

led to the Spanish cession already noted. And by the treaty which secured that cession the United States gave up any claim to Texas and the River Rio Grande,

THE FOUNDERS OF LOS ANGELES.

as its western boundary. These questions of extending territory gave occasion for many debates in Congress. Did space admit, it were easy to show, in some

detail, at what an early stage in his career, Andrew Jackson, one of the most picturesque characters in American history, displayed, in these events, his essential peculiarities. His exploits in Florida had stamped upon them the same qualities which subsequently distinguished him.

IDOLS TOTEM, OF ALASKA.

But attention must now be turned to the third increase of United States boundaries, in 1845, by the annexation of Texas to the United States by United States Congressional votes (House, December 16th; Senate, December 22d).

An admirable statement of the causes and methods by which this annexation came about is to be found in the standard "Cyclopædia" of Mr. J. J. Lalor,* and we shall condense it for our pages. "The inevitable result of the two previous annexations," it is declared, "was the annexation of Texas." Before the year 1763 Texas had been claimed by Spain. It had been one of the objects of Aaron

* Cyclopædia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States. N. Y., 1888. Vol. I, pp. 96, 97.

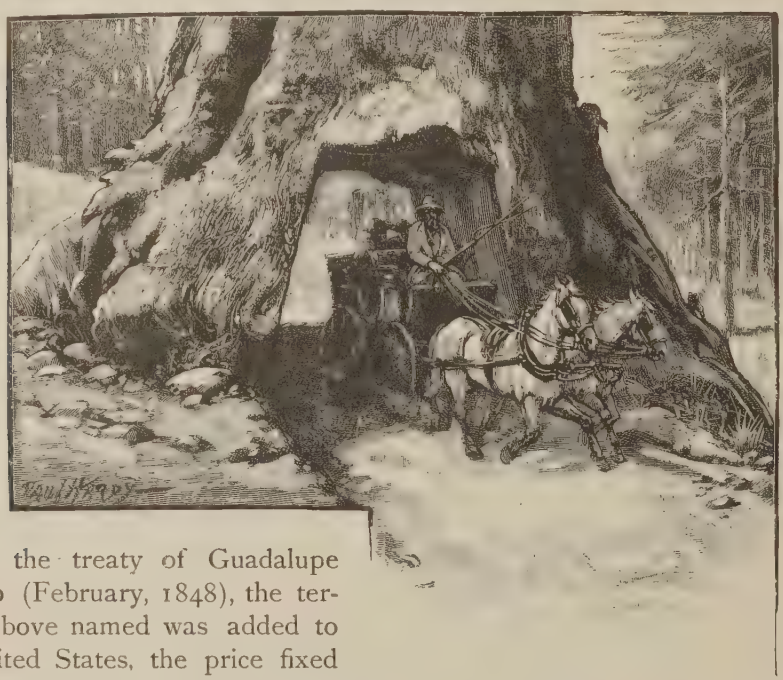
Burr's conspiracy in 1806. During General Wilkinson's hasty preparations to defend New Orleans from that conspiracy, in October of that year, he had agreed with the Spanish commander upon the Sabine River as a provisional boundary between Spanish and American territory, and the treaty of 1819 (see *ante*) made this boundary permanent. When Mexico's revolt against Spain was successful, by the treaty of Cordova (1821), Texas and Coahuila became one of the States of the Mexican Republic.

As early as that year, however, wild spirits in the southwestern United States endeavored to effect an entrance into Texas. In 1827 and in 1829 Henry Clay and Martin Van Buren, successive United States Secretaries of State, made offers of $1,000,000 and $5,000,000, respectively, for Texas. April 1, 1833, Texas formed a Constitution of its own as one of the Mexican State Republics. Two years from that time the Mexican Congress abolished all State Constitutions and created a Dictator. Then (March 2, 1836) Texas declared its own independence. In the war that ensued, Houston, the Texan General, defeated Santa Anna, the Mexican Dictator, at San Jacinto, Texas, April 10th (1836), and the latter, being taken prisoner, signed a treaty acknowledging Texan independence.

Although this act of the Dictator was repudiated by Mexico, the United States (March, 1837) and, soon after, England, France, and Belgium recognized the new republic. But the finances of Texas fell into such disorder that annexation to the United States was really as desirable for her as for any portion of the States themselves, and in the month of August, 1837, by her Minister at Washington, she asked to be admitted into the Federal Union. Attempts were at once made and persistently persevered in in the United States Congress and by existent United States Administrations to secure her admission. The question of Texan annexation became a game skillfully played, in partnership, by United States politicians who wished to increase the number of Southern States, and Texas land and scrip speculators. Ex-President Andrew Jackson in a letter (March, 1843) warmly commended the annexation. In 1844, Martin Van Buren and Henry Clay alike declared against it. In the same year John C. Calhoun, United States Secretary of State, actually made a treaty of annexation with Texas, but it was rejected in the United States Senate by a vote of sixteen ayes to thirty-five nays. The election of James K. Polk as President, in the fall of the year, determined the adoption of the measure in this country, and it was consummated in 1845 by votes already stated. The unanimous assent of the Texan Congress had been given to annexation in June, 1845, and that assent had been ratified (July 4th) by a Texan popular convention. This annexation added 376,133 square miles to the territorial area of the United States.

For the purposes of this chapter it will suffice if we consider the fourth and the fifth acquisitions of territory by the United States, that of New

Mexico and Upper California (1848) and the Gadsden Purchase, so-called, (1853) under a single head—to be known as "the Mexican Cession." New Mexico and Upper California had been conquered by American Troops, the former by those of General S. W. Kearny,—the latter by the United States Navy and a small land force under Colonel John C. Fremont,—and both were held as conquered territory during the Mexican War. From the opening of hostilities, the acquisition, by force or by purchase, of a liberal tract of Mexican territory as "indemnity for the past and security for the future" had been a principal object of that war.

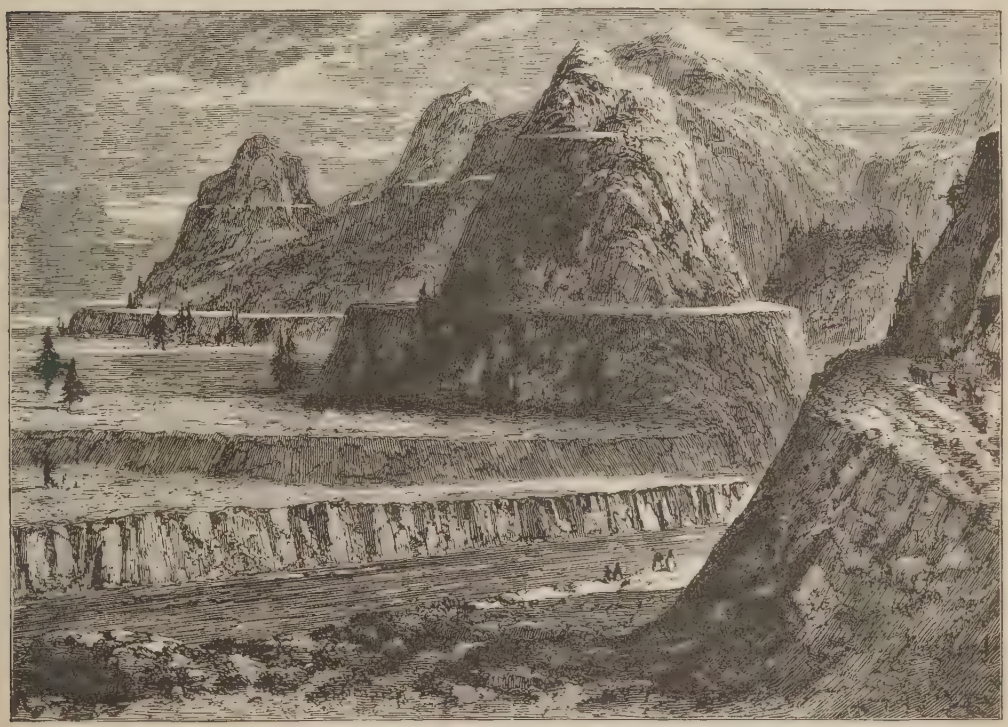


GIANT TREE OF THE YOSEMITE VALLEY, IN CALIFORNIA.

By the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (February, 1848), the territory above named was added to the United States, the price fixed being $15,000,000, besides the assumption by the United States of $3,250,000 in claims of American citizens against Mexico. This territory, including that part of New Mexico east of the Rio Grande—which was claimed by Texas, and for which the United States afterward paid $10,000,000 to Texas,—added to the area of the country 545,783 square miles. Disputes which arose between the United States and Mexico during the next five years (1848–1853) as to the present southern part of Arizona, the Mesilla Valley, from the Gila River to Chihauhua, were such that a Mexican army was marched into it by Santa Anna, who had regained place and power, and preparations were begun

for a renewal of war. By a treaty negotiated with Mexico by General James Gadsden, of South Carolina, in 1853, the United States obtained the disputed territory by paying $10,000,000 to Mexico, and secured, as well, the right of the transit of United States troops, mails, and merchandise over the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. By this annexation 45,535 square miles were added to the national domain.

The accession of the Russian province of Alaska on the northwestern coast of North America, by purchase from that Empire, in the year 1867, was the sixth



THE BENCHES OF THE FRASER RIVER, NEAR LILLOET, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

and last "push" of the boundaries backward from their original limitations in 1783. Russia ceded the territory,—being all of the North American Continent west of the 141st degree of west longitude, together with a narrow strip between the Pacific Ocean and the British dominions; also, all the islands near the coast, and the Aleutian Archipelago, except Copper and Behring Islands on the coast of Kamschatka,—to the United States Government, for $7,200,000. It added to our area 577,390 square miles. Its ownership had vested in Russia by reason of her claims to it through the right of discovery, and by the right of her possession of the opposite shores of Siberia and Alaska. She also laid claim

to the Northern Pacific as a sort of inland water. Of this latest addition to the area of the country, it may be said at this writing (1892), that it has already amply paid for itself, more than once, from the proceeds of its fisheries, its fur trade, and more recently from its development of gold-bearing quartz. The striking picture, "The Benches of the Fraser River," is an illustration of the possibilities of surface area in this region of North America, where one may travel for hundreds of miles, and fail to find a level spot large enough to make a place on which to play a game of football.

The following is a summary of the territorial possessions of the United States from their existence as a nation, free and independent, at the close of the American Revolution :—

	Square Miles.
United States in 1783,	827,884
Louisiana Purchase (1803),	1,171,931
Florida Purchase (1829),	59,268
Texas Annexation (1845),	376,133
Mexican Cession (1848),	545,783
Gadsden Purchase (1853),	45,535
Russian Purchase (1867),	577,390
Total,	3,603,884

Between the signing of the treaty of peace by George III and his English subjects and the North American colonies, by which signature their independence and sovereignty were acknowledged, and that year of grace in which the present chapter has been penned,—the American Republic has more than quadrupled its area. The judgment of history, calmer and nearer to truth than the utterances of past or contemporary authority, may pronounce a just verdict of disapproval upon the motives and methods which, in certain cases, made a pathway toward these vast augmentations, but it must always remain a source of gratification to an honest citizen that each square mile which has been added to our original boundaries has been paid for at a valuation agreed on by the buyer and the seller. He would be a bold prophet, indeed, who should assert that the limit of our national expansion has been reached. However that may be, there has already been opened to the American people the opportunity for such good work for God and man, within their own borders, as has not been placed before any other nation since the sun first shone upon the earth. Let the people of the United States rise to the level of their opportunity, and they will accomplish that for the benefit of mankind, which it has not yet been given to any other nation to perform.

CHAPTER XII.

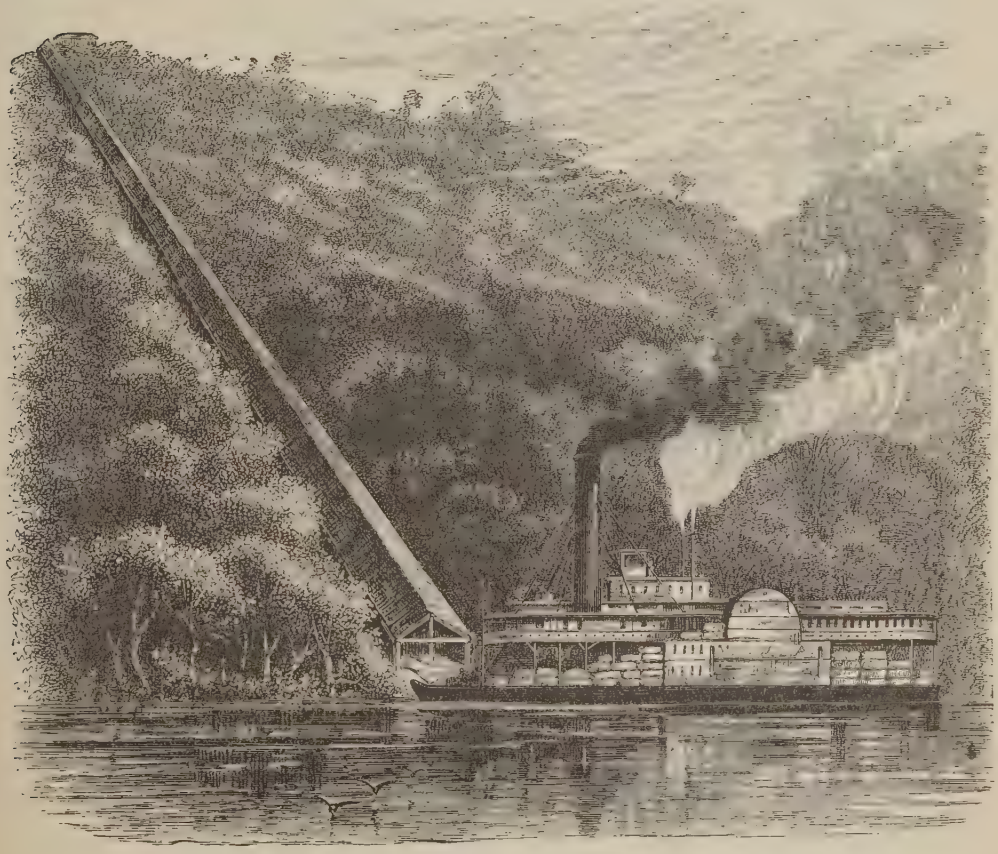
THE SECOND WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE, OR THE WAR OF 1812.

BY their first war with Great Britain our forefathers asserted and maintained their right to independent national existence; by their second war with Great Britain, they claimed and obtained equal consideration in international affairs. The War of 1812 was not based on a single cause; it was rather undertaken from mixed motives,—partly political, partly commercial, partly patriotic. It was always unpopular with a great number of the American people; it was far from logical in some of its positions; it was perhaps precipitated by party clamor. But, despite all these facts, it remains true that this war established once for all the position of the United States as an equal power among the powers. Above all—clearing away the petty political and partisan aspects of the struggle—we find that in it the United States stood for a strong, sound, and universally beneficial principle—that of the rights of neutral nations in time of war. "Free ships make free goods" is a maxim of international law now universally recognized, but at the opening of the century it was a theory, supported, indeed, by good reasoning, but practically disregarded by the most powerful nations. It was almost solely to the stand taken by the United States in 1812 that the final settlement of the disputed principle was due.

The cause of the War of 1812 which appealed most strongly to the patriotic feelings of the common people, though, perhaps, not in itself so intrinsically important as that just referred to, was unquestionably the impressment by Great Britain of sailors from American ships. No doubt great numbers of English sailors did desert from their naval vessels and take refuge in the easier service and better treatment of the American merchant ships. Great Britain was straining every nerve to strengthen her already powerful navy, and the press-gang was constantly at work in English sea-ports. Once on board a British man-of-war, the impressed sailor was subject to overwork, bad rations, and the lash. That British sailors fought as gallantly as they did under this régime will always remain a wonder. But it is certain that they deserted in considerable numbers,

and that they found in the rapidly-growing commercial prosperity of our carrying trade a tempting chance of employment. Now, Great Britain, with a large contempt for the naval weakness of the United States, assumed, rather than claimed, the right to stop our merchant vessels on the high seas, to examine the crews, and to claim as her own any British sailors among them. This was bad enough in itself, but the way in which the search was carried out was worse. Every form of insolence and overbearing was exhibited. The pretense of claiming British deserters covered what was sometimes barefaced and outrageous kidnaping of Americans. The British officers went so far as to lay the burden of proof of nationality in each case upon the sailor himself; if he were without papers proving his identity he was at once assumed to be a British subject. To such an extent was this insult to our flag carried that our Government had the record of about forty-five hundred cases of impressment from our ships between the years of 1803 and 1810; and when the War of 1812 broke out the number of American sailors serving against their will in British war vessels was variously computed to be from six to fourteen thousand. It is even recorded that in some cases American ships were obliged to return home in the middle of their voyages because their crews had been so diminished in number by the seizures made by British officers that they were too short-handed to proceed. In not a few cases these depredations led to bloodshed. The greatest outrage of all, and one which stirred the blood of Americans to the fighting point, was the capture of an American war vessel, the "Chesapeake," by the British man-of-war, the "Leopard." The latter was by far the more powerful vessel, and the "Chesapeake" was quite unprepared for action; nevertheless, her commander refused to accede to a demand that his crew be overhauled in search for British deserters. Thereupon the "Leopard" poured broadside after broadside into her until the flag was struck. Three Americans were killed and eighteen wounded; four were taken away as alleged deserters; of these, three were afterwards returned, while in one case the charge was satisfactorily proved and the man was hanged. The whole affair was without the slightest justification under the law of nations and was in itself ample ground for war. Great Britain, however, in a quite ungraceful and tardy way, apologized and offered reparation. This incident took place six years before the actual declaration of war. But the outrage rankled all that time, and nothing did more to fan the anti-British feeling which was already so strong in the rank and file, especially in the Democratic (or, as it was often called then, Republican) party. It was such deeds as this that led Henry Clay to exclaim, "Not content with seizing upon all our property which falls within her rapacious grasp, the personal rights of our countrymen—rights which must forever be sacred—are trampled on and violated by the impressment of our seamen. What are we to gain by war? What are we not to lose by peace? Commerce, character, a nation's best treasure, honor!"

The attack on American commerce was also a serious danger to peace. In the early years of the century Great Britain was at war not only with France, but with other European countries. Both Great Britain and France adopted in practice the most extreme theories of non-intercourse between neutral and hostile nations. It was the era of "paper blockades." In 1806 England, for instance, declared that eight hundred miles of the European coast were to be



VIEW OF A COTTON-CHUTE.

considered blockaded, whereupon Napoleon, not to be outdone, declared the entire Islands of Great Britain to be under blockade. Up to a certain point the interruption of the neutral trade relations between the countries of Europe was to the commercial advantage of America. Our carrying trade grew and prospered wonderfully. Much of this trade consisted in taking goods from the colonies of European nations, bringing them to the United States, then trans-shipping them and conveying them to the parent nation. This was allowable under

the international law of the time, although the direct carrying of goods by the neutral ship from the colony to the parent nation (the latter, of course, being at war) was forbidden. But by her famous "Orders in Council" Great Britain absolutely forbade this system of trans-shipment as to nations with whom she was at war. American vessels engaged in this form of trade were seized and condemned by English prize courts. Naturally, France followed Great Britain's example and even went further. Our merchants, who had actually been earning double freights under the old system, now found that their commerce was wofully restricted. At first it was thought that the unfair restriction might be punished by retaliatory measures, and a quite illogical analogy was drawn from the effect produced on Great Britain before the Revolution by the refusal of the colonies to receive goods on which a tax had been imposed. So President Jefferson's Administration resorted to the most unwise measure that could be thought of—an absolute embargo on our own ships. This measure was passed in 1807, and its immediate result was to reduce the exports of the country from nearly fifty million dollars' worth to nine million dollars' worth in a single year. This was evidently anything but profitable, and the act was changed so as to forbid only commercial intercourse with Great Britain and France and their colonies, with a proviso that the law should be abandoned as regards either of these countries which should repeal its objectionable decrees. The French Government moved in the matter first, but only conditionally. Our non-intercourse act, however, was after 1810 in force only against Great Britain. That our claims of wrong were equally or nearly equally as great against France in this matter cannot be doubted. But the popular feeling was stronger against Great Britain; a war with England was popular with the mass of the Democrats; and it was the refusal of England to finally accept our conditions which led to the declaration of war. By a curious chain of circumstances it happened, however, that between the time when Congress declared war (June 18, 1812) and the date when the news of this declaration was received in England, the latter country had already revoked her famous "orders in council." In point of fact, President Madison was very reluctant to declare war, though the Federalists always took great pleasure in speaking of this as "Mr. Madison's war." The Federalists throughout considered the war unnecessary and the result of partisan feeling and unreasonable prejudice.

It is peculiarly grateful to American pride that this war, undertaken in defense of our maritime interests and to uphold the honor of our flag upon the high seas, resulted in a series of naval victories brilliant in the extreme. It was not, indeed, at first thought that this would be chiefly a naval war. President Madison was at one time greatly inclined to keep strictly in port our war vessels; but, happily, other counsels prevailed. The disparity between the American and British navies was certainly disheartening. The United States had

seven or eight frigates and a few sloops, brigs, and gunboats, while the sails of England's navy whitened every sea, and her ships certainly outnumbered ours by fifty to one. On the other hand, her hands were tied to a great extent by the European wars of magnitude in which she was involved. She had to defend her commerce from formidable enemies in many seas, and could give but a small part of her naval strength to the new foe. That this new foe was despised by

LOADING A COTTON STEAMER.

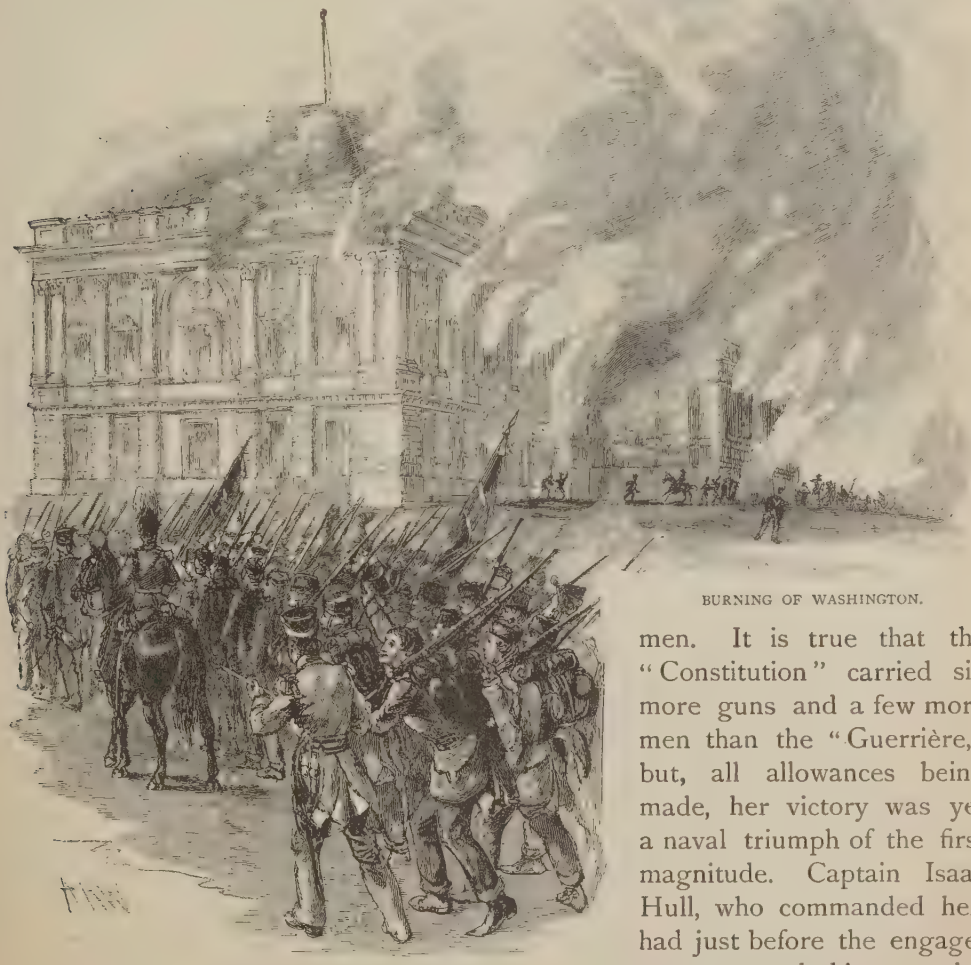
the great power which claimed, not without reason, to be the mistress of the seas was not unnatural. But soon we find a lament raised in Parliament about the reverses, "which English officers and English sailors had not before been used to, and that from such a contemptible navy as that of America had always been held." The fact is that the restriction of our commerce had made it possible for our navy officers to take their pick of a remarkably fine body of native American seamen, naturally brave and intelligent, and thoroughly well trained in all sea-

manlike experiences. These men were in many instances filled with a spirit of resentment at British insolence, having either themselves been the victims of the aggressions which we have described, or having seen their friends compelled to submit to these insolent acts. The very smallness of our navy, too, was in a measure its strength; the competition for active service among those bearing commissions was great, and there was never any trouble in finding officers of proved sagacity and courage.

At the outset, however, the policy determined on by the Administration was not one of naval aggression. It was decided to attack England from her Canadian colonies. This plan of campaign, however reasonable it might seem to a strategist, failed wretchedly in execution. The first year of the war, so far as regards the land campaigns, showed nothing but reverses and fiascoes. There was a long and thinly settled border country, in which our slender forces struggled to hold their own against the barbarous Indian onslaughts, making futile expeditions across the border into Canada and resisting with some success the similar expeditions by the Canadian troops. It was one of the complaints which led to the war that the Indian tribes had been incited against our settlers by the Canadian authorities and had been promised aid from Canada. It is certain that after war was declared English officers not only employed Indians as their allies, but in some instances, at least, paid bounties for the scalps of American settlers. The Indian war planned by Tecumseh had just been put down by General, afterward President, Harrison. No doubt Tecumseh was a man of more elevated ambition and more humane instincts than one often finds in an Indian chief. His hope to unite the tribes and to drive the whites out of his country has a certain nobility of purpose and breadth of view. But this scheme had failed, and the Indian warriors, still inflamed for war, were only too eager to assist the Canadian forces in a desultory but bloody border war. The strength of our campaign against Canada was dissipated in an attempt to hold Fort Wayne, Fort Harrison, and other garrisons against Indian attacks. Still more disappointing was the complete failure of the attempt, under the command of General Hull, to advance from Detroit as an outpost, into Canada. He was easily driven back to Detroit, and when the nation was confidently waiting to hear of a bold defense of that place it was startled by the news of Hull's surrender without firing a gun, and under circumstances which seemed to indicate either cowardice or treachery. Hull was, in fact, court-martialed, condemned to death, and only pardoned on account of his services in the war of 1776.

The mortification that followed the land campaign of 1812 was forgotten in joy at the splendid naval victories of that year. Pre-eminent among these was the famous sea-duel between the frigates "Constitution" and "Guerrière." Every one knows of the glory of "Old Ironsides," and this, though the greatest, was only one of many victories by which the name of the "Constitution"

became the most famed and beloved of all that have been associated with American ships. She was a fine frigate, carrying forty-four guns, and though English journals had ridiculed her as "a bunch of pine boards under a bit of striped bunting," it was not long before they were busily engaged in trying to prove that she was too large a vessel to be properly called a frigate, and that she greatly out-classed her opponent in metal and



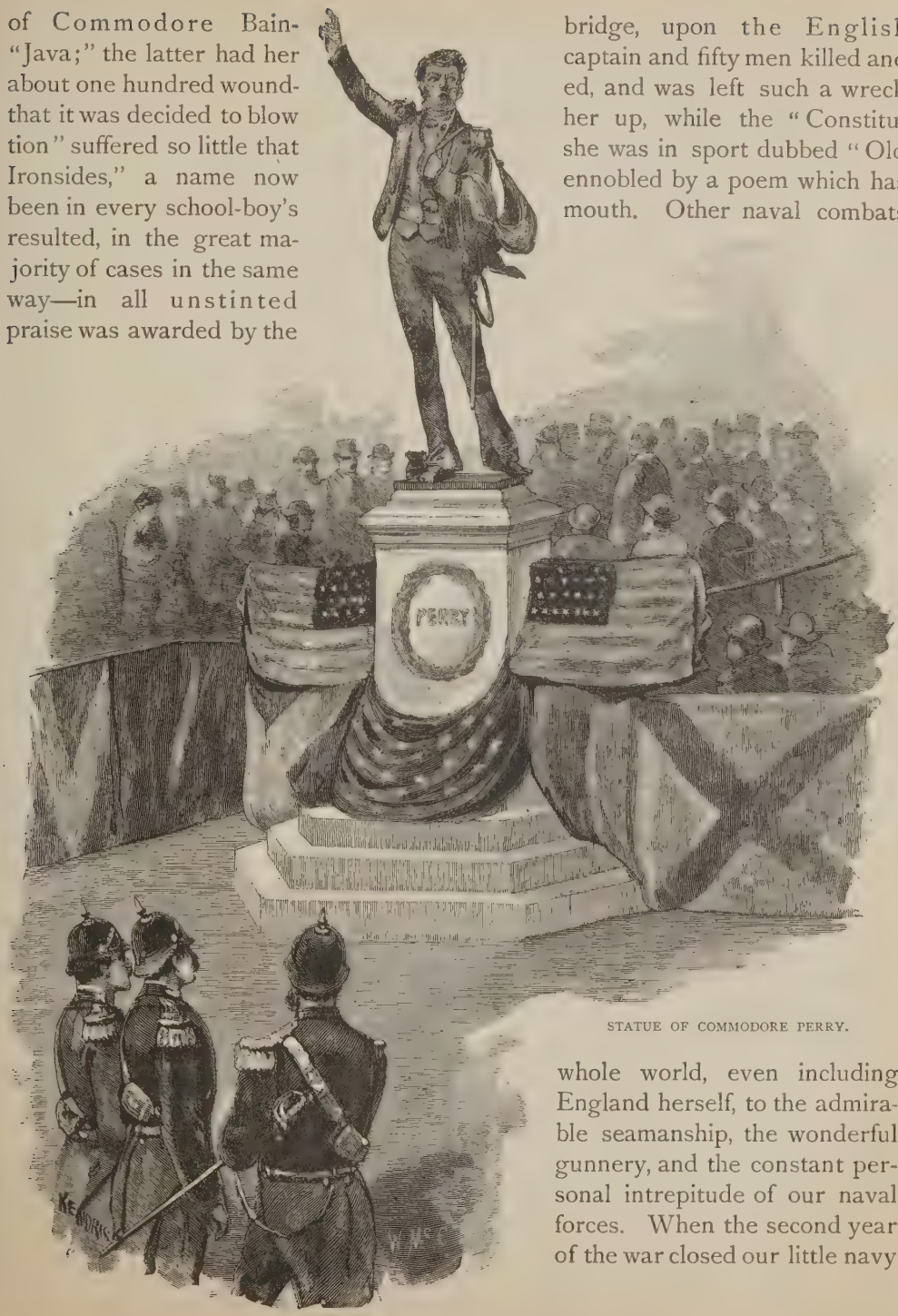
BURNING OF WASHINGTON.

men. It is true that the "Constitution" carried six more guns and a few more men than the "Guerrière," but, all allowances being made, her victory was yet a naval triumph of the first magnitude. Captain Isaac Hull, who commanded her, had just before the engagement proved his superior seamanship by escaping from a whole squadron of British vessels, out-sailing and out-manœuvring them at every point. It was on August 19 when he

descried the "Guerrière." Both vessels at once cleared for action and came together with the greatest eagerness on both sides for the engagement. Though the battle lasted but half an hour, it was one of the hottest in naval annals. At one time the "Constitution" was on fire, and both ships were soon seriously crippled by injury to their spars. Attempts to board each other were thwarted on both sides by the close fire of small arms. Here, as in later sea-fights of this war, the accuracy and skill of the American gunners were something marvelous. At the end of half an hour the "Guerrière" had lost both mainmast and foremast and floated helplessly in the open sea. Her surrender was no discredit to her officers, as she was almost in a sinking condition. It was hopeless to attempt to tow her into port, and Captain Hull transferred his prisoners to his own vessel and set fire to his prize. In the fight the American frigate had only seven men killed and an equal number wounded, while the British vessel had as many as seventy-nine men killed or wounded. The conduct of the American seamen was throughout gallant in the highest degree. Captain Hull put it on record that "From the smallest boy in the ship to the oldest seaman not a look of fear was seen. They all went into action giving three cheers and requesting to be laid close alongside the enemy." The effect of this victory in both America and England was extraordinary. English papers long refused to believe in the possibility of the well-proved facts, while in America the whole country joined in a triumphal shout of joy, and loaded well-deserved honors on vessel, captain, officers, and men.

The chagrin of the English public at the unexpected result of this sea battle was changed to amazement when one after another there followed no less than six combats of the same duel-like character, in which the American vessels were invariably victorious. The first was between our sloop, the "Wasp," and the English brig, the "Frolic," which was convoying a fleet of merchantmen. The fight was one of the most desperate in the war; the two ships were brought so close together that their gunners could touch the sides of the opposing vessels with their rammers. Broadside after broadside was poured into the "Frolic" by the "Wasp," which obtained the superior position, but her sailors, unable to await the victory which was sure to come from the continued raking of the enemy's vessel, rushed upon her decks without orders and soon overpowered her. Again the British loss in killed and wounded was large; that of the Americans very small. It in no wise detracted from the glory of this victory that both victor and prize were soon captured by a British man-of-war of immensely superior strength. Following this action, Commodore Stephen Decatur, in our frigate, the "United States," attacked the "Macedonian," a British vessel of the same kind, and easily defeated her, bringing her into New York harbor on New Year's Day, 1813, where he received an ovation equal to that offered Captain Hull. The same result followed the attack of the "Constitution," now under the command

of Commodore Bain-bridge, upon the English "Java;" the latter had her captain and fifty men killed and about one hundred wound- ed, and was left such a wreck that it was decided to blow her up, while the "Constitu- tion" suffered so little that she was in sport dubbed "Old Ironsides," a name now ennobled by a poem which has been in every school-boy's mouth. Other naval combats resulted, in the great ma- jority of cases in the same way—in all unstinted praise was awarded by the whole world, even including England herself, to the admira- ble seamanship, the wonderful gunnery, and the constant per- sonal intrepitude of our naval forces. When the second year of the war closed our little navy



STATUE OF COMMODORE PERRY.

had captured twenty-six war-ships, armed with 560 guns, while it had lost only seven ships, carrying 119 guns.

But, if the highest honors of the war were thus won by our navy, the most serious injury materially to Great Britain was in the devastation of her commerce by American privateers. No less than two hundred and fifty of these sea guerrillas were afloat, and in the first year of the war they captured over three hundred merchant vessels, sometimes even attacking and overcoming the smaller class of war-ships. The privateers were usually schooners armed with a few small guns, but carrying one long cannon mounted on a swivel so that it could be turned to any point of the horizon, and familiarly known as Long Tom. Of course, the crews were influenced by greed as well as by patriotism. Privateering is a somewhat doubtful mode of warfare at the best; but international law permits it; and though it is hard to dissociate from it a certain odor, as of legalized piracy, it is legitimate to this day. And surely if it were ever justifiable it was at that time. As Jefferson said, there were then tens of thousands of seamen forced by war from their natural means of support and useless to their country in any other way, while by "licensing private armed vessels the whole naval force of the nation was truly brought to bear on the foe." The havoc wrought on British trade was widespread indeed; altogether between fifteen hundred and two thousand prizes were taken by the privateers. To compute the value of these prizes is impossible, but some idea may be gained from the single fact that one privateer, the "Yankee," in a cruise of less than two months captured five brigs and four schooners with cargoes valued at over half a million dollars. The men engaged in this form of warfare were bold to recklessness, and their exploits have furnished many a tale to American writers of romance.

The naval combats thus far mentioned were almost always of single vessels. For battles of fleets we must turn from the salt water to the fresh, from the ocean to the great lakes. The control of the waters of Lake Erie, Lake Ontario, and Lake Champlain was obviously of vast importance, in view of the continued land-fighting in the West and of the attempted invasion of Canada and the threatened counter-invasions. The British had the great advantage of being able to reach the lakes by the St. Lawrence, while our lake navies had to be constructed after the war began. One such little navy had been built at Presque Isle, now Erie, on Lake Erie. It comprised two brigs of twenty guns and several schooners and gunboats. It must be remembered that everything but the lumber needed for the vessels had to be brought through the forests by land from the eastern seaports, and the mere problem of transportation was a serious one. When finished, the fleet was put in command of Oliver Hazard Perry. Watching his time (and, it is said, taking advantage of the carelessness of the

British commander in going on shore to dinner one Sunday, when he should have been watching Perry's movements), the American commander drew his fleet over the bar which had protected it while in harbor from the onslaughts of the British fleet. To get the brigs over this bar was a work of time and great difficulty; an attack at that hour by the British would certainly have ended in the total destruction of the fleet. Once accomplished, Perry, in his flagship, the "Lawrence," headed a fleet of ten vessels, fifty-five guns, and four hundred men. Opposed to him was Captain Barclay with six ships, sixty-five guns, and also

VIEW ON LAKE ONTARIO.

about four hundred men. The British for several weeks avoided the conflict, but in the end were cornered and forced to fight. It was at the beginning of this battle that Perry displayed the flag bearing Lawrence's famous dying words, "Don't give up the ship!" No less famous is his dispatch announcing the result in the words, "We have met the enemy and they are ours." The victory was indeed a complete and decisive one; all six of the enemy's ships were captured, and their loss was nearly double that of Perry's forces. The complete control of Lake Erie was assured; that of Lake Ontario had already been gained by Commodore Chauncey.

Perry's memorable victory opened the way for important land operations by General Harrison, who now marched from Detroit with the design of invading Canada. He engaged with Proctor's mingled body of British troops and Indians, and by the Battle of the Thames drove back the British from that part of Canada and restored matters to the position in which they stood before Hull's deplorable surrender of Detroit—and, indeed, of all Michigan—to the British. In this battle of the Thames the Indian chief, Tecumseh, fell, and about three hundred of the British and Indians were killed on the field. The hold of our enemies on the Indian tribes was greatly broken by this defeat. Previous to this the land campaigns had been marked by a succession of minor victories and defeats. In the West a force of Americans under General Winchester had been captured at the River Raisin; and there took place an atrocious massacre of large numbers of prisoners by the Indians, who were quite beyond restraint from their white allies. On the other hand, the Americans had captured the city of York, now Toronto, though at the cost of their leader, General Pike, who, with two hundred of his men, was destroyed by the explosion of a magazine. Fort George had also been captured by the Americans and an attack on Sackett's Harbor had been gallantly repulsed. Following the battle of the Thames, extensive operations of an aggressive kind had been planned looking toward the capture of Montreal and the invasion of Canada by way of Lakes Ontario and Champlain. Unhappily, jealousy between the American Generals Wilkinson and Hampton resulted in a lack of concert in their military operations, and the expedition was a complete fiasco.

One turns for consolation from the mortifying record of Wilkinson's expedition to the story of the continuous successes which had accompanied the naval operations of 1813. Captain Lawrence, in the "Hornet," won a complete victory over the English brig "Peacock;" our brig, the "Enterprise," captured the "Boxer," and other equally welcome victories were reported. One distinct defeat had marred the record—that of our fine brig, the "Chesapeake," commanded by Captain Lawrence, which had been captured after one of the most hard-fought contests of the war by the British brig, the "Shannon." Lawrence himself fell mortally wounded, exclaiming as he was carried away, "Tell the men not to give up the ship but fight her till she sinks." It was a paraphrase of this exclamation which Perry used as a rallying signal in the battle on Lake Erie. Despite his one defeat, Captain Lawrence's fame as a gallant seaman and high-minded patriot was untarnished, and his death was more deplored throughout the country than was the loss of his ship.

In the latter part of the war England was enabled to send large reinforcements both to her army and navy engaged in the American campaigns. Events in Europe seemed in 1814 to insure peace for at least a time. Napoleon's power was broken; the Emperor himself was exiled at Elba; and Great Britain at last

had her hands free. But before the reinforcements reached this country, our army had won greater credit and had shown more military skill by far than were evinced in its earlier operations. Along the line of the Niagara River active

WEATHERSFORD AND GENERAL JACKSON.

fighting had been going on. In the battle of Chippewa, the capture of Fort Erie, the engagement at Lundy's Lane, and the defense of Fort Erie the troops, under the command of Winfield Scott and General Brown, had held their own, and more, against superior forces, and had won from British officers the admission that they

fought as well under fire as regular troops. More encouraging still was the total defeat of the plan of invasion from Canada undertaken by the now greatly strengthened British forces. These numbered twelve thousand men and were supported by a fleet on Lake Champlain. Their operations were directed against Plattsburg, and in the battle on the lake, usually called by the name of that town, the American flotilla under the command of Commodore Macdonough completely routed the British fleet. As a result the English army also beat a rapid and undignified retreat to Canada. This was the last important engagement to take place in the North.

Meanwhile expeditions of considerable size were directed by the British against our principal Southern cities. One of these brought General Ross with five thousand men, chiefly the pick of the Duke of Wellington's army, into the Bay of Chesapeake. Nothing was more discreditable in the military strategy of our Administration than the fact that at this time Washington was left unprotected, though in evident danger. General Ross marched straight upon the Capital, easily defeated at Bladensburg an inferior force of raw militia—who yet fought with intrepidity for the most part—seized the city, and carried out his intention of destroying the public buildings and a great part of the town. Most of the public archives had been removed. Ross' conduct in the burning of Washington was probably within the limits of legitimate warfare but has been condemned as semi-barbarous by many writers. The achievement gave great joy to the English papers, but was really of less importance than was supposed. Washington at that time was a straggling town of only eight thousand inhabitants; its public buildings were not at all adequate to the demands of the future; and an optimist might even consider the destruction of the old city as a public benefit, for it enabled Congress to adopt the plans which have since led to the making of perhaps the most beautiful city of the country.

A similar attempt upon Baltimore was less successful. The people of that city made a brave defense and hastily threw up extensive fortifications. In the end the British fleet, after a severe bombardment of Fort McHenry, were driven off. The British Admiral had boasted that Fort McHenry would yield in a few hours; and two days after, when its flag was still flying, Francis S. Key was inspired by its sight to compose the "Star Spangled Banner."

A still larger expedition of British troops landed on the Louisiana coast and marched to the attack of New Orleans. Here General Andrew Jackson was in command. He had already distinguished himself in this war by putting down with a strong hand the hostile Creek Indians of the then Spanish territory of Florida, who had been incited by English envoys to warfare against our Southern settlers; and in April, 1814, William Weathersford, the half-breed chief, had surrendered in person to Jackson (see illustration). General Packenham, who commanded the five thousand British soldiers sent against

New Orleans, expected as easy a victory as that of General Ross at Washington. But Jackson had summoned to his aid the stalwart frontiersmen of Kentucky and Tennessee—men used from boyhood to the rifle, and who made up what was in effect a splendid force of sharp-shooters. Both armies threw up rough fortifications; General Jackson made great use for that purpose of cotton bales, Packenham employing the still less solid material of sugar barrels. Oddly enough, the final battle, and really the most important of the war, took place after the treaty of peace between the two countries had already been signed. The British were repulsed again and again in persistent and gallant attacks on our fortifications. General Packenham himself was killed, together with many officers and seven hundred of his men. One British officer pushed to the top of our earthworks and demanded their surrender, whereupon he was smilingly asked to look behind him, and turning saw, as he afterward said, that the men he supposed to be supporting him "had vanished as if the earth had swallowed them up." The American losses were inconsiderable.

The treaty of peace, signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814, has been ridiculed because it contained no positive agreement as to many of the questions in dispute. Not a word did it say about the impressment of American sailors or the rights of neutral ships. Its chief stipulations were the mutual restoration of territory and the appointing of a commission to determine our northern boundary line. The truth is that both nations were tired of the war; the circumstances that had led to England's aggressions no longer existed; both countries were suffering enormous commercial loss to no avail; and, above all, the United States had emphatically justified by its deeds its claim to an equal place in the council of nations. Politically and materially, further warfare was illogical. If the two nations had understood each other better in the first place; if Great Britain had treated our demands with courtesy and justice instead of insolence; if, in short, international comity had taken the place of international ill-temper, the war might have been avoided altogether. Its undoubted benefits to us were incidental rather than direct. But though not formally recognized by treaty, the rights of American seamen and of American ships were in fact no longer infringed upon by Great Britain.

One political outcome of the war must not be overlooked. The New England Federalists had opposed it from the beginning, had naturally fretted at their loss of commerce, and had bitterly upbraided the Democratic administration for currying popularity by a war carried on mainly at New England's expense. When in the latter days of the war New England ports were closed, Stonington bombarded, Castine in Maine seized, and serious depredations threatened everywhere along the northeastern coast, the Federalists complained that the administration taxed them for the war but did not protect them. The outcome of all this discontent was the Hartford Convention. In point of fact it was a quite

harmless conference which proposed some constitutional amendments, protested against too great centralization of power, and urged the desirability of peace with honor. But the most absurd rumors were prevalent about its intentions; a regiment of troops was actually sent to Hartford to anticipate treasonable outbreaks; and for many years good Democrats religiously believed that there had been a plot to set up a monarchy in New England with the Duke of Kent as king. Harmless as it was, the Hartford Convention proved the death of the Federalist party. Its mild debates were distorted into secret conclaves plotting treason, and, though the news of peace followed close upon it, the Convention was long an object of opprobrium and a political bugbear.

A PLANTER'S HOUSE IN GEORGIA.

OUR INDIAN PROBLEM.

BY HONORABLE HENRY L. DAWES,
Chairman Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate.

WITH HISTORICAL SKETCH BY ANNA L. DAWES.

CHAPTER XIII.
THE STORY OF THE INDIAN.

CHAPTER XIV.
THE INDIAN OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
(OR OUR INDIAN PROBLEM).

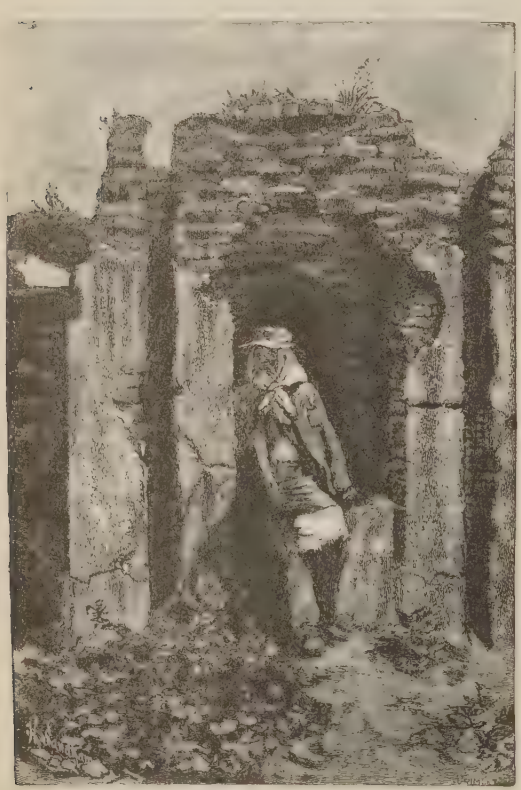
CHAPTER XIII.

THE STORY OF THE INDIAN.

A CHEYENNE.

AT the time when our forefathers first landed on these shores, they found the Indian here. Whether at Plymouth or Jamestown, at the mouth of the Hudson or in Florida, their first welcome was from the red man. To him the country belonged, and from him the white man secured it, sometimes by form of purchase, sometimes as conqueror, more often by the simpler process of taking possession as a settler. For the most part the Indian acquiesced at first. The white man and his ways were new and strange and somewhat fearful to the child of the forest, and it seemed best to propitiate so formidable an antagonist. But the early settlers were men of blood and iron, and both in theory and practice their tender mercies were cruel. On the part of the settlers the Indian was everywhere so treated that friendship turned to enmity, and on both sides fear became an ally of hate. Now and then a leader, broader minded than his fellows, like Standish or John Smith, met the red man with justice, and cemented bonds that stood the strain of battle; but at the beginning, as truly as to-day, the white settler coveted land and pushed the Indian off it that he might dwell thereon in peace. And it must be said that in the seventeenth century he violated no tradition, set

himself against no law, human or divine, when he did this. Possession was still the right of the stronger, the world over, and the conquest of new countries the chief glory of king and commons alike. To flee away from oppression was the only refuge, and to oppressor as well as oppressed it seemed a natural resort. The country was broad enough for both, thought the white man. If the red man could not live with the new comers on the coast, let him fly to the fresh wilderness of the interior; and so he did, year after year, until one day there was no more wilderness. Then the nation which in the nineteenth century still kept up the habits of the seventeenth, found that the weapons of that old time were two-edged; we could not conquer without fighting, nor oppress without revolt; and we learned at last that a new day must have new deeds.



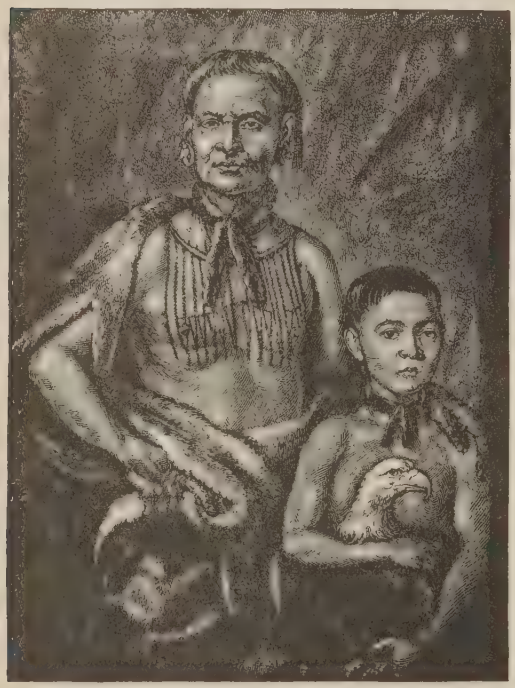
OLD MISSION INDIAN OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.

Our early relations with the Indian may be roughly divided into different periods, covering the time from the first landing on our shores until somewhere about 1830; and then again into other periods, from that time until now. In the first or early chapter of our Indian experiences we find the period of discovery, when the savage met the new comer with wonder and welcome, and the invader plundered and enslaved the savage; the colonial period, when the savage had grown wiser and more cunning and waited for knowledge of the settler's purpose before treating with him, sometimes living peaceably by his side, or sometimes uniting in the vain effort to drive him away, but always baffled, defeated and conquered; and the national period, when the Indian was the accepted enemy of the young nation, or temporarily its ally; but always their relations were those of fighting and destruction. From the year 1830 onward, we were dictating the terms of those relations and changing them to suit the mood of the hour. It is necessary, however, to first consider the early relations of the two peoples.

When the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, in 1620, or Captain John Smith and his followers settled Jamestown, in 1607, they were by no means the first to hold relations with the red men. More than one hundred years had elapsed since Columbus, mistaking our shores for the East Indies, had named the wild inhabitants Indians. In that time one explorer after another had landed on our shores and had taken possession of one tract or another for himself or his king, and held it, or forgotten it, as the case might be. But whether French or English, Spanish or Dutch, these men were invariably met with kindness, hospitality, friendship; and invariably they had returned cruelty. The Indians lived in scattered villages in much quiet and friendliness. Game, fish, a few simple vegetables, including maize and wild roots, made up their living. Hospitality to friend and stranger was a duty, and to refuse succor a crime. They were nowise anxious to take on the white man's ways, which seemed to them inferior in all that was manly. Nor was it much wonder, for the new comers deceived and cheated the simple Indian, or when occasion offered—sometimes without—burned his villages, and killed the inhabitants; and never a ship sailed away from the new world without its quota of kidnapped red men, carried over seas for trophies and slaves. The Spanish and Portuguese in the South, under Cortereal and Coronado and De Soto and others, the French and English in the north, under Cartier and Cabot and their companions, all came on the same search for gold, and all treated the Indian after the same fashion.

When the year 1600 came in, it beheld a new era in America—the era of settlement—the day of homes and villages, and the new question arose whether the two races could live together in peace and quietness. All the experience of the past was against it in the long memory of the red man. In North Carolina, Sir Walter Raleigh's romantic experiment at colonizing Roanoke Island had come to nothing, and left behind it the memory of an unprovoked and treacherous massacre by the suspicious English. Yet notwithstanding this, the Indian still tried the vain experiment of kindness. When in 1607 a colony appeared at Jamestown, the great warrior Powhatan, whose realms had been invaded by the Carolina colony, "kindly entertained" the Englishmen, feeding them with bread and berries and fish, while his people danced for their entertainment. Shortly becoming convinced, however, that the English occupation boded ill for his people, finding that "the rights of the Indian were little respected, and the English did not disdain to appropriate by conquest the soil, the cabins, and the granaries of the tribe of the Appomattox," Powhatan determined to protect his people, and strove in every way to dispossess the English. The skill and courage of the redoubtable Captain John Smith were too much for him, and an outward peace was maintained, although with some difficulty, by that warrior. At one time Captain Smith was himself taken prisoner and his life threatened, and

the romantic story is told that his life was preserved by the Princess Pocahontas. It is more probable, however, that he owed his life to his native wit, although such a rescue had been the happy fate of a much earlier explorer years before. The beautiful Pocahontas married John Rolfe, and thus helped greatly to bind together the colonists and the Indians. But even this outward kindliness was not of long duration, for the death of Powhatan was shortly followed by a dreadful massacre of the whites, and for twenty years both races in that region rivaled each other in destruction.



TOMO-CHI-CHI AND HIS NEPHEW.
(*From a print after the painting by William Verelst.*)

In New England the story was much the same. Before the Pilgrims reached New England the Indians of Maine had suffered much, and the name of the Englishman was already feared and hated. Thus it was that a shower of arrows was the first welcome Massachusetts gave the white man. But a few months later an Indian, Samoset, walked into Plymouth, saying, "Welcome, Englishmen!" and was the first of a group of famous red men who became the friends of the settlers. Squanto, Hobamok, Massasoit, Canonicus, Uncas, Miantonomah, are names well known to New England annals, names of great warriors most of them, men who kept faith with their allies. But as time went on, and the inevitable results of the new occupation appeared, the Indians grew more and more unwilling to give up their lands, and now and again made a brave stand for their own. Then occurred awful wars, bloody and terrible as only savage wars could be, complicated oftentimes by the jealousies and hereditary enmities of the different tribes. Thus if Miantonomah and the Narragansetts were friendly to the settler, Uncas and his Mohicans were their enemies. Early in sixteen hundred, Sassacus and the proud tribe of the Pequots made an unavailing attempt to destroy the invader, and were utterly exterminated. It is hard to tell which were the more barbarous, the colonists or the Indians; alike they burned defenseless villages, alike they murdered women and children. Fifty years later one of the greatest of all the Indian warriors, King

Philip, made one more last effort for his country. For a year and a half he kept the English at bay, appearing and reappearing all over Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, fighting with musket and fire as well as with tomahawk and scalping-knife, brave beyond the telling, and as cruel. The colonists suffered untold horrors, and the Indian endured still more, for in the end he saw his power depart and his race disappear from the soil he had loved so long.

Meanwhile in New York and west of it, the great confederated tribes of the Iroquois or the "Six Nations" ruled over all the surrounding country. Northward to Quebec, southward to Maryland, westward to Illinois and Michigan, they controlled the tributary tribes, and by their political ability, their courage

AN OLD INDIAN FARM-HOUSE.

and their power, they daily established themselves more and more firmly. Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, Oneidas, Senecas and Tuscaroras, they founded a federation or league, and with an elaborate polity and much advancement in the arts of life, with strong towns and stockaded forts, they thought themselves invincible. The towns were well fortified, and their palisades proved sure defenses even against the dreaded powder and balls. For more than a hundred years the Iroquois fought the French in Canada, or defended themselves against the French invasions in New York. The fingers of a single hand will suffice for the victories of the white man, yet in the end the Iroquois were so weakened and decimated by Frontenac, that their power was broken. Partly they owed

this result, however, to the extraordinary diplomatic ability of the chief of the Hurons, their hereditary enemies, who with the skill of a Talleyrand so manipulated both French and Indians as to greatly prolong the war.

In Pennsylvania alone was there peace. Coming over in the last half of the seventeenth century, William Penn brought with him Quaker principles and Quaker methods. For the first time in the history of our dealings with the aborigines we not only began with justice but maintained it. Penn bought the land with much merchandise, and thereafter held the red man as of one blood with the white man. There were neither wars nor massacres, and in the dark

COURTSHIP AMONG THE INDIANS.

story of the Indian this treaty shines with the light of righteousness. On the Pacific coast, too, was a brief brightness. There Sir Francis Drake landed in the "fair and good bay" of San Francisco, in 1579, and so won the hearts of the natives that they made him king, and wept sore for his departure; but this was only an episode, and not the long test of daily contact which the Pennsylvania Quakers bore so serenely. Other and smaller points of light there were; stars in the dark night. It was not until 1528 that any man remembered that these savages had souls, but thereafter there were never wanting brave and holy priests who dared unknown dangers and endured all things to teach here

and there a few. Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits, equaled each other in labors and martyrdoms in Florida and New Mexico, while the story of the Jesuits in the North and West is the very romance of heroism. The grants under which the Protestant English took possession of their lands had much to say of the noble work of bringing civilization and Christianity to the "infidels and savages living in these parts," and Virginia early made some efforts to establish schools and induce "the children of those barbarians" to learn the "elements of literature" and "the Christian religion," but we hear little of practical results until the day when that apostle to the red men, John Eliot, first taught the Indians of Massachusetts and Connecticut. For thirty years he

BURYING THE SACRED PLUME-STICKS IN THE OCEAN—A CURIOUS RELIGIOUS CEREMONY.

lived among them and taught them to read, to work, to pray. He gave them a Bible in their own tongue, and amid labors many and perils more, he and his faithful follower, Thomas Mayhew, gathered from among those hunted and fighting savages six Indian churches, whose more than a thousand "praying Indians" once and again stood firm against fearful odds, and became a bulwark of safety to their pale-faced neighbors.

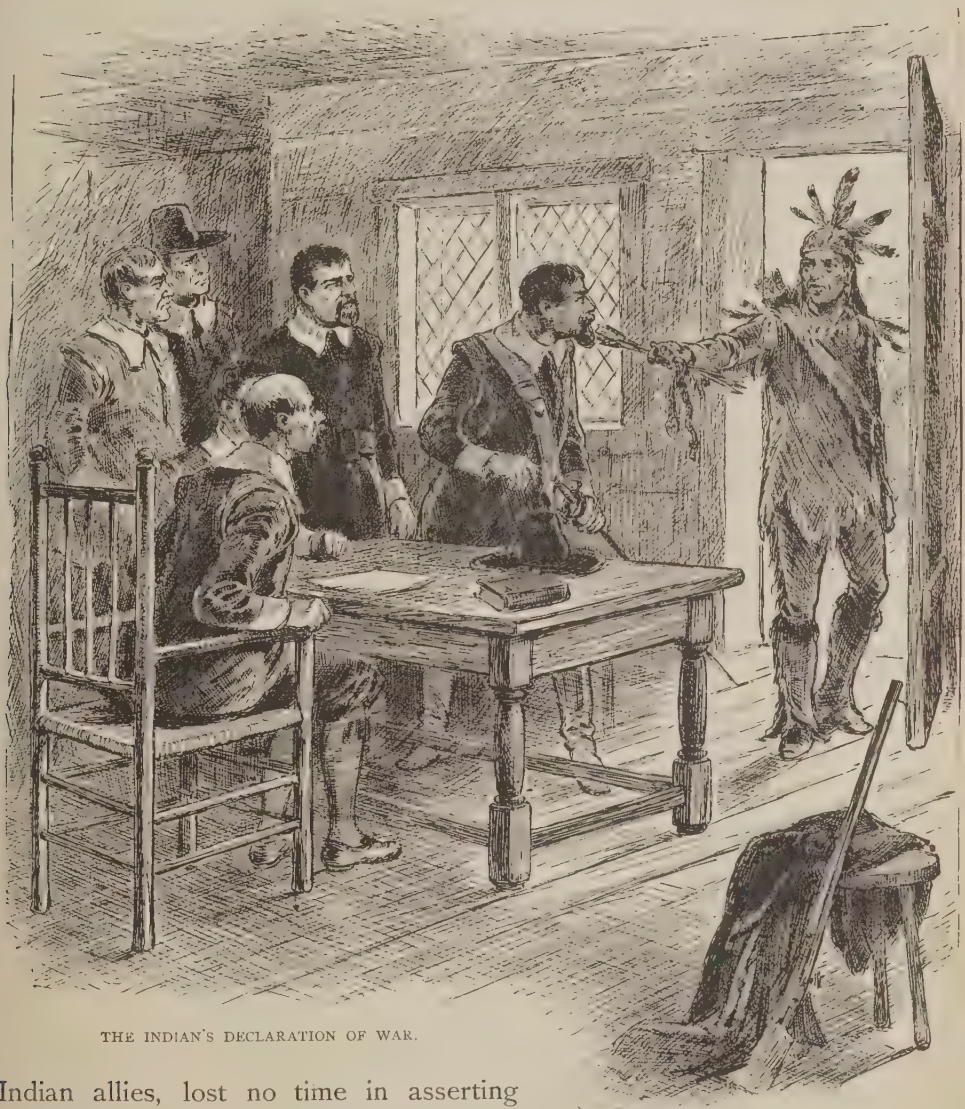
While the colonists were growing strong in the North, and circumstances were speedily to change the Indian problem, the red men of the South were beginning a career unusual in our annals, since it continues in unbroken sequence unto this day. The Indian has gone from New England and the middle West;

the great league of the Iroquois survives only in the legal privileges still accorded the poor remnants of the Six Nations; the warrior of the plains has hardly a link with Powhatan or Pontiac; but the Cherokee and the Seminole are still Indian nations, and still treat with us and still keep to their proud isolation, as their forefathers did. Cherokees, Chickasaws, Seminoles, Creeks and Choctaws, in the early days they spread over the South from the hills of Carolina to the plains of Texas. The Spaniards found them there and so did the French. The Choctaws joined themselves to the French to massacre and exterminate their neighbors, the splendid Natchez; the Chickasaws beat back the invading Frenchmen allied with the Choctaws, and owned no masters. The Cherokees met the friendship of Gov. Oglethorpe in Georgia with like fidelity and friendship, but met treachery and blood in the Carolinas with like treachery and blood, until much fighting and many troops were spent in conquering them. The Creeks and Seminoles kept proud state along the Ohio, in Georgia and in Florida, and during the vicissitudes of their northern brethren, their lives went on more nearly as of old than was possible in the North.

The wars between France and England for the possession of the New World in America, brought about new conditions for the Indian. It is no longer conflicts between separate tribes and their white neighbors we have to consider, but battles which were part of a larger plan and attacks inspired from a different motive. The chronicle becomes no longer so much the story of great chiefs, and struggles for tribal existence, but the Indians "were tossed upon the bayonets of the contending parties, courted no allies, used as scourges, and at all times disdained as equals." For nearly fifty years the French and their allies, the Algonquin tribes, made constant and bloody forays all along the English frontier defended by the Iroquois. Through central New York, Massachusetts, southern New Hampshire and Maine, there was no rest to the settler. At any moment the dreaded war-whoop might be heard, and an awful death awaited him, while worse captivity was the certain fate of the women and children. The familiar story of Deerfield, Massachusetts, was a twice-told tale all through this wide and thickly-settled region. A remote little town, it was marked for attack because of its unhappy possession of a church bell intended for an Indian village in Canada. To rescue this bell, the ever-ready Indians joined the French soldiers, and amidst the snows of February, the town was burned to the ground, and one hundred and twelve inhabitants all killed or carried in cruel captivity in the eight weeks' march through the deep snows and bitter cold to Canada. Death brought welcome release to many of the party. Thus did the whole country suffer, and thus did the red man make his name feared above all things else.

The varying fortunes of France and England, constantly brought similar fluctuations to the peace of the New World, in the fifty years before the treaties

of Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle; but that famous peace scarcely more than altered the scene of the fighting on this side the water. English and French alike claimed the country west of the Alleghanies, and the French, with their



THE INDIAN'S DECLARATION OF WAR.

Indian allies, lost no time in asserting their claims and defending their rights. Then it was, that in the spring of 1754, one George Washington, the young adjutant general of the Virginia militia, scarcely come to his majority, won his spurs in the unavailing campaign against Fort Duquesne. For more than five

years the desultory war went on. Braddock's defeat was followed by many another French success, with its horrid accompaniment of savage warfare. Under Montcalm still more of the Indians joined the French, even the Iroquois uniting with the other tribes against the English, and it was not until 1760, that Canada was finally surrendered to the British. At last the harassed colonists hoped for peace, and dreamed that the scalping knife was thrown away.

Shortly enough it proved a vain dream. As the plantations and towns crowded the hunting grounds farther and farther back, it "threw the Indian who had become possessed of habits modified by contact with the whites, upon the tribes living in the ancient manner, and bred tribal jealousies." The fierce struggle between French and English for the possession of the Mississippi Valley, made a new opportunity, and once more a great warrior arose, determined to make a desperate effort to free his people from the white man. We have hardly given enough credit to the military capacity and the genius for governing, of these great chiefs. They played French against English, Spanish against French, tribe against tribe; they conspired, manipulated men and armies, fought or covenanted, with the skill and insight and courage of great commanders. What was known as "Pontiac's War" was in its inception and development a revolution worthy to rank with the great uprisings of the old world. The Indian is always and everywhere possessed of the genius of ruling. State-craft is his birthright equally with wood-craft. Pontiac, leader of the Ottawas, Ojibways, and Pottawatomies, inspired by the French to take revenge, and eager to free his people from the hated dominion of the English, dreamed a dream of patriotism. To more than usual ability in many directions, he joined the imperious will and high ambition which mark the conqueror. He had ever been victorious, and he planned on a given day to sweep away the forts and crowd the invader into the sea; and not without a sense of what he was undertaking, he proposed to do this by bringing back the French. All along the Canadian frontier, and in Pennsylvania and Virginia as well, the war raged for more than three years, before the great chief finally surrendered the hope he so cherished, and in 1766 made a reluctant treaty with the English.

The hundred years which closed with the end of the Colonial period had not been altogether without effort to civilize and Christianize the red heathen. In Pennsylvania and Ohio the Moravians had won the hearts and lives of the Delawares until their towns blossomed with peace and prosperity, and the lives of the people gave goodly witness to the faith they professed. Beset by hostile Indians and worse beset by hostile whites, three times they were driven—these Christian Indians—from their beautiful homes into a new wilderness, and practising to the full the doctrine of love and forgiveness, these converted savages made no resistance. At last they were rewarded with the crown of martyrdom, when

at Gnaden Huten, without pretext, ninety unresisting and Christian Indians were slaughtered in cold blood by the white men, and no voice of man, woman or child was left to tell the tale. Such instances are in striking contrast with the just dealings of Penn in Pennsylvania. Among the Iroquois the Church of England, the Moravians again, and the Presbyterians made much progress in teaching the children and spreading religion throughout the tribes. From one of their schools arose Hamilton College. In New England too, John Eliot had left worthy successors. The names of Brainard, Jonathan Edwards, Sergeant and

PENN'S RESIDENCE IN SECOND STREET, BELOW CHESTNUT STREET.

Wheelock are known to us still by their labors and their success in teaching the Indian youth; and from both sides the water came the money to carry on their work. It was the last named, Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, whose determination to start a boarding school for his wards resulted in the establishment of Dartmouth College, and among his pupils was the well known Chief of the Mohawks, Joseph Brant, who became such a figure in the Revolutionary War.

When the Colonies finally rebelled against the Mother Country, in 1775, the English had learned much from the French and Indian war as to the military

value of the alliance with the Indians. In one way or another they had suc-

THE APACHE CHIEFS, GERONIMO, NATCHEZ.

ceeded in gaining the friendship of most of the tribes. The Iroquois confederation was their natural ally, through its able chief, Joseph Brant, whose sister had

married the famous governor, Sir William Johnson ; and thus the border line was always open to the British. As the French had thrown the Indian upon the settlers in the past, so the English now set their savage allies upon the defenseless towns and unprotected forts. The tomahawk and scalping knife were again the recognized weapons of warfare, and throughout New York and even in Pennsylvania terror was again abroad. It was in this struggle that the famous Seneca, Red Jacket, fought with desperation, and opposed to the last the treaty which buried the hatchet, with such eloquence that twenty-five years later Lafayette still remembered his words. In the Northwest, the French influence happily prevailed to prevent the Indian defection to any great extent, but in Kentucky and West Virginia there was desperate fighting in a sort of guerrilla warfare between the red braves and such backwoodsmen as Daniel Boone. In the South the warlike Creeks made haste to attack the whites, but met with short shrift. Meanwhile the Continental Congress had placed the affairs of the Indians in three departments, under direction of some of its most famous men, and even employed the Indians in its armies. But only an isolated few were actively on the side of the Colonists.

The close of the Revolutionary War brought only a partial cessation of the Indian warfare. The red man was by no means disposed to give up his country without a struggle, and all throughout the interior, in what is now Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, and along the Ohio River, there were constant outbreaks, and battles of great severity. The conflict in Indiana brought forward the services of a young Lieutenant, William Henry Harrison, who for many years had much to do with Indians, both as officer and as Governor of the new Indian Territory. In 1811 appeared another of those great Indian chiefs whose abilities and influence are well worth attention and study. Tecumseh, a mighty warrior of mixed Creek and Shawnee blood, once more dreamt the old dream of freeing his people. With eloquence and courage he urged them on, by skill he combined the tribes in a new alliance, and, encouraged by British influence, he looked forward to a great success. While he sought to draw the Southern Indians into his scheme, his brother rashly joined battle with General Harrison, and was utterly defeated in the fight which gained for Harrison the title of Old Tippecanoe. Disappointed and disheartened at this destruction of his life-work, Tecumseh threw all his great influence on the British side in the War of 1812, where he dealt much destruction to the United States troops. At Sandusky and Detroit and Chicago, and at other less important forts, the Indian power was severely felt ; at Terre Haute the young Captain Zachary Taylor met them with such courage and readiness of resources that they were finally repulsed, but rarely did a similar good fortune befall our troops ; and it was more than a month after Commodore Perry won victory for us at Lake Erie, that Tecumseh himself was killed, and the twenty-five hundred Indians of his force were finally scattered in the great fight

of the Thames River, where our troops were commanded by William Henry Harrison and Richard M. Johnson, afterward President and Vice-President of the United States. For a little time the Northwest had peace. But in the South the warfare was not over. Tecumseh had stirred up the Creeks and Seminoles against the whites, and throughout Alabama, Georgia, and Northern Florida the Creek War raged with all its horrid accompaniments until 1815; even the redoubtable Andrew Jackson could not conquer the brave Creeks until they were almost exterminated, and then a small remnant still remained in the swamps of Florida to be heard of at a later time.

Thus ends a brief and hasty chronicle of the American Indians in the early days of our Nation. Thereafter they were a subject race, and a new policy was adopted in which we fixed the terms, and they, rebelling or accepting our decision as it might be, in the end could only submit. But as from the beginning so it has gone on until now; as we pushed the frontier farther and farther back, at every stage the Indian made one more effort for his home and his hunting grounds. As in Massachusetts and Virginia, so in Dakota and New Mexico, Powhatan and King Philip and Sitting Bull and Geronimo have alike fought for their country and their people. Let us honor these patriots and not despise them. And we may well admire them also, for braver warriors, abler statesmen, wiser rulers the world has seldom seen. Small was their field, cruel their code, savage their people, but in despair and difficulty they wrought great works. A pity it is that so many great names are forgotten, so many brave deeds unsung.

ANNA L. DAWES.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE INDIAN OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Before the new Government of the United States was fully upon its feet it recognized the necessity and duty of caring for its Indian population. In 1775, a year before the Declaration of Independence, the Continental Congress divided the Indians into three Departments, Northern, Middle, and Southern, each under the care of three or more Commissioners, among whom we find no less personages than Oliver Wolcott, Philip Schuyler, Patrick Henry, and Benjamin Franklin. As early as 1832 the young nation found itself confronted with an Indian problem, and created a separate Bureau for the charge of the red men, and inaugurated a policy in its treatment of them. Speaking in general, we have altered this policy three times. As a matter of fact, we have certainly altered its details, changed its plans, and adopted a new point of view as changing Administrations have changed the administrators of our Indian affairs. But in the large, there have been three great steps in our Indian policy, and these have to some extent grown out of our changing conditions. The first plan was that of the reservations. Under that system, as the Indian land was wanted by the white population he was removed across the Mississippi and still further west, pushed step by step beyond and beyond; and as time went on and the population followed hard after, he was confined to designated tracts. It was no matter that these tracts were absolutely guaranteed to him, he was still driven off them again and again as the farmer or the miner demanded the land. In time a new policy was attempted, or, rather, an old policy was revived, that of concentrating the

HON. HENRY L. DAWES.

whole body of Indians in one State or Territory, but the obvious impossibility of that scheme soon wrought its own end. Less than twenty years ago the present plan took its place, that of education and eventual absorption.

In 1830 the country seemed to stretch beyond any possible need of the young nation, lusty as it was, and the wide wilderness of the Rocky Mountains to furnish hunting grounds for all time. The Mississippi Valley and the Northwest were still unsettled and uneasy, and in the South the Five Nations were greatly in the way of their white neighbors, and the scheme of removing the red inhabitants beyond the Mississippi was begun. The first removals were, like the last, times of trouble and disturbance, and then, as now, there were two parties in the tribes, those who saw there was no way but submission, and those who indulged the fruitless dream of revolt. Thus the Sac and Fox tribe of Wisconsin was divided, and although Keokuk and one band went peaceably to their new home among the Iowas, Black Hawk and his followers were slow to depart, and were removed by force. The Indian Department failed to furnish corn enough for the new settlement, and going to seek it among the Winnebagoes, the Indians came into collision with the Government. Thereafter ensued a series of misunderstandings, and consequent fights, and great alarm among the whites and the destruction of the Indians. The story is the same story, almost to details, that every year has seen from that day to this.

Under President Monroe several treaties were made with the Five Nations, by which, one after another, they ceded their Southern lands to the Government, and took in exchange the country now known as the Indian Territory. They were already far advanced in civilization, with leaders combining in blood and brain the Indian astuteness and the white man's experience and education. John Ross, a half-breed chief of the Cherokees, of extraordinary ability, brought about the removal under conditions more favorable than often occurred. He was bitterly opposed by full half the Indians, and it was not without sufferings and losses of more than one kind that the great Southern league was removed to the fair and fertile land they had chosen in the far-off West. It was owing to the sagacity of John Ross and his associates that this land was secured to them, as no other land has ever been secured to any Indian tribe. They hold it to-day by patent, as secure in the sight of the law as an old Dutch manor house or Virginia plantation, and all the learning of the highest tribunals has not yet found the way to evade or disregard these solemn obligations. To these men, too, and to the missionaries who had long taught these tribes, do they owe an elaborate and effective civilization, and a governmental polity which preserves for them alone, among all their red brethren, the title and the state of nations. The Seminoles, who were of the Creek blood, were divided, some of them going west with their brethren,

some of them, the larger part, remaining in Florida. With these, about four thousand in all, under Osceola, the Government fought a seven years' war, costing forty millions of dollars and untold lives. After like fashion have all our "removals" proceeded, and from like causes—the greed of the white man and the ferocity of the outraged Indian. It is useless and impossible to give the details of all the various tribes that have been pushed about, hither and yon. In 1830 the East was already crowding toward the West, and every decade saw the frontier moved onward with giant strides. Everywhere the Indian was an undesirable neighbor, and when, in 1849, the discovery of gold began to create a new nation on the Pacific slope, a pressure began from that side also, and the intervening deserts became a thoroughfare for the pilgrims of fortune and the many lovers of adventure. From year to year the United States made fresh treaties with the innumerable tribes; those in the East were gone already, those in the interior were following fast, and there had arisen the new necessity of dealing with those in the far West. One tribe after another would be planted on a reservation millions of acres in extent and apparently far beyond the home of civilization, and almost in a twelvemonth the settler would be upon its border demanding its broad acres. The reservations were altered, reduced, taken away altogether, at the pleasure of the Government, with little regard to the rights or wishes of the Indian. Usually this brought about fighting, and it produced a state of permanent discontent that wrought harm for both settler and savage. The Indian grew daily more and more treacherous and constantly more cruel. The white settler was daily in greater danger, and constantly more full of revenge.

PEDRO PINO. LAI-IU-AH-TSAI-LA. FORMERLY GOVERNOR OF ZUNI FOR THIRTY YEARS.

A new complication entered into the problem. The game was fast disappearing, and therewith the life of the Indian. It became necessary for the Government to furnish rations and clothes, lest he starve and freeze. Cheating was the rule and deception the every-day experience of these savages. In 1795 General Wayne gained the nickname of General To-morrow, so slow was the Government to fulfill his promises; and thus for more than a hundred years it has always been to-morrow for the Indian. Exasperated beyond endurance, he was ever ready to retaliate, and the horrors of an Indian war constantly hung over the pioneer. During all this period we treated these Indians as if they were foreign nations, and made solemn treaties with them, agreeing to furnish

them rations or marking the reservation bounds. We have made more than a thousand of these treaties, and General Sherman is the authority for the statement that we have broken every one ourselves. Day by day the gluttonous idleness, the loss of hope and future, the sense of wrong, and the bitter feeling of contempt united to degrade the red man as well as to madden him. The fighting did not cease, for all the promises or the threats of the Government. But always, it is credibly declared, the first cause of an Indian outbreak has been a wrong suffered. And always, in these latter days as in the earlier period, it has meant one more effort on the part of the old warriors to regain the power they saw slipping away so fast. Both these causes entered into the awful Sioux War in Minnesota in 1862. Suffering from piled-up wrongs, smarting under the loss of power, and conscious that the Civil War was their opportunity, a party of one hundred and fifty Sioux began the most horrid massacre of the last fifty years; the beginning of a struggle which lasted more than a year, which was remarkable for the steadfast fidelity of the Christian Indians, to whose help and succor whole bodies of white men owed their lives. Four years later, in 1866, the discovery of gold in Montana caused the invasion of the Sioux reservation, and Red Cloud set about defending it. Scarcely more than thirty years old, but no mean warrior, he fought the white man long and desperately and with the cunning of his race. This outbreak was scarcely quieted when another occurred. As was its wont, the Government forgot the promises of its treaty of peace, and a small band of the Cheyennes retaliated with a raid upon their white neighbors. General Sheridan made this the occasion he was seeking for a war of extermination, and in November, 1868, Lieutenant Custer fell upon Black Kettle's village and after a severe fight destroyed the village, killing more than a hundred warriors and capturing half as many women and children. The next year General Sheridan ordered the Sioux and Cheyennes off the

KON-IT'L, AN INDIAN CHIEF.

hunting grounds the treaty had reserved to them, but these were the strongest and bravest of the tribes and they resisted the order. A list of heroes, Crook, Terry, Custer, Miles, and McKenzie, led our troops, and among the chiefs whom they met in a long and desperate struggle were Crazy Horse and Spotted Tail, notable warriors both. At the battle of the Big Horn, by some misunderstanding or mismanagement General Custer was left with only five companies to meet nearly three thousand savage Sioux. He fought desperately until the last but he himself was killed, and so utterly was his command destroyed that not a single man was left alive. The attempt to remove the Modocs from California to Oregon in 1872 was the signal for a new war; and a year or two afterward similar results followed when it was attempted to push the Nez Perces from the homes they had sought in Oregon to a new reservation in Idaho. This tribe under their famous leader, Chief Joseph, were hard to conquer. Their military organization, their civilized method of warfare, their courage and skill, were publicly complimented by General Sherman and General Howard and General Gibbons, who declared Chief Joseph to be one of the greatest of modern warriors.

In 1877, discouraged at all our efforts to hold the Indians in check, it was determined by Secretary Schurz, then in charge of the Department of the Interior, to remove them all to the western part of the Indian Territory, where the Five Nations would cede the necessary land, and there create an Indian State. Great trouble arose from the attempt to carry out this well-meant, but impossible, effort. A single story, the story of the Northern Cheyennes, will illustrate the wrongs the Indian suffered as well as those he inflicted. The Cheyennes, as has been seen, were a tribe of great warriors, some of them at home in the hills of the North, some in the hills of the South. Cheyennes and Arapahoes, Kiowas and Comanches, were banded together in a close and common bond, and at first the friends of the Government, had become frequently its enemies, by reason of broken faith, cruel treatment, injustice, and downright wrong. That chronicle of misery, "A Century of Dishonor," contains forty pages of facts taken from the Government records, which relate the inexcusable and indefensible treatment of this tribe by the Government and the vain effort for endurance of the Cheyennes, interspersed with frequent savage outbreaks when human nature could endure no longer. It includes the account of a massacre of helpless Indian women and children under a flag of truce; a war begun over ponies stolen from the Indians and sold in the open market by the whites in a land where the horse thief counts with the murderer; another incited by rage against a trader who paid one-dollar bills for ten-dollar bills; and tells of whole tracts of land seized without compensation by the United States itself. The Northern Cheyennes had been taken by force to the Indian Territory, and in its awful heat, with

scant and poor rations, a pestilence came on. Two thousand were sick at once, and many died because there was not medicine enough. At last three hundred braves, old men and young, with their women and children, broke away and, making a raid through Western Kansas, sought their Nebraska home. This was not a mild and peaceable tribe. It was fierce and savage beyond most, and they were wild with long endured injustice and frantic with a nameless terror. Three times they drove back the troops who were sent to face them, and, living by plunder, they made a red trail all through Kansas, until they were finally captured in Nebraska in December. They refused to go back to the Indian Territory, and the Department ordered them starved into submission. Food and fuel were taken from those imprisoned Indians. Four days they had neither food nor fire—and the mercury froze at Fort Robinson in that month! And when at last two chiefs came out under a flag of truce, they were seized and imprisoned. Then pandemonium broke loose inside. The Indians broke up the useless stoves, and fought with the twisted iron. They brought out a few hidden arms, and howling like devils they rushed out into the night and the snow. Seven days later they were shot down like dogs.

Experiences like this soon ended the attempt to gather together all our Indian wards, and we returned to the old plan of the reservations, but with little more certainty of peace than before. Again and again starvation was followed by fighting, nameless outrages upon the Indian by cruel outrages upon the white man. Whether Apaches under Geronimo in New Mexico, or Sioux in Dakota, it was the old story over again. Thus with constant danger menacing the white settler from the infuriated and savage Indian, and constant outrage upon the red man by rapacious and cruel whites, the government found a new policy necessary. By a strange and unusual sequence of events this policy was inaugurated. In 1869 a sharp difference arose between the two Houses of Congress over the appropriations to pay for eleven treaties then just negotiated, and the session closed with no appropriation for the Indian service. The necessity for some measure was extreme; the plan was devised of a bill, which was passed at an extra session, putting two millions of dollars in the hands of President Grant, to be used as he saw fit, for the civilization and protection of the Indian. He immediately called to his aid a commission composed of nine philanthropic gentlemen to overlook the affairs of the Indian and advise him thereupon. This Commission served without salary and continues to this day its beneficent work. Another valuable measure resulted. At the next Congress a law was passed forbidding any more treaties with Indians, and thenceforth they became our wards, not our rivals.

The war of 1876 had indirectly another beneficent result of most far-reaching consequences. Among the brave men who had fought the Cheyennes and Kiowas and Comanches, was Captain Richard H. Pratt, who was put in charge

CUSTER'S LAST FIGHT. 267

of the prisoners sent to Fort Marion, Florida, as a punishment worse than death. They were the wildest and fiercest of warriors, who had fought long and desperately. On their long way to the East they had killed their guard, and repeatedly tried, one and another, to kill themselves. But Captain Pratt was a man of wonderful executive ability, of splendid courage and great faith in God and man. By firmness and patience and wondrous tact he gradually taught them to read and to work, and when after three years the Government offered to return them to their homes, twenty-three refused to go. Captain Pratt appealed to the Government to continue their education, and General Armstrong, with his undying faith in human beings as children of one Father, and with his sublime enthusiasm for humanity, took most of them at Hampton Institute, the rest being sent to the North under the care of Bishop Huntington of New York. In the end these men returned to their tribes Christian men, and with the seventy who returned directly from Florida, every one became a power for peace and industry in his tribe. Out of this small beginning grew the great policy of Indian education, and the long story of death and destruction began to change to the bright chronicle of peace and education.

What, then, is the condition of the Indian to-day? In number there are scarcely more than two hundred and forty thousand in the whole country. Of these less than one-fifth depend upon the Government for support. All told, they are less than the inhabitants of Buffalo or Cleveland or Pittsburgh, but they are *not* dying out, the rather steadily increasing. They are divided and subdivided into multitudinous tribes of different characteristics and widely different degrees of civilization. Some are Sioux—these are brave and able and intelligent; they live in wigwams or tepees, and are dangerous and often hostile. Some are Zunis, and live in houses and make beautiful pottery, and are mild and peaceable, and do not question the ways of the Great Father at Washington. Some are roving bands of Shoshones, dirty, ignorant, and shiftless—the tramps of their race—who are on every man's side at once. Some are Chilcats or Klinkas, whose Alaskan homes offer new problems of new kinds for every day we know them. And some are Cherokees, living in fine houses, dressed in the latest fashion, and spending their winters in Washington or Saint Louis. Yet these, and many more of many kinds, are all alike Indians. They have their own governments, their own unwritten laws, their own customs. As a race they are neither worthless nor degraded. The Indian is not only brave, strong, able by inheritance and practice to endure beyond belief, but he is patient under wrong, ready and eager to learn, and willing to undergo much privation for that end; usually affectionate in his family relations, grateful to a degree, pure and careful of the honor of his wife and daughter; and he is also patriotic to a fault. He has a great genius for government, and an unusual interest in it. He is full of manly honor, and he is supremely religious. His history and traditions are

but just now discovered, to the delight and the surprise of scientific students. His daily life is a thing of elaborate ceremonial, and his national existence is as carefully regulated as our own, and by an intricate code. It is true that our failure to comprehend his character and our neglect to study his customs have bred many faults in him and have fostered much evil. Our treatment of him, moreover, has produced and increased a hostility which has been manifested in savage methods for which we have had little mercy. But we have not always given the same admiration to warlike virtues when our enemy was an Indian that we have showered without stint upon ancient Gaul or modern German. The popular idea of the Indian not only misconceives his character, but to a large

UNHORSED—AN INCIDENT OF CUSTER'S FIGHT.

degree his habits also. Even the wildest tribes live for the most part in huts or cabins made of logs, with two windows and a door. In the middle is a fire, sometimes with a stovepipe and sometimes without. Here the food is cooked, mostly stewed, in a kettle hung gypsy-fashion, or laid on stones over the fire. Around this fire, each in a particular place of his own, lies or sits the whole family. Sometimes the cooking is done out of doors, and in summer the close cabin is exchanged for a tepee or tent. Here they live, night and day. At night a blanket is hung up, partitioning the tent for the younger women, and if the family is very large, there are often two tents, in the smaller of which sleep the young girls in charge of an old woman. These tents or cabins are clustered

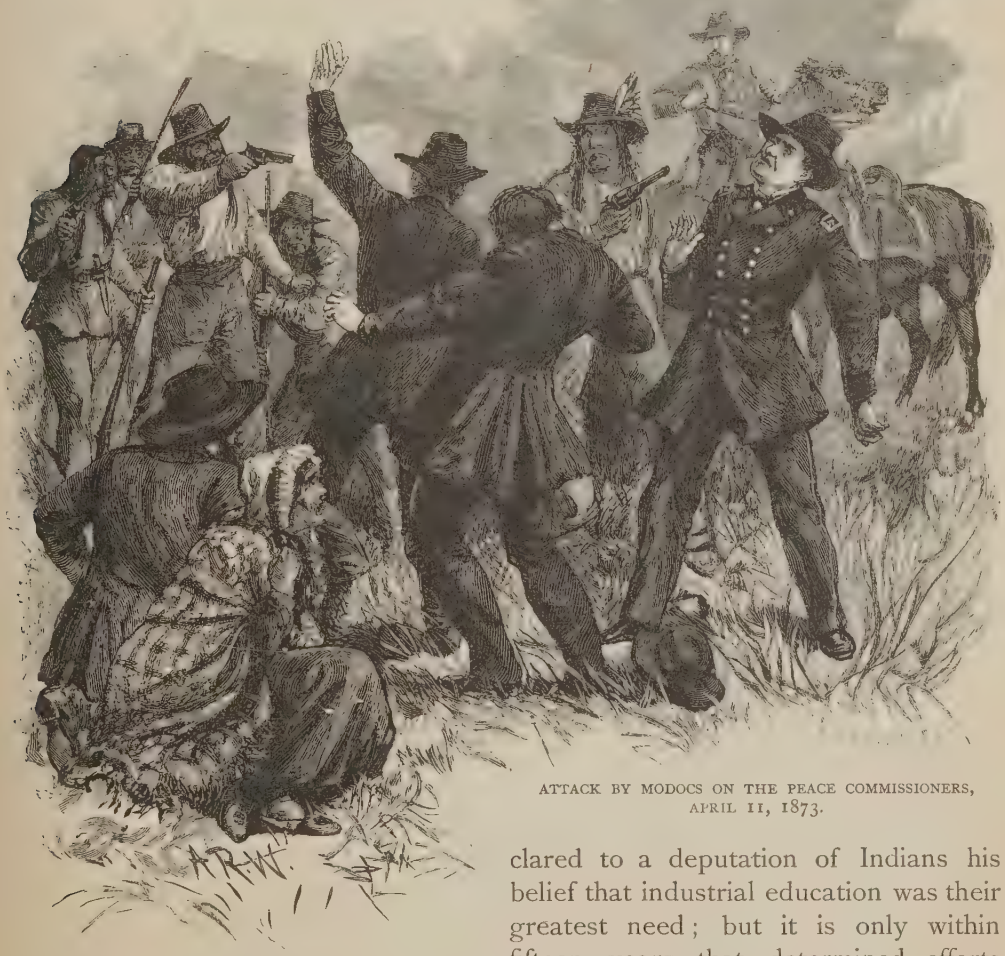
close together, and their inhabitants spend their days smoking, talking, eating, quarreling, as the case may be. Sometimes near them, sometimes miles away, is the agent's house and the Government buildings. These are usually a commissary building where the food for the Indians is kept, a blacksmith shop, the store of the trader, school buildings, and perhaps a saw-mill. To this place the Indians come week by week for their food. The amount and nature of the rations called for by the different treaties vary greatly among different tribes. But everywhere the Indian has come into some sort of contact with the whites, and usually he makes some shift to adopt the white man's ways. A few are rich, some own houses, and almost universally, now, Government schools teach the children something of the elements of learning as well as the indispensable English.

INDIAN AGENCY.

The immediate control of the reservation Indian is in the hands of the agent, whose power is almost absolute, and, like all despotisms, is very good or intolerable, as the individual character of the man may be. The agencies are inspected from time to time by Inspectors, who report directly to the Commissioner [of Indian Affairs], who in his turn is an officer of the Interior Department and responsible to the Secretary, who is, of course, amenable to the President. In each house of Congress is a committee having charge of all legislation relating to Indian Affairs. Besides these officials there is the Indian Commission already mentioned. The National Indian Rights Association and the Women's National Indian Association are the unofficial and voluntary guardians of the Indian work. It is their task to spread correct information, to create intelligent interest, to set in motion public and private forces which will bring about legislation, and by public meetings and private labors to prevent wrongs against the Indian, and to further good work for him of many kinds. While the Indian Rights Association does the most public and official work for the race and has large influence over legislation, the Women's Indian Association concerns itself more largely with various philanthropic efforts in behalf of the individual, and thus the two bodies supplement each other.

Hopeless and impossible as it seemed twenty years ago to absorb the

Indian, to-day we see the process more than begun and in some cases half accomplished; and in this work the Government, philanthropy, education, religion, have all had their share, and so closely have these walked together that neither can be set above or before the others. We began to realize, it is true, that our duty and our safety alike lay in educating these Indians, as early as 1819, when Congress appropriated $10,000 for that purpose, and still earlier President Washington de-



ATTACK BY MODOCS ON THE PEACE COMMISSIONERS, APRIL 11, 1873.

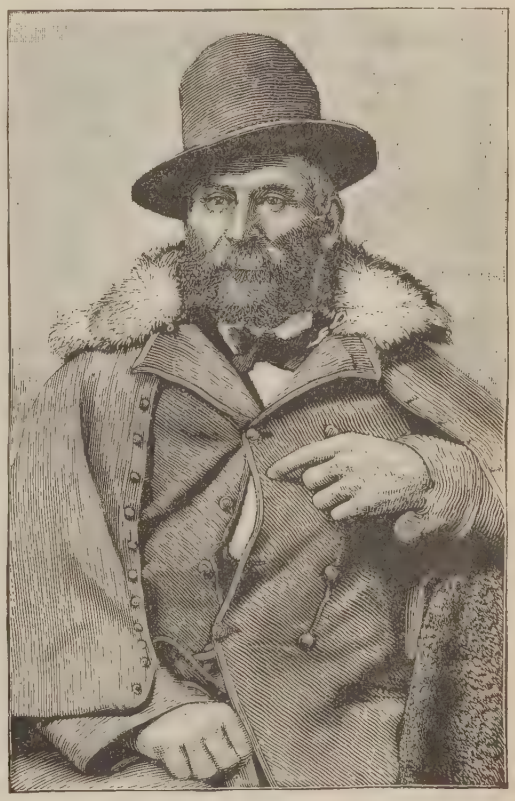
clared to a deputation of Indians his belief that industrial education was their greatest need; but it is only within fifteen years that determined efforts have been made or adequate provision afforded. Beginning with $10,000 in 1819, we had reached only $20,000 in 1877; but the appropriation for 1891 for Indian education was $2,291,000. With this money we support thirteen

great industrial training schools established at various convenient points, and five more are about to be added. In them nearly 5000 children are learning not only books, but all manner of industries, and are adding to civilization the training of character. There are no less than seventy boarding schools on the various reservations teaching and training as many more of these children of the hills and plains, and half as many gather daily at the one hundred little day schools which dot the prairies, some of them appearing to the uninitiated to be miles away from any habitation. This does not include the more than thirty mission schools of the various Churches. But all together it is hoped that in the excellent Government schools now provided, in the splendid missionary seminaries, and in the great centres of light like Hampton and Carlisle and Haskell Institute, we shall in 1892 do something for the education of nearly or quite two-thirds of all the 30,000 Indian children who can be reached with schools.

The two great training schools at the East, Hampton and Carlisle, have proved object lessons for the white man as well as the Indian, and the opposition they constantly encounter from those who do not believe that the red man can ever receive civilization is in some sort a proof of their value. In the main, they and all their kind have one end—the thorough and careful training in books and work and home life of the Indian boy and girl, and their methods are much alike. Once a year the Superintendents or teachers of these schools go out among the Indians and bring back as many boys and girls as they can persuade the fathers and mothers to send. At first these children came in dirt and filth, and with little or no ideas of any regular or useful life, but of late many of them have learned some beginnings of civilization in the day schools. They are taught English first, and by degrees to make bread and sew and cook and wash and keep house if they are girls; the trade of a printer, a blacksmith, a carpenter, etc., if they are boys. They study books, the boys are drilled, and from kind, strong men and gentle, patient women they learn to respect work and even to love it, to turn their hands to any needed effort, to adapt themselves to new situations, the meaning of civilization.

It is charged that the Indian educated in these schools does not remain civilized, but shortly returns to his old habits and customs. Can an Indian boy or girl be so far civilized in five years, it is asked, that he will withstand all the forces, personal and social, striving to draw him back to the easy ways of barbarism when he returns to his old associates? A detailed examination into the lives of three hundred and eighteen Indian students who have gone out from Hampton Institute has shown that only thirty-five have in any way disappointed the expectations of their friends and teachers, and only twelve have failed altogether; and the extraordinary test of the last Sioux war, in which only one of these students, and he a son-in-law of Sitting Bull, joined the hostiles, may well settle the question.

With the passage of the Severalty Law, in 1887, a new era opened before the Indian. Under it, if he will, there is secured to him and each member of his family a homestead of eighty acres, inalienable and exempt from taxation for twenty-five years. With this homestead comes citizenship and all its privileges and immunities, obligations and opportunities. All these are his, also, without allotment of any land in severalty, whenever he will abandon his tribe and take upon himself the ways of the white man. Nearly twenty thousand have already since the passage of this law taken their place in the citizenship of the nation. The transition from a state of dependent wards, whose dwelling place and manner of life, whose food and raiment and very being, were controlled by another, into the independence and responsibilities of United States citizenship, has been so sudden, and in some cases without due preparation for so great a change, as to prove a severe test of the manhood in the Indian. There have been failures, but they have been marvelously few, and this way out of barbarism to civilization is becoming plainer and surer every day.



GENERAL GEORGE CROOK.

The providing of an inalienable home for the Indian, and citizenship, with all that pertains to that royal title, to all who avail themselves of this grant, has brought along with it the necessity for new laws, almost a new code, for the government and protection of this race. Citizenship, provided in the Severalty Law, by its own force brought every one it reached at once into the same forum and under the same shield as every other citizen of the United States. It also defined and guarded the marriage relation and the descent of property, as well as other domestic relations, hitherto shadowy and but little regarded. But the reservation and wild Indian cannot appeal to this law for protection or assertion of his rights. It has been more difficult to bring him within the pale of legal enactment either for restraint or protection. Yet great progress has been made even here. The judicious expenditure of large

appropriations for the education of the Indian has done much to clear the way and make the bringing of this class of Indians under the restraining and civilizing influence of law. It has not always been possible, among savages, to do this in strict conformity with the normal methods pointed out in the Constitution which governs the States and civilized people, but methods have been adopted suited to the conditions of the several tribes, and best adapted to the maintenance of peace, the protection of person and property, and the lesson of restraint which comes from familiarity with the administration of law in its various forms. This has been accomplished to a remarkable degree through the agency of the Indian himself. An Indian police selected from the most trustworthy and efficient Indians, paid and uniformed by the Government, patrol the reservations, preserving the peace and enforcing an observance of law. A "Court of Indian Offenses," presided over by three discreet and influential Indians appointed by and under the constant supervision of the Secretary of the Interior, try and punish those who are charged with the commission of minor offenses; while in the matter of the more serious crimes of murder, arson, robbery, and the like, perpetrated either by or upon an Indian, the offender is by law to be tried and punished in all respects as if both parties were white men. In this way substantial security to person and property prevails upon the reservation.

It has been said that religion and philanthropy and the Government have gone hand in hand in the work of educating the Indian to a new conception of manhood. Without the work done for him by the missionaries, no progress would have been possible. And if some of the work already described has been labeled philanthropic or legislative or educational, it has been as truly missionary work as any done on the frontier, and its motives and many times its methods have been the missionary zeal and the missionary teaching. Captain Pratt was by no means the first man who ever taught an Indian. The saintly Bishop Whipple had lived among the Minnesota Indians for years, and that other saint, Dr. Riggs, had given his life to the Dakotas long before, and a generation had passed since Samuel Wooster suffered in prison for teaching the Cherokees. The Congregationalists at Santee, at Hampton, the Episcopalian Bishop Hare's wonderful schools in Dakota, the Presbyterians in Nebraska and Alaska, the Unitarians among the Crows, the Friends with the Sacs and Foxes in the South, and each of these and others in many other places dotted all over the land, are teaching the Indians of the Great Father, of Him who is the light and life of the world, of the salvation and brotherhood of men; and they are eager to hear it. Our duty and our interest go hand in hand and the pathway is becoming plainer every day.

The irresistible growth of the nation in the increase of its population demanding homes, in the reaching out after every element of wealth and power

lying within its utmost confines, is absorbing, with everything else material, the last unoccupied acre of the heritage of the Indian. Shall it also absorb the race itself, and make it part of its citizenship and body politic? Either this, or what is left of the Indian race, two hundred and fifty thousand, must be soon turned out, a homeless, penniless band of wandering, savage tramps, the terror of the land. There is no alternative to this outcome but absorption or extermination. The latter being impossible, the former alone is left us. We have wisely accepted it, and the success which has thus far attended the undertaking to fit the race for absorption attests its wisdom. As an Indian of the old time and character he is fast disappearing, and a new strain of blood, relatively slight and not void of good elements, is being safely injected into national citizenship. If the work be persisted in patiently and kindly it will soon be ended. But it cannot be accomplished by enactment alone, nor, without that, by educational or missionary effort. All these in harmonious endeavor, with self-supporting citizenship as the end in view, bent on the lift, will surely and speedily raise him from the low condition of helpless and aimless and worse than useless barbarism, to the plane where he can, according to the measure of an ever-increasing capacity, contribute to the wealth of citizenship in the land. This is no small labor lightly turned off. It is changing into civilized life the barbarism of centuries. The savage must be inspired with new thoughts and aspirations, and to make room for these the passions and tendencies of ages and generations must be driven out. It is not beginning with the *tabula rasa* of an infant, but with life born and bred a savage life. The infant is to be taught to walk, not only as a white man walks, but to shun the slippery ways toward which all its surroundings, all its blood, and all the life which it inherits are drawing it. It is a great

GENERAL CROOK'S APACHE GUIDE.

undertaking, and will cost much in time and money; but it is also a necessity, and in the end will bring full recompense.

The Indian race is worthy of our deepest interest. Here is a people full of natural pride and bound together in a national feeling much stronger than we ourselves know anything about, crushed down by the power of a Government which seems to them always their enemy but always professing to be their protector; full of despair that sees no hope in the future; perplexed with the present, that seems to their direct ways and simple thought to have no explanation, but is always in some manner to be full of sorrow and trouble; without occupation, with no one to understand their past or care for their heroes and their history; shot down like dogs for disobeying law they do not comprehend, and execrated for the bravery that all men elsewhere are wont to admire; losing at once their children and their customs; these uncomprehended statesmen, these despised knights, this people, who can find no common ground with their destroyers, ask of us at least to know who they are, what they want, why they are as they are, to see where the fault lies, to know what it means when a war arises;—to put ourselves in their place, and at least to pay attention. A tragedy of nations is going on in our midst and we sit calmly by, never giving it even the idle attention of our leisure. And some of the woes of this tragedy are also the birth-pangs of a new nation. If the sorrows of the past and the present do not affect us, let us at least sympathize with the hopes of the present and the future. We are given the unusual privilege to see a nation born in our midst. Out of the darkness of the past, its ignorance, its custom-bound barbarism, its wild and splendid bravery of battle, a nation is coming into the light, is beginning to know knowledge, to feel the freedom of life under law, to show the less splendid but all-requiring bravery of the new manhood, the every-day fortitude of the new womanhood.

CHAPTER XV.

THE STORY OF THE NEGRO.

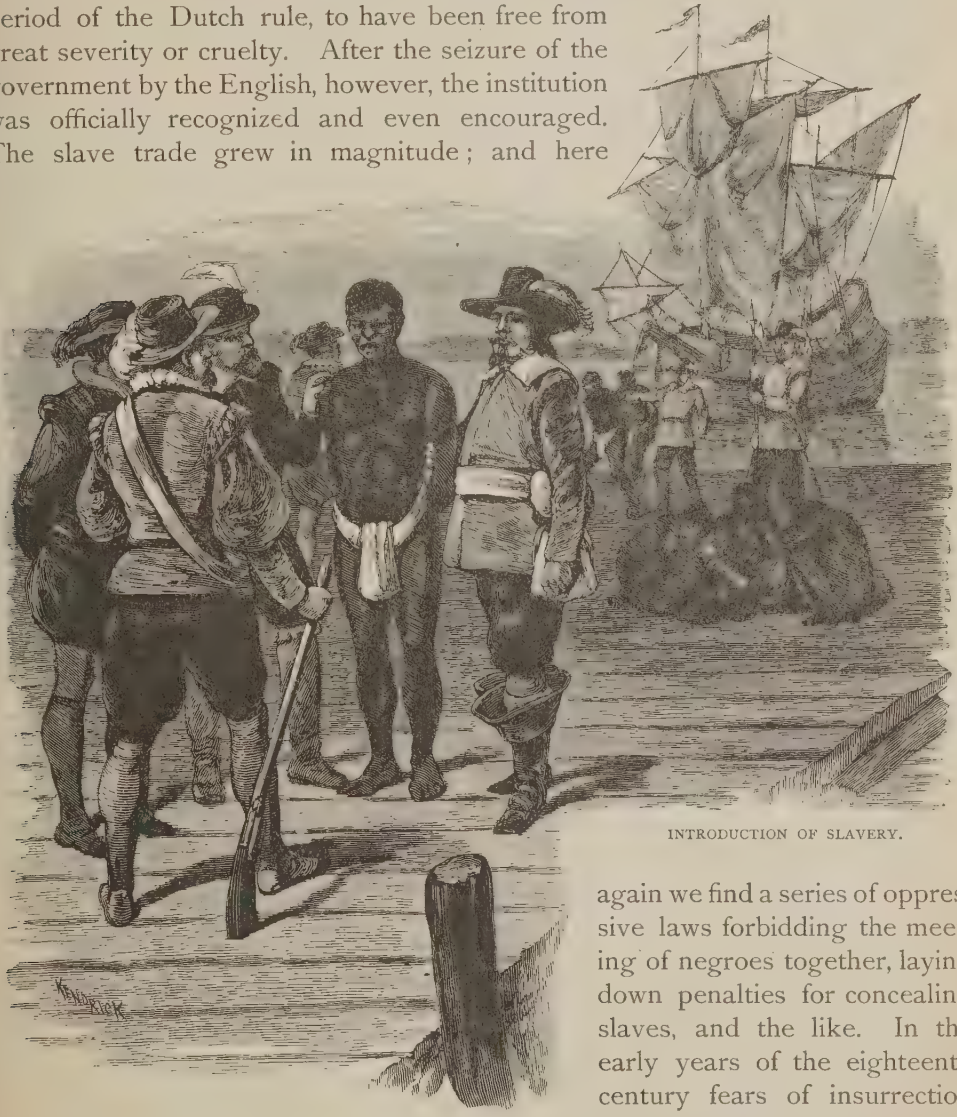
THE history of the negro in America is, in brief, the record of slavery agitation, political struggle, civil war, emancipation, and gradual growth into citizenship. When, over two hundred and seventy years ago—it is in doubt whether the correct date is 1619 or 1620—a few wretched negroes, some say fourteen some say twenty, were bartered for provisions by the crew of a Dutch man-of-war, then lying off the Virginia coast, it would have seemed incredible that in 1890 the negro population of the Southern States alone should almost reach a total of seven million souls. The peculiarity of the form of slavery, begun almost by chance it seemed, in that act of barter in the feeble little colony of Virginia, was that it was based on the claim of race inferiority. African negroes had, indeed, been sold into slavery among many nations for perhaps three thousand years; but in its earlier periods slavery was rather the outcome of war than the deliberate subject of trade, and white captives no less than black were ruthlessly thrown into servitude. It has been estimated that in historical times some forty million Africans have been enslaved. The discovery and colonization of America gave an immense stimulus to the African slave trade. The Spaniards found the Indian an intractable slave, and for the arduous labors of colonization soon began to make use of negro slaves, importing them in great numbers and declaring that one negro was worth, as a human beast of burden, four Indians. Soon the English adventurers took up the traffic. It is to Sir John Hawkins, the ardent discoverer, that the English-speaking peoples owe their participation in the slave trade. He has put it on record as the result of one of his famous voyages, that he found "that negroes were very good merchandise in Hispaniola and might easily be had on the coast of Guinea." For his early adventures of this kind he was roundly taken to task by Queen Elizabeth. But tradition says that he boldly faced her with argument, and ended by convincing the Virgin Queen that the slave trade was not merely a lucrative but a philanthropic undertaking.

Certain it is that she acquiesced in future slave trading, while her successors, Charles II and James II, chartered four slave trading companies and received a share in their profits. It is noteworthy that both Great Britain and the United States recognized the horrors of the slave trade as regards the seizing and transportation from Africa of the unhappy negroes, long before they could bring themselves to deal with the problem of slavery as a domestic institution. Of those horrors nothing can be said in exaggeration. They exist to-day in the interior of Africa, in no less terrible form than a hundred years ago ; and the year 1891 has seen the Great Powers combining in the attempt to eradicate an evil of enormous and growing proportions. The peculiar atrocities attending the exportation of slaves from Africa to other countries have, however, happily become a thing of the past. What those atrocities were even in our day may be judged from one of many accounts given by a no means squeamish or over sensitive sailor, Admiral Hobart. He thus describes the appearance of a slaver just captured by a British ship : "There were four hundred and sixty Africans on board, and what a sight it was ! The schooner had been eighty-five days at sea. They were short of water and provisions ; three distinct diseases—namely, small-pox, ophthalmia, and diarrhœa in its worst form—had broken out, while coming across, among the poor, doomed wretches. On opening the hold we saw a mass of arms, legs, and bodies, all crushed together. Many of the bodies to whom these limbs belonged were dead or dying. In fact, when we had made some sort of clearance among them we found in that fearful hold eleven bodies lying among the living freight. Water ! Water ! was the cry. Many of them as soon as free jumped into the sea, partly from the delirious state they were in, partly because they had been told that if taken by the English they would be tortured and eaten."

The institution of slavery, introduced as we have seen into Virginia, grew at first very slowly. Twenty-five years after the first slaves were landed the negro population of the colony was only three hundred. But the conditions of agriculture and of climate were such, that once slavery obtained a fair start, it spread with continually increasing rapidity. We find the Colonial Assembly passing one after another a series of laws defining the condition of the negro slave more and more clearly, and more and more pitilessly. Thus, a distinction was soon made between them and Indians held in servitude. It was enacted, "that all servants not being Christians imported into this colony by shipping, shall be slaves for their lives ; but what shall come by land shall serve, if boyes or girles until thirty years of age, if men or women twelve years and no longer." And before the end of the century a long series of laws so encompassed the negro with limitations and prohibitions, that he almost ceased to have any criminal or civil rights and became a mere personal chattel.

In some of the Northern colonies slavery seemed to take root as readily

and to flourish as rapidly as in the South. It was only after a considerable time that social and commercial conditions arose which led to its gradual abandonment. In New York a mild type of negro slavery was introduced by the Dutch. The relation of master and slave seems in the period of the Dutch rule, to have been free from great severity or cruelty. After the seizure of the government by the English, however, the institution was officially recognized and even encouraged. The slave trade grew in magnitude; and here

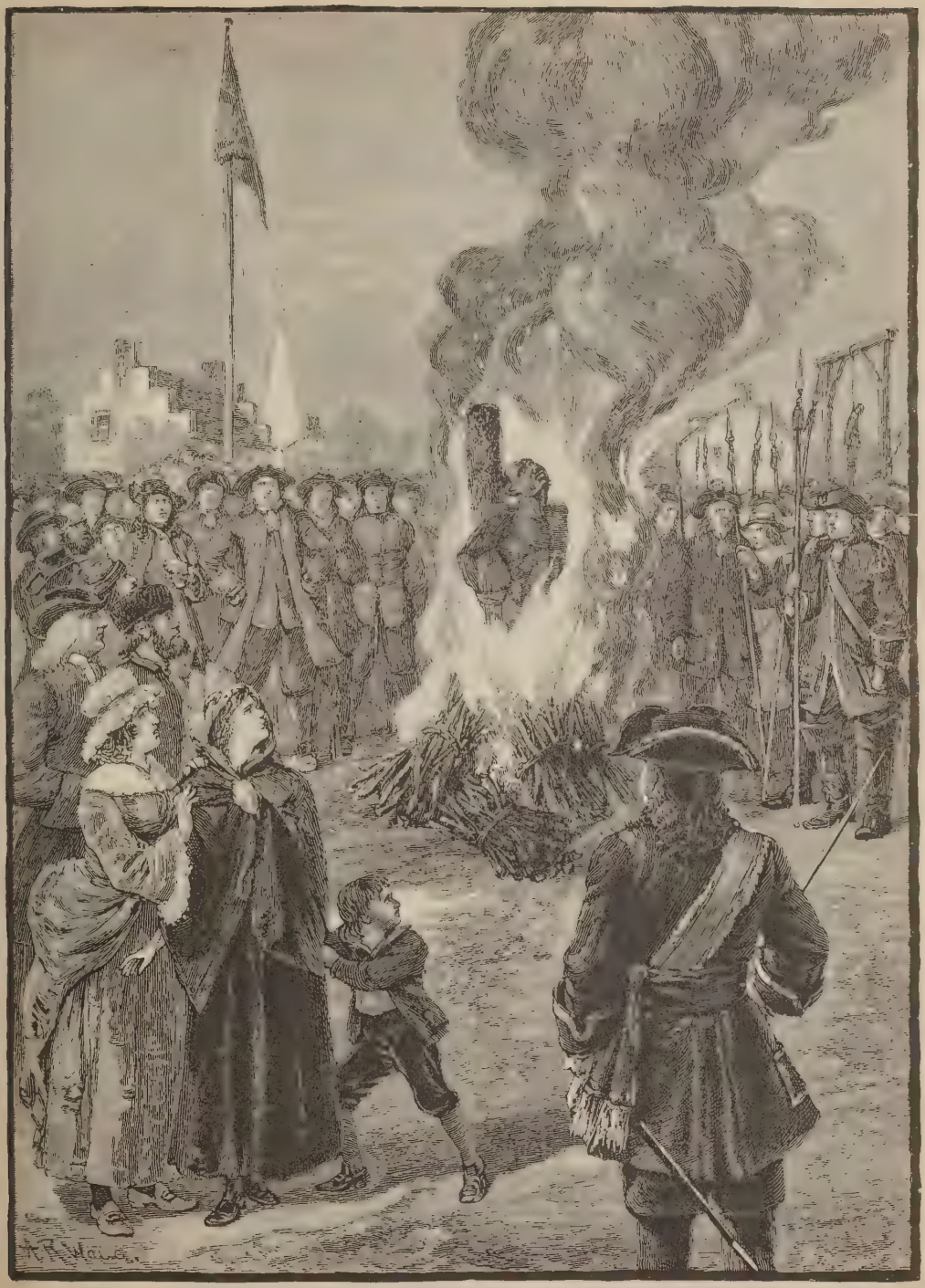


INTRODUCTION OF SLAVERY.

again we find a series of oppressive laws forbidding the meeting of negroes together, laying down penalties for concealing slaves, and the like. In the early years of the eighteenth century fears of insurrection became prevalent, and these fears culminated in 1741 in the episode of the so-called Negro Plot. Very briefly stated, this plot grew out of a succession of fires supposed to have been the work of negro incendiaries. The most astonishing contradictions and self-inculpations

are to be found in the involved mass of testimony taken at the different trials. It is certain that the perjury and incoherent accusations of these trials can only be equaled by those of the alleged witches at Salem, or of the famous Popish plot of Titus Oates. The result is summed up in the bare statement that in three months one hundred and fifty negroes were imprisoned, of whom fourteen were burned at the stake, eighteen hanged, and seventy-one were transported. Another result was the passing of even more stringent legislation, curtailing the rights and defining the legal status of the slave. When the Revolution broke out there were not less than fifteen thousand slaves in New York, a number greatly in excess of that held by any other Northern colony.

Massachusetts, the home in later days of so many of the most eloquent abolition agitators, was from the very first, until after the war with Great Britain was well under way, a stronghold of slavery. The records of 1633 tell of the fright of Indians who saw a "Blackamoor" in a tree top whom they took for the devil in person, but who turned out to be an escaped slave. A few years later the authorities of the colony officially recognized the institution. It is true that in 1645 the general court of Massachusetts ordered certain kidnapped negroes to be returned to their native country, but this was not because they were slaves but because their holders had stolen them away from other masters. Despite specious arguments to the contrary, it is certain that, to quote Chief Justice Parsons, "Slavery was introduced into Massachusetts soon after its first settlement, and was tolerated until the ratification of the present constitution in 1780." The curious may find in ancient Boston newspapers no lack of such advertisements as that, in 1728, of the sale of "two very likely negro girls" and of "A likely negro woman of about nineteen years and a child about seven months of age, to be sold together or apart." A Tory writer before the outbreak of the Revolution, sneers at the Bostonians for their talk about freedom when they possessed two thousand negro slaves. Even Peter Faneuil, who built the famous "Cradle of Liberty," was himself, at that very time, actively engaged in the slave trade. There is some truth in the once common taunt of the pro-slavery orators that the North imported slaves, the South only bought them. Certainly there was no more active centre of the slave trade than Bristol Bay, whence cargoes of rum and iron goods were sent to the African coast and exchanged for human cargoes. These slaves were, however, usually taken, not to Massachusetts, but to the West Indies or to Virginia. One curious outcome of slavery in Massachusetts was that from the gross superstition of a negro slave, Tituba, first sprang the hideous delusions of the Salem witchcraft trials. The negro, it may be here noted, played a not insignificant part in Massachusetts Revolutionary annals. Of negro blood was Crispus Attucks, one of the "martyrs" of the Boston riot; it was a negro whose shot killed the



EXECUTING NEGROES IN NEW YORK.

British General Pitcairn at Bunker Hill; and it was a negro also who planned the attack on Percy's supply train.

As with New York and Massachusetts, so with the other colonies. Either slavery was introduced by greedy speculators from abroad or it spread easily from adjoining colonies. In 1776 the slave population of the thirteen colonies was almost exactly half a million, nine-tenths of whom were to be found in the Southern States. In the War of the Revolution the question of arming the negroes raised bitter opposition. In the end a comparatively few were enrolled, and it is admitted that they served faithfully and with courage. Rhode Island even formed a regiment of blacks, and at the siege of Newport and afterwards at Point's Bridge, New York, this body of soldiers fought not only without reproach but with positive heroism.

With the debates preceding the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States the political problem of slavery as a national question began. Under the colonial system the responsibility for the traffic might be charged, with some justice, to the mother country. But from the day when the Declaration of Independence asserted "That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," the peoples of the new, self-governing States could not but have seen that with them lay the responsibility. There is ample evidence that the fixing of the popular mind on liberty as an ideal bore results immediately in arousing anti-slavery sentiment. Such sentiment existed in the South as well as in the North. Even North Carolina in 1786 declared the slave trade of "evil consequences and highly impolitic." All the Northern States abolished slavery, beginning with Vermont, in 1777 and ending with New Jersey in 1804. It should be added, however, that many of the Northern slaves were not freed, but sold to the South. As we have already intimated, also, the agricultural and commercial conditions in the North were such as to make slave labor less and less profitable, while in the South the social order of things, agricultural conditions, and the climate, were gradually making it seemingly indispensable.

When the Constitutional debates began the trend of opinion seemed strongly against slavery. Many delegates thought that the evil would die out of itself. One thought the abolition of slavery already rapidly going on and soon to be completed. Another asserted that "slavery in time will not be a speck in our country." Mr. Jefferson, on the other hand, in view of the retention of slavery, declared roundly that he trembled for his country when he remembered that God was just. And John Adams urged again and again that "every measure of prudence ought to be assumed for the eventual total extirpation of slavery from the United States." The obstinate States in the convention were South Carolina and Georgia. Their delegates declared that their States

would absolutely refuse ratification to the Constitution unless slavery were recognized. The compromise sections finally agreed upon avoided the use of the words slave and slavery but clearly recognized the institution and even gave the slave States the advantage of sending representatives to Congress on a basis of population determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, "three-fifths of all other persons." The other persons thus referred to were, it is needless to add, negro slaves.

The entire dealing with the question of slavery, at the framing of the Constitution, was a series of compromises. This is seen again in the postponement of forbidding the slave trade from abroad. Some of the Southern States had absolutely declined to listen to any proposition which would restrict their freedom of action in this matter, and they were yielded to so far that Congress was forbidden to make the traffic unlawful before the year 1808. As that time approached, President Jefferson urged Congress to withdraw the country from all "further participation in those violations of human rights which have so long been continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa." Such an act was at once adopted, and by it heavy fines were imposed on all persons fitting out vessels for the slave trade and also upon all actually engaged in the trade, while vessels so employed became absolutely forfeited. Twelve years later another act was passed declaring the importation of slaves to be actual piracy. This latter law, however, was of little practical value, as it was not until 1861 that a conviction was obtained under it. Then, at last, when the whole slave question was about to be settled forever, a ship-master was convicted and hanged for piracy in New York for the crime of being engaged in the slave trade. In despite of all laws, however, the trade in slaves was continued secretly, and the profits were so enormous that the risks did not prevent continual attempts to smuggle slaves into the territory of the United States.

The first quarter of a century of our history, after the adoption of the Constitution, was marked by comparative quietude in regard to the future of slavery. In the North, as we have seen, the institution died a natural death, but there was no disposition evinced in the Northern States to interfere with it in the South. The first great battle took place in 1820 over the so-called Missouri Compromise. Now, for the first time, the country was divided, sectionally and in a strictly political way, upon issues which involved the future policy of the United States as to the extension or restriction of slave territory. State after State had been admitted into the Union, but there had been an alternation of slave and free States, so that the political balance was not disturbed. Thus, Virginia was balanced by Kentucky, Tennessee by Ohio, Louisiana by Indiana, and Mississippi by Illinois. The last State admitted had been Alabama, of course as a slaveholding State. Now it was proposed to admit Missouri, and, to still maintain the equality of political power, it was contended that slavery should be

prohibited within her borders. But the slave power had by this time acquired great strength, and was deeply impressed with the necessity of establishing itself in the vast territory west of the Mississippi. The Southern States would not tolerate for a moment the proposed prohibition of slavery in the new State of Missouri. On the other hand, the Middle and Eastern States were beginning to be aroused to the danger threatening public peace if slavery were to be allowed indefinite extension. They had believed that the Ordinance of 1787, adopted simultaneously with the Constitution, and which forbade slavery to be established in the territory northwest of the Ohio, had settled this question definitely. A fierce debate was waged through two sessions of Congress, and in the end it was agreed to withdraw the prohibition of slavery in Missouri, but absolutely prohibit it forever in all the territory lying north of 36° 30′ latitude. This was a compromise, satisfactory only because it seemed to dispose of the question of slavery in the territories once and forever. It was carried mainly by the great personal influence of Henry Clay. It did, indeed, dispose of slavery as a matter of national legislative discussion for thirty years.

But this interval was distinctively the period of agitation. Anti-slavery sentiment of a mild type had long existed. The Quakers had, since Revolutionary times held anti-slavery doctrines, had released their own servants from bondage, and had disfellowshiped members who refused to concur in the sacrifice. The very last public act of Benjamin Franklin was the framing of a memorial to Congress deprecating the existence of slavery in a free country. In New York the Manumission Society had been founded in 1785, with John Jay and Alexander Hamilton, in turn, as its presidents. But all the writing and speaking was directed against slavery as an institution and in a general way, and with no tone of aggression. Gradual emancipation or colonization were the only remedies suggested. It was with the founding of the "Liberator" by William Lloyd Garrison, in 1831, that the era of aggressive abolitionism began. Garrison and his society maintained that slavery was a sin against God and man; that immediate emancipation was a duty; that slave owners had no claim to compensation; that all laws upholding slavery were, before God, null and void. Garrison exclaimed: "I am in earnest. I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch. And I will be heard." His paper bore conspicuously the motto "No union with slaveholders." The Abolitionists were, in numbers, a feeble band; as a party they never acquired strength, nor were their tenets adopted strictly by any political party; but they served the purpose of arousing the conscience of the nation. They were abused, vilified, mobbed, all but killed. Garrison was dragged through the streets of Boston with a rope around his neck—through those very streets which, in 1854, had their shops closed and hung in black, with flags Union down and a huge coffin suspended in mid-air, on the day when the fugitive slave, Anthony Burns, was marched through

them on his way back to his master, under a guard of nearly two thousand men. Mr. Garrison's society soon took the ground that the union of States with slavery retained was "an agreement with hell and a covenant with death," and openly advocated secession of the non-slaveholding States. On this issue the Abolitionists split into two branches, and those who threw off Garrison's lead maintained that there was power enough under the Constitution to do away with slavery. To the fierce invective and constant agitation of Garrison were, in time, added the splendid oratory of Wendell Phillips, the economic arguments of Horace Greeley, the wise statesmanship of Charles Sumner, the fervid writ-

A COTTON FIELD IN GEORGIA.

ings of Channing and Emerson, and the noble poetry of Whittier. All these and others, in varied ways and from different points of view, joined in educating the public opinion of the North to see that the permanent existence of slavery was incompatible with that of a free Republic.

In the South, meanwhile, the institution was intrenching itself more and more firmly. The invention of the cotton-gin and the beginning of the reign of Cotton as King made the great plantation system a seeming commercial necessity. From the deprecatory and half apologetic utterances of early Southern statesmen we come to Mr. Calhoun's declaration that slavery "now preserves

in quiet and security more than six and a half million human beings, and that it could not be destroyed without destroying the peace and prosperity of nearly half the States in the Union." The Abolitionists were regarded in the South with the bitterest hatred. Attempts were even made to compel the Northern States to silence the anti-slavery orators, to prohibit the circulation through the mail of anti-slavery speeches, and to refuse a hearing in Congress to anti-slavery petitions. The influence of the South was still dominant in the North. Though the feeling against slavery spread, there co-existed with it the belief that an open quarrel with the South meant commercial ruin; and the anti-slavery sentiment was also neutralized by the nobler feeling that the Union must be preserved at all hazards, and that there was no constitutional mode of interfering with the slave system. The annexation of Texas was a distinct gain to the slave power, and the Mexican war was undertaken, said John Quincy Adams, in order that "the slaveholding power in the Government shall be secured and riveted."

The actual condition of the negro over whom such a strife was being waged differed materially in different parts of the South, and under masters of different character, in the same locality. It had its side of cruelty, oppression, and atrocity; it had also its side of kindness on the part of master and of devotion on the part of slave. Its dark side has been made familiar to readers by such books as "Uncle Tom's Cabin," as Dickens' "American Notes," and as Edmund Kirk's "Among the Pines;" its brighter side has been charmingly depicted in the stories of Thomas Nelson Page, of Joel Chandler Harris, and of Harry Edwards. On the great cotton plantations of Mississippi and Alabama the slave was often overtaxed and harshly treated; in the domestic life of Virginia, on the other hand, he was as a rule most kindly used, and often a relation of deep affection sprang up between him and his master. Of insurrections, such as those not uncommon in the West Indies, only one of any extent was ever planned in our slave territory—that of Nat Turner, in Southampton County, Virginia—and that was instantly suppressed.

With this state of public feeling North and South, it was with increased bitterness and increased sectionalism that the subject of slavery in new States was again debated in the Congress of 1850. The Liberty Party, which held that slavery might be abolished under the Constitution, had been merged in the Free Soil Party, whose cardinal principle was, "To secure free soil to a free people" without interfering with slavery in existing States, but insisting on its exclusion from territory so far free. The proposed admission of California was not affected by the Missouri Compromise. Its status as a future free or slave State was the turning point of the famous debates in the Senate of 1850, in which Webster, Calhoun, Douglas and Seward won fame—debates which have never been equaled in our history in eloquence and acerbity. It was in the

course of these debates that Mr. Seward, while denying that the Constitution recognized property in man, struck out his famous dictum, "There is a higher law than the Constitution." The end reached was a compromise which allowed California to settle for itself the question of slavery, forbade the slave trade in the District of Columbia, but enacted a strict fugitive slave law. To the Abolitionists this fugitive slave law, sustained in its most extreme measures by the courts in the famous—or as they called it, infamous—Dred Scott case, was as fuel to fire. They defied it in every possible way. The Underground Railway was the outcome of this defiance. By it a chain of secret stations was

A NEGRO VILLAGE IN ALABAMA.

established, from one to the other of which the slave was guided at night until at last he reached the Canada border. The most used of these routes in the East was from Baltimore to New York, thence north through New England; that most employed in the West was from Cincinnati to Detroit. It has been estimated that not fewer than thirty thousand slaves were thus assisted to freedom.

Soon the struggle was changed to another part of the Western territory, now beginning to grow so rapidly as to demand the forming of new States. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill introduced by Douglas was in effect the repeal of the

Missouri Compromise in that it left the question as to whether slavery should be carried into the new territories to the decision of the settlers themselves. As a consequence immigration was directed by both the anti-slavery and the pro-slavery parties to Kansas, each determined on obtaining a majority to control the form of the proposed State Constitution. Then began a series of acts of violence which almost amounted to civil war. "Bleeding Kansas" became a phrase in almost every one's mouth. Border ruffians swaggered at the polls and attempted to drive out the assisted emigrants sent to Kansas by the Abolition societies. The result of the election of the Legislature on its face made Kansas a slave State, but a great part of the people refused to accept this result; and a convention was held at Topeka which resolved that Kansas should be free even if the laws formed by the Legislature should have to be "resisted to a bloody issue."

Prominent among the armed supporters of free State ideas in Kansas was Captain John Brown, a man whose watchword was at all times Action. "Talk," he said, "is a national institution; but it does no good for the slave." He believed that slavery could only be coped with by armed force. His theory was that the way to make free men of slaves was for the slaves themselves to resist any attempt to coerce them by their masters. He was undoubtedly a fanatic in that he did not stop to measure probabilities or to take account of the written law. His attempt at Harper's Ferry was without reasonable hope, and as the intended beginning of a great military movement was a ridiculous fiasco. But there was that about the man that none could call ridiculous. Rash and unreasoning as his action seemed, he was yet, even by his enemies, recognized as a man of unswerving conscience, of high ideals, of deep belief in the brotherhood of mankind. His offense against law and peace was cheerfully paid for by his death and that of others near and dear to him. Almost no one at that day could be found to applaud his plot, but the incident had an effect on the minds of the people altogether out of proportion to its intrinsic character. More and more as time went on he became recognized as a pro-martyr of a cause which could be achieved only by the most complete self-sacrifice of individuals.

Events of vast importance to the future of the negro in America now hurried fast upon each other's footsteps—the final settlement of the Kansas dispute by its becoming a free State; the forming and rapid growth of the Republican party; the division of the Democratic party into Northern and Southern factions; the election of Abraham Lincoln; the secession of South Carolina, and, finally, the greatest civil war the world has known. Though that war would never have been waged were it not for the negro, and though his fate was inevitably involved in its result, it must be remembered that it was not undertaken on his account. Before the struggle began Mr. Lincoln said: "If

there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to destroy or to save slavery." And the Northern press emphasized over and over again the fact that this was "a white man's war." But the logic of events is inexorable. It seems amazing now that Union generals should have been puzzled as to the question whether they ought in duty to return runaway slaves to their masters. General Butler settled the controversy by one happy phrase when he called the fugitives "contraband of war." Soon it was deemed right

EARLY HOME OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, GENTRYVILLE, INDIANA.

to use these contrabands, to employ the new-coined word, as the South was using the negroes still in bondage, to aid in the non-fighting work of the army —on fortification, team driving, cooking, and so on. From this it was but a step, though a step not taken without much perturbation, to employ them as soldiers. At Vicksburg, at Fort Pillow, and in many another battle, the negro showed beyond dispute that he could fight for his liberty. No fiercer or braver charge was made in the war than that upon the parapet of Fort Wagner by Colonel Shaw's gallant colored regiment, the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth.

In a thousand ways the negro figures in the history of the war. In its

literature he everywhere stands out picturesquely. He sought the flag with the greatest avidity for freedom; flocking in crowds, old men and young, women and children, sometimes with quaint odds and ends of personal belongings, often empty-handed, always enthusiastic and hopeful, almost always densely ignorant of the meaning of freedom and of self-support. But while the negro showed this avidity for liberty, his conduct toward his old masters was often generous, and almost never did he seize the opportunity to inflict vengeance for his past wrongs. The eloquent Southern orator and writer, Henry W. Grady, said: "History has no parallel to the faith kept by the negro in the South during the war. Often five hundred negroes to a single white man, and yet through these dusky throngs the women and children walked in safety and the unprotected homes rested in peace. . . A thousand torches would have disbanded every Southern army, but not one was lighted."

It was with conditions, and only after great hesitation, that the final step of emancipating the slaves was taken by President Lincoln in September, 1862. The proclamation was distinctly a war measure, but its reception by the North and by the foreign powers and its immediate effect upon the contest were such that its expediency was at once recognized. Thereafter there was possible no question as to the personal freedom of the negro in the United States of America. With the Confederacy, slavery went down once and forever. In the so-called reconstruction period which followed, the negro suffered almost as much from the over-zeal of his political friends as from the prejudice of his old masters. A negro writer, who is a historian of his race, has declared that the Government gave the negro the statute book when he should have had the spelling book; that it placed him in the legislature when he ought to have been in the school house, and that, so to speak, "the heels were put where the brains ought to have been." A quarter of a century and more has passed since that turbulent period began, and if the negro has become less prominent as a political factor, all the more for that reason has he been advancing steadily though slowly in the requisites of citizenship. He has learned that he must, by force of circumstances, turn his attention, for the time at least, rather to educational, industrial, and material progress than to political ambition. And the record of his advance on these lines is promising and hopeful. In Mississippi alone, for instance, the negroes own one-fifth of the entire property in the State. In all, the negroes of the South to-day possess two hundred and fifty million dollars' worth of property. Everywhere throughout the South white men and negroes may be found working together.

At the beginning of the war the negro population of the country was about four millions, to-day it is between seven and seven and a-half millions; in 1880, fifteen-sixteenths of the whole colored population belonged to the Southern States, and the census of 1890 shows that the proportion has not greatly changed.

This ratio in itself shows how absurdly trifling in results have been all the movements toward colonization or emigration to Northern States. The negro emphatically belongs to the Southern States, and in them and by them his future must be determined. Another point decided conclusively by the census of 1890 is seen in the refutation of an idea based, indeed, on the census of 1880, but due in its origin to the very faulty census of 1870. This idea was that the colored population had increased much more rapidly in proportion than the white population. The new census shows, on the contrary, that the whites in the Southern States increased during the last decade nearly twice as rapidly as the negroes, or, as the census bulletin puts it, in increase of population, "the colored race has not held its own against the white man in a region where the climate and conditions are, of all those which the country affords, the best suited to its development."

The promise of the negro race to-day is not so much in the development of men of exceptional talent, such as Frederick Douglas or Senator Bruce, as in the general spread of intelligence and knowledge. The Southern States have very generally given the negro equal educational opportunities with the whites, while the eagerness of the race to learn is shown in the recently ascertained fact that while the colored population has increased only twenty-seven per cent. the enrollment in the colored schools has increased one hundred and thirty-seven per cent. Fifty industrial schools are crowded by the colored youth of the South. Institutions of higher education, like the Atlanta University, and Hampton Institute of Virginia, and Tuskegee College, are doing admirable work in turning out hundreds of negroes fitted to educate their own race. Within a year or two honors and scholarships have been taken by half a dozen colored young men at Harvard, at Cornell, at Phillips Academy and at other Northern schools and colleges of the highest rank. The fact that a young negro, Mr. Morgan, was in 1890 elected by his classmates at Harvard as the class orator has a special significance. Yet there is greater significance, as a negro newspaper man writes, in the fact that the equatorial telescope now used by the Lawrence University of Wisconsin was made entirely by colored pupils in the School of Mechanical Arts of Nashville, Tenn. In other words, the Afro-American is finding his place as an intelligent worker, a property owner, and an independent citizen, rather than as an agitator, a politician or a race advocate. In religion, superstition and effusive sentiment are giving way to stricter morality. In educational matters, ambition for the high-sounding and the abstract is giving place to practical and industrial acquirements. It will be many years before the character of the negro, for centuries dwarfed and distorted by oppression and ignorance, reaches its normal growth, but that the race is now at last upon the right path and is being guided by the true principles cannot be doubted.

Says one who has made an exceedingly thorough personal study of the subject in all the Southern States: "The evolution in the condition has kept pace with that of any other races, and I think has been even a little better. The same forces of evolution that have brought him to where he is now will bring him further. One thing is indisputable: the negro knows his destiny is in his own hands. He finds that his salvation is not through politics, but through industrial methods.

STATUE OF WASHINGTON IN THE GROUNDS OF THE STATE HOUSE, RICHMOND.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE STORY OF THE CIVIL WAR.

A SKIRMISHER.

IT would be a mistake to suppose that secession sentiments originated and were exclusively maintained in the Southern States. Ideas of State sovereignty and of the consequent right of a State to withdraw from the Union, or at least to resist the acts and laws of Congress on adequate occasion, were held by many statesmen in the North as well as in the South. Thus the "Essex Junto," which had openly advocated a dissolution of the Union and the formation of an Eastern Confederacy, were foremost in assembling a convention of the Federalists on December 15, 1814, at Hartford, Connecticut, at which resolutions were passed recommending the State Legislatures to resist Congress in conscripting soldiers for carrying on the war then being waged against England. Threats of disunion were again heard in 1821, but this time from the South, in case Missouri should be denied admission to the Union on account of her unwillingness to surrender the institution of slavery. Once more, in 1832, a South Carolina convention proceeded to declare the tariff of the United States null and void within her own borders; but, owing to the decisive action of President Jackson, the State authorities did not venture into an actual collision with Congress.

But the agitation in favor of disunion reached culmination under the aggressive efforts by the South to extend slavery into new Territories, and the determination by the North to confine it strictly within the States where it already existed. With the formation of anti-slavery societies in the North, the

nomination of anti-slavery candidates for the Presidency from 1840 onward, the passage of the "Wilmot Proviso" in 1846, the repeal of the Missouri compromise in 1854, the Dred-Scott decision by the United States Supreme Court in 1857, the adoption of the Lecompton Constitution in Kansas in 1859, and the raid by John Brown at Harper's Ferry in 1859, it became painfully evident that Mr. Seward's prediction of an "irrepressible conflict" between the North and South on the subject of slavery was becoming, had already become, a reality.

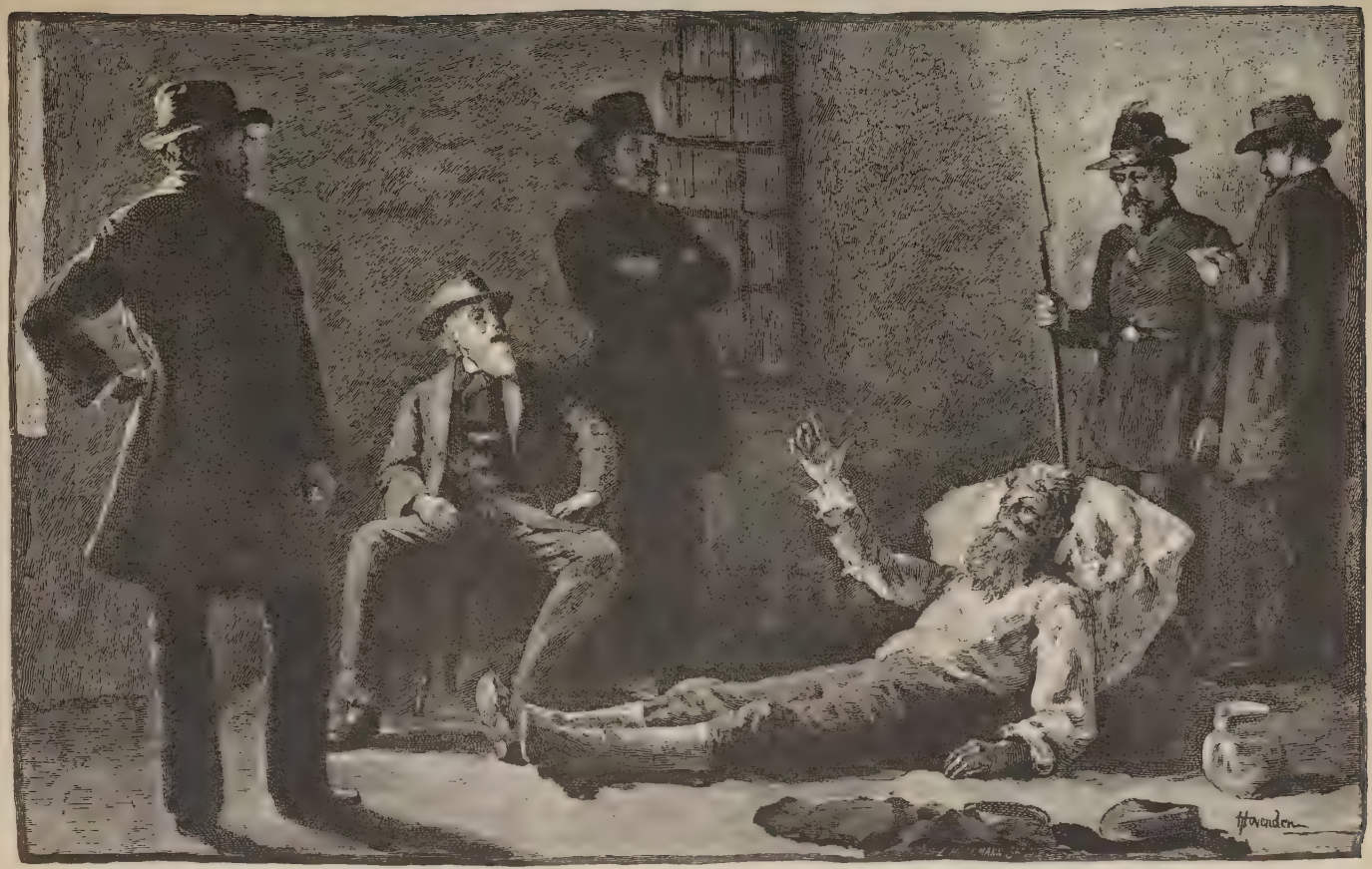
As to John Brown's raid we have only to recount that on the 16th of October, 1859, he took an armed force to Harper's Ferry, capturing the arsenal and armory and killing the men on guard. He was then endeavoring to secure arms for operating against the South. He was, however, captured and executed December 2, 1859. The expedition, it is unnecessary to say, was foolhardy and wholly without justification, and Brown paid for his misguided zeal with his life. But it must be said of him that he was conscientious, and that by his reckless daring he helped to crystallize sentiment on both sides of the slavery question.

The election in 1860 of Abraham Lincoln as President, on the platform of resistance to all further extension of slavery, was the signal for the previous disunion oratory and menaces to crystallize themselves into action. Seven States, in the following order, viz.: South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas, seceded, and by a Congress held at Montgomery, Ala., February 4, 1861, formed a Confederacy with Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, as President, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, as Vice-President.

The reasons avowed for this perilous course were, "the refusal of fifteen of the States for years past to fulfill their constitutional obligations, and the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery."

After Mr. Lincoln's inauguration on March 4, 1861, the Confederacy was increased by the addition of Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee; Kentucky and Missouri, being divided in opinion, had representatives and armies in both sections.

The eleven "Confederate States of America" took from the Union nearly one-half of its inhabited area, and a population of between five and six millions of whites and about four millions of slaves. Their entire force capable of active service numbered 600,000 men. The twenty-four States remaining loyal to the Union had a population of 20,000,000, and the army at the close of the war numbered 1,050,000; but as the majority of these were scattered on guard duty over a vast region, only 262,000 were in fighting activity. Whilst the North was more rich and powerful, it was, nevertheless, more inclined to peace. The South was of a military spirit, accustomed to weapons, and altogether eager for

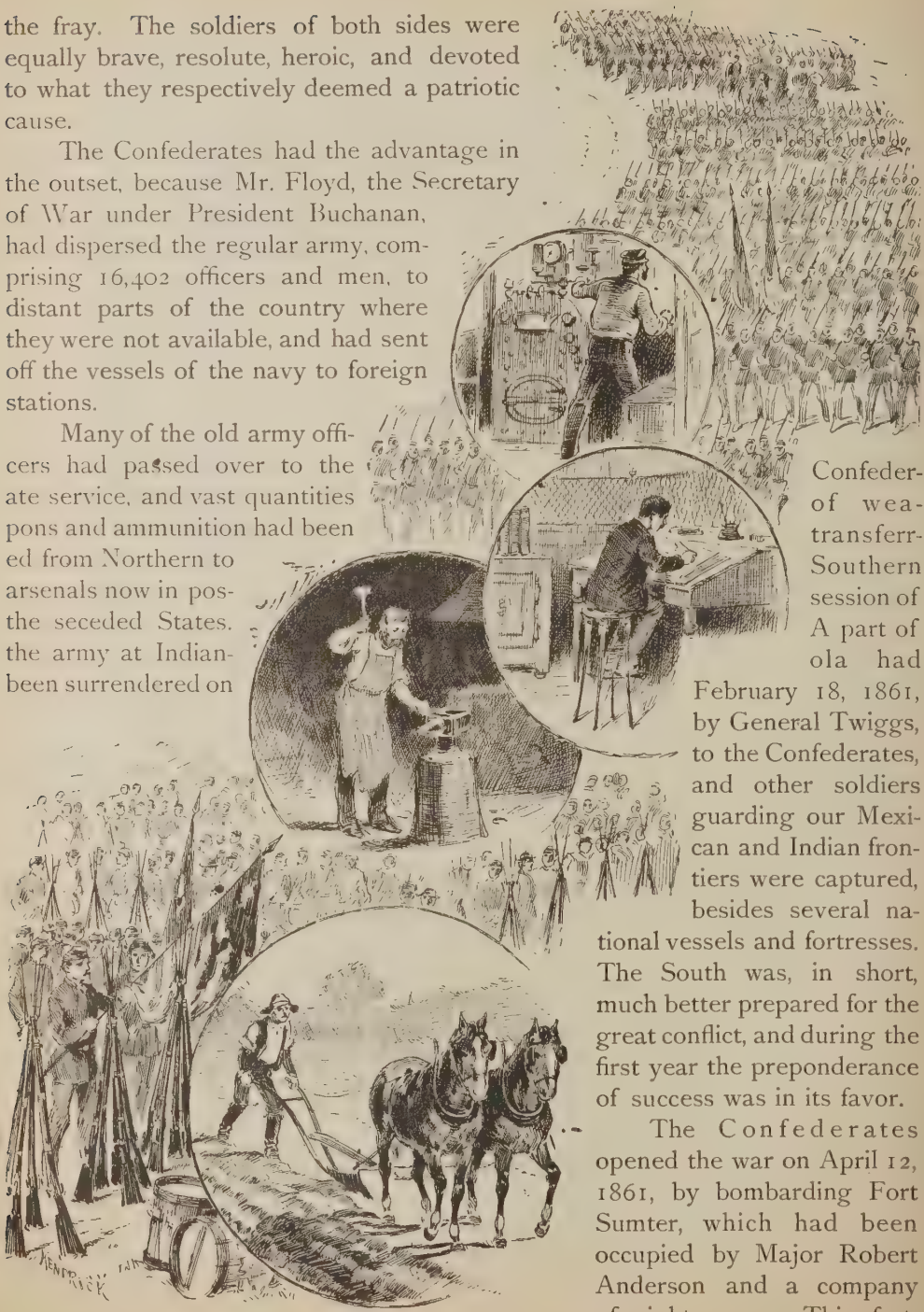


JOHN BROWN AFTER HIS CAPTURE.

the fray. The soldiers of both sides were equally brave, resolute, heroic, and devoted to what they respectively deemed a patriotic cause.

The Confederates had the advantage in the outset, because Mr. Floyd, the Secretary of War under President Buchanan, had dispersed the regular army, comprising 16,402 officers and men, to distant parts of the country where they were not available, and had sent off the vessels of the navy to foreign stations.

Many of the old army officers had passed over to the Confederate service, and vast quantities of weapons and ammunition had been transferred from Northern to Southern arsenals now in possession of the seceded States. A part of the army at Indianola had been surrendered on February 18, 1861, by General Twiggs, to the Confederates, and other soldiers guarding our Mexican and Indian frontiers were captured, besides several national vessels and fortresses. The South was, in short, much better prepared for the great conflict, and during the first year the preponderance of success was in its favor.



THE ARTS OF PEACE AND THE ART OF WAR.

The Confederates opened the war on April 12, 1861, by bombarding Fort Sumter, which had been occupied by Major Robert Anderson and a company of eighty men. This fort,

although fiercely pounded by cannon balls and shells and set on fire several times, was gallantly held for two days, when it was obliged to surrender; but its brave defenders were allowed to march out saluting the old flag, and to depart for the North without being regarded as prisoners of war. The attack on Sumter created the wildest excitement throughout the entire land, and it opened the eyes of the North to the amazing fact of a civil war. A wave of patriotism, as mighty as it was sudden, swept over the United States. President Lincoln issued a call for 75,000 volunteers for three months, and soon after another call for 64,000 men for the army and 18,000 for the navy, to serve during the war. The need for these calls was urgent enough. On April 20th the Confederates easily captured the great Norfolk Navy Yard, with three or four national vessels, including the frigate "Merrimac," which subsequently wrought such fearful havoc at Hampton Roads, 2000 cannon, besides small arms, munitions, and stores of immense value, all of which were given up without a shot in defense. The arsenal at Harper's Ferry, with millions of dollars' worth of arms and ammunition, was also in their possession; and before the end of April 35,000 of their soldiers were already in the field, whilst 10,000 of these were rapidly marching northward. General R. E. Lee had been appointed Commander-in-chief of the army and navy of Virginia, and the 6th Regiment of Massachusetts militia had been savagely mobbed in the streets of Baltimore whilst going to the protection of Washington.

A Unionist attack on the Confederates at Big Bethel, Va., was repulsed, but the Confederates were driven out of Western Virginia by General G. B. McClellan. Then came, on July 21, the engagement at Bull Run, known also as that of Manassas Junction, one of the most significant battles of the war. General Irwin McDowell, acting under instructions of General Scott, marched against the Confederate army under General Beauregard, and in the outset met with encouraging success; but just as the Unionists imagined the victory theirs they were vigorously pressed by reinforcements that had come hurriedly up from Winchester under the leadership of General Johnston; and being exhausted from twelve hours of marching and fighting under a sultry sun, they began a retreat which was soon turned into a panic, attended with wild disorder and demoralization. Had the Confederates, among whom at the close of the day was President Davis himself, only known the extent of their triumph, they might have followed it and possibly have seized Washington. About 30,000 men fought on each side. The Confederate loss was 378 killed, 1489 wounded, and 30 missing. The Unionists lost 481 killed, 1011 wounded, and 1460 missing, with 20 cannon and large quantities of small arms.

From this moment it was understood that the struggle would be terrible, and that it might be long, not to say doubtful. Congress, then in extra session, authorized the enlistment of 500,000 men and the raising of $500,000,000.

Many of the States displayed intense patriotism, New York and Pennsylvania, for example, appropriating each $3,000,000, whilst Massachusetts and other New England States sent regiments fully equipped into the field. General McClellan was summoned to reorganize and discipline the multitudes of raw recruits that were thrown suddenly on his hands. His ability and thoroughness were of immense value in preparing them for their subsequent effective service, and he was soon after made Commander-in-chief in place of General Scott, retired. The South was also laboring with tremendous zeal and energy in the endeavor to enlist 400,000 men.

FORT MOULTRIE, CHARLESTON, WITH FORT SUMTER IN THE DISTANCE.

Early in August the death of General Nathaniel Lyon whilst attacking the Confederate General Ben. McCulloch at Wilson's Creek, and the retreat of his army, threw all Southern Missouri into the hands of the enemy. A few days after, General Butler took Forts Hatteras and Clark, with 700 prisoners, 1000 muskets, and other stores. But victories alternated, for now General Sterling Price surrounded and captured the Unionist Colonel Mulligan and his Irish brigade of 2780, at Lexington, Mo. Worse, however, than this was the near annihilation, October 21st, of a Unionist force of 1700 under General C. P. Stone and Colonel E. D. Baker at Ball's Bluff. The noble Baker and 300 of the men

were slain and over 500 taken prisoners. Ten days later Commodore F. S. Dupont, aided by General W. T. Sherman with 10,000 men, reduced the Confederate forts on Hilton Head and Phillips' Island and seized the adjacent Sea Islands. General Fremont, unable to find and engage the Confederate General Price in the West, was relieved of his command of 30,000 men; but General U. S. Grant, by capturing the Confederate camp at Belmont, Mo., checked the advance of General Jeff. Thompson. On the next day, November 8th, occurred a memorable event which imperiled the peaceful relations between

BATTLE OF PITTSBURG LANDING.

the United States and Great Britain. Captain Wilkes of the United States frigate, "San Jacinto," compelled the British mail steamer, "Trent," to give up two of her passengers, the Confederate Commissioners, Mason and Slidell, who were on their way respectively to England and France in the interest of the South. A foreign war might have resulted had not Mr. William H. Seward, the astute Secretary of State, promptly disavowed the act and returned the Commissioners to English keeping. General E. O. C. Ord, commanding the Third Pennsylvania Brigade, gained a victory on December 20th at Dranesville over the Confederate

brigade of General J. E. B. Stuart, who lost 230 soldiers, and during the same month General Pope reported the capture of 2500 prisoners in Central Missouri, with the loss of only 100 men; but 1000 of these were taken by Colonel Jeff. C. Davis by surprising the Confederate camp at Milford.

The year 1862 was marked by a series of bloody encounters. It opened with a Union army of 450,000 against a Confederate army of 350,000. The fighting began at Mill Spring, in Southern Kentucky, on January 19th, with an assault by the Confederates led by General F. K. Zollicoffer, acting under General G. B. Crittenden. They were routed by General George H. Thomas, Zollicoffer being killed and Crittenden flying across the Cumberland River, leaving ten guns and 1500 horses. This victory stirred the heart of the nation, and brought at once into brilliant prominence the great soldier and noble character whose greatnes blazed out like a sun at the close of the war.

Another blow was soon struck. Brigadier General Grant, with 15,000 troops, supported by Commodore A. H. Foote with seven gunboats, reduced Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and took its commander, General L. Tilghman, prisoner, but could not prevent the greater portion of the garrison from escaping to Fort Donelson, twelve miles to the east. This stronghold, commanding the navigation of the Cumberland River and containing 15,000 defenders under General J. B. Floyd, was regarded as impregnable. It fell, however, on February 16th, under a combined attack of Grant and Foote, surrendering 12,000 men and 40 cannon. Generals Floyd and Buckner, with a few of their command, managed to escape across the river by night, and General N. B. Forrest, with 800 cavalry, also got away. This splendid achievement threw Nashville and all Northern Tennessee into possession of the Unionists, and caused the immediate evacuation of the Confederate camp at Bowling Green, Kentucky.

In the East, about the same time, General Burnside and Commodore Goldsborough, with 11,500 men on 31 steamboats, captured, with a loss of 300, Roanoke Island, N. C., and 2500 Confederates. On March 14th they carried New Bern by assault, losing 600 but taking 2 steamboats, 69 cannon, and 500 prisoners; and next they seized Fort Macon, with its garrison of 500 and stores. But the Unionist Generals Reno and Foster were repulsed, respectively, at South Mills and Goldsborough. One of the most notable of naval engagements took place on March 8th and 9th, when the Confederate ironclad, "Virginia," known better by her original name, the "Merrimac," steamed out from Norfolk attended by two gunboats. She plunged her iron ram into the Union frigate, "Cumberland," causing her to sink and to carry down part of her crew; she blew up the "Congress," another Union frigate, destroying more than half of her crew of 434, drove the frigate "Lawrence" under the guns of Fortress Monroe, and bombarded until dusk with terrific energy, aided also by her gunboats, the

Union steam frigate "Minnesota," which had got aground. She seemed destined on the next day to work immeasurable and unimpeded havoc. But, providentially, during the night the Union "Monitor," looking like "a cheese box on a raft," which had been built by Captain Ericsson and was commanded with consummate skill by Lieutenant J. L. Worden, steamed into the roadstead on her trial trip from New York. When, therefore, the "Merrimac" approached for new conquests the following morning her surprise was tremendous upon meeting such a strange craft. An unwonted and dramatic naval duel now

ANTIETAM BRIDGE.

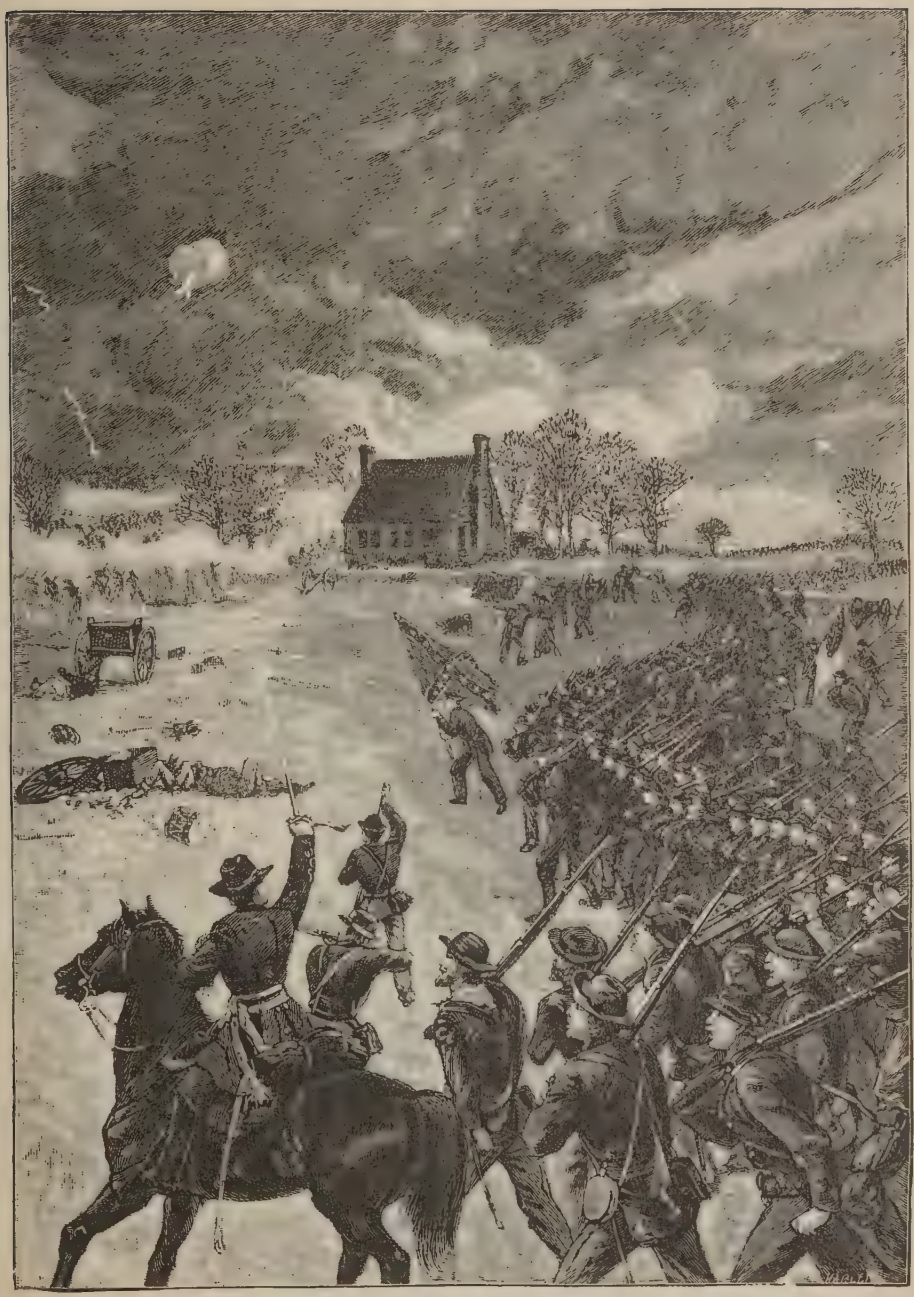
occurred, from which the Confederate ram retired badly crippled and was soon afterward blown up to prevent her being captured. The "Monitor" was, unfortunately, lost some months afterward, in a storm off Hatteras.

The smoke had not vanished from Hampton Roads before news came of an assault at Pea Ridge by from 16,000 to 18,000 Confederates, including 5000 Indians, under General E. Van Dorn, on 10,500 Unionists under General S. R. Curtis, supported by Generals Asboth and Sigel. After three days of severe fighting, in which 1351 Unionists fell, the Confederates fled with precipitation,

leaving Generals B. McCulloch and McIntosh dead and having Generals Price and Slack among their wounded.

General McClellan having raised his 200,000 or more men to a high degree of efficiency, transferred considerably more than half of them to Fortress Monroe for the purpose of advancing on Richmond by way of the peninsula between the York and James Rivers. He left General Banks with 7000 soldiers to guard the Virginia Valley. This force, at that time under the command of General James Shields, because Banks had gone temporarily to Washington, was fiercely assailed at Kernstown by "Stonewall" Jackson at the head of 4000 men. Jackson was repulsed with a loss of 1000, whilst Shields lost 600. McClellan's advance was checked for a month by Confederate batteries at Warwick Creek and again at Williamsburg by General Magruder's works. Here General Hooker's division fought well for nine hours with heavy losses. Magruder, flanked by Hancock, whose two brigades fought bravely, was obliged to retreat, leaving 700 of his wounded. The Unionists lost altogether 2228, whilst the Confederates lost not quite so many.

In the meantime, on April 6th, General Grant, with an army of 40,000, was surprised at Pittsburg Landing by 50,000 Confederates under General A. S. Johnson. General Grant, instead of being with his troops, was on a boat near Savannah, seven miles below. The Union forces were completely surprised. No intrenchments or earthworks of any kind had been erected—there were no abattis. The Union forces, surprised, were rapidly driven back with heavy loss in guns, killed, wounded, and prisoners, from Shiloh Church to the bluffs of the Tennessee, under which thousands of demoralized men took refuge. General Albert S. Johnson had been killed in the midst of the battle and General Beauregard succeeded to the command. Had General Johnson been alive the result might have been different; but Beauregard was in command, and he missed the one opportunity of his life in resting on his arms when he should have pressed the enemy to the river and forced a surrender. But relief was at hand, and under a leader who was a master general on the field. Sunday night General Don Carlos Buell arrived on the scene with a part of the Army of the Ohio. Moving General Nelson's division across the Tennessee in boats, he had them in position by seven o'clock in the evening, ready for the onset in the morning. Two more divisions were crossed early in the morning. At seven o'clock the attack was begun, General Buell leading his troops in person and General Grant advancing with his troops, yesterday overwhelmed by defeat, to-day hopeful and confident. The result is well known. Buell's fresh troops, handled in a masterly manner, were irresistible. By four o'clock the enemy lost all they had gained and were in full retreat, and the day was won, General Buell receiving unstinted praise for his victory. The Union loss was 1735 killed, 7882 wounded, and 3956 missing; total, 13,573.



BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE. JACKSON'S ATTACK ON THE RIGHT WING.

The Confederates' loss was 1728 killed, 8012 wounded, 957 missing; total, 10,699.

About the same date General Pope and Commodore Foote captured Island No. 10, with 6700 Confederates under Brigadier General Makall; and soon after Memphis surrendered to the Unionists, and on April 11th Fort Pulaski fell before a bombardment by General Q. A. Gilmore. This same month was notable for naval victories. Admiral Farragut with a fleet of forty-seven armed vessels and 310 guns stormed the Confederate Forts St. Philip and Jackson, destroyed various fire-rafts and gunboats, and after a series of brilliant actions compelled the Confederate General Lovell with 3000 defenders to withdraw from New Orleans, leaving it to be occupied by 15,000 Unionists under General Butler. In the words of another, this "was a contest between iron hearts in wooden vessels, and iron clads with iron beaks, and the iron hearts prevailed."

McClellan's army—a part of which had been thrown across the Chickahominy—was savagely attacked on May 28th, at Fair Oaks, by General Joseph E. Johnston, now Commander-in-chief of the Confederate forces. Although Johnston was badly wounded and his troops after a day of hard fighting were obliged to retire, yet the Union loss was 5739, including five colonels killed and seven generals wounded. McClellan was now reinforced until he had altogether 156,828 men, of whom 115,162 were in good condition for effective service. Nothing, however, was accomplished until General Lee, who had succeeded the disabled Johnston, forced the fighting on June 26th that led to six horrible battles on as many successive days, known as those of Oak Grove, Mechanicsville, Gaines's Mills, Savage Station, White Oak Swamp, and Malvern Hill. In the last one the Confederates were signally defeated by McClellan with a loss of 10,000, while the Union loss was about 5000. During those six battles the Union loss was 1582 killed, 7709 wounded, and 5958 missing, making a total of 15,249. The Confederate loss was perhaps double; General Griffith and three colonels killed. Nevertheless, McClellan's campaign was unsuccessful; Richmond was not taken; and by order of the President he retreated to the Potomac.

General Halleck now became Commander-in-chief, and a vigorous campaign was opened by the Unionist General Pope. He was met in several stubbornly fought actions by the Confederates under Generals Lee, Jackson, and Longstreet, and was badly routed.* In this bloody affair, known as the second battle of Bull Run, the Unionists lost 25,000, including 9000 prisoners; the Con-

* In accounting for his defeat General Pope attempted to fix the blame upon General Fitz John Porter, a very able and successful commander, charging that he failed to support him, and a court-martial convened in the heat of the discussion cashiered the General. But later, in deference to public opinion, the case was reopened, the previous unjust verdict was set aside, and General Porter's good name was cleared, his conduct being fully justified—an acquittal in entire accord with the riper second thought of public opinion.

federates lost 15,000. General Lee, on September 8th, invaded Maryland, where at South Mountain he was worsted by McClellan, who lost heavily of his own men, but took 1500 prisoners.

A few days later Harper's Ferry, with 11,583 Unionists, 73 guns, and immense quantities of war munitions, was surrendered to Stonewall Jackson. McClellan, with 80,000 men attacked Lee, posted with 70,000 on a ridge facing Antietam Creek. This determined battle ended in Lee's defeat and retreat. McClellan lost 2010 men killed, 9416 wounded, and 1043 missing; a total of 12,469. Lee lost 1842 killed, 9399 wounded, and 2292 missing; total, 13,533. This is regarded as the bloodiest day in the history of America. There is little doubt that had McClellan followed up his magnificent victory he could have entered Richmond. Here was his mistake; but this did not justify the Government in retiring him as it did. Surely McClellan's great victory entitled him to the further command; but the opposition, especially that of Secretary Stanton, was too powerful, and he was retired.

GENERAL ROBERT EDMUND LEE.

General Burnside, having succeeded McClellan, assailed Lee at Fredericksburg, December 13th, but was disastrously beaten. His loss was 1152 killed,

9101 wounded, 3234 missing; total, 13,771. The Confederate loss was about 5000. General Burnside was relieved in favor of General Hooker in January, 1863, who—having received reinforcements until his army amounted to 100,000 infantry, 13,000 cavalry, and 10,000 artillery—assumed the offensive against Lee on May 2d, 1863, at Chancellorsville, but was terribly defeated. He lost 17,197 men. His defeat was due to a brilliant rear and flank movement executed by Stonewall Jackson, who thus demolished the Eleventh Corps but was himself slain. Jackson's death might well be regarded as an irreparable disaster to the Confederate cause.

Lee, with nearly 100,000 men, again marched northward, taking 4000 prisoners at Winchester. He was overtaken, July 1st, by the Union army, numbering 100,000, now under the command of General George G. Meade, at Gettysburg; where a gallant and bloody battle was fought, lasting three days and ending in a great victory for the Unionists. One of the features of the battle was a gallant charge of Pickett's Confederate cavalry, when they faced a battery of 100 guns and were nearly annihilated. But it was all American bravery. They lost 2834 killed, 13,709 wounded, 6643 missing; total, 23,186. The total Confederate loss was 36,000. Had Meade known the extent of his triumph he might have followed and destroyed the retreating Lee, whose army in this campaign dwindled from 100,000 to 40,000.

On the same memorable day, July 3d, Vicksburg, after having resisted many and determined assaults, and after finding its defenders on the south surprised and beaten in detail by Grant's army aided by Commodore Porter's naval operations, surrendered, closing a campaign in which Grant had taken 37,000 prisoners, with arms and munitions for 60,000 men. His own loss was 943 killed, 7095 wounded, and 537 missing; a total of 8515. These two notable victories were the turning points in the war.

Meantime, in the West the war had been pursued during the year with varying fortunes. The Confederate General Forrest had captured 1500 men at Murfreesboro, Tenn.; Kirby Smith had captured 5000 Unionists at Richmond, Ky.; General Bragg had captured 4000 prisoners at Mumfordsville, Tenn.; Generals McCook and Rousseau, having attacked the enemy without the orders of General Buell, and thinking, as General Buell said, to win a victory without his assistance, were defeated by General Bragg at Perryville, whose loss was 2300: our loss was 4340. General Rosecrans, with a loss of 782, whipped the Confederate General Price, at Iuka, Miss., whose loss was 1000 men. Rosecrans repulsed again the Confederates on September 17th at Corinth, inflicting a loss of 1423 killed and taking 2248 prisoners. His own loss was 2359 men. A brigade of 2000 Unionists was captured by John Morgan. A campaign of 46,910 men under Rosecrans culminated in the battle of Stone River, January 2d, 1863, against Bragg, who was beaten and forced to retreat. The Unionist

PICKETT'S CHARGE AT GETTYSBURG.

losses were 1533 killed, 7245 wounded, 2800 missing; a total of 11,578. Bragg's loss was 9000 killed and wounded and over 1000 missing. The Confederate Van Dorn surprised and took prisoners 2000 men at Holly Springs, and at the same time took $4,000,000 worth of stores. General Sherman was repulsed at Chickasaw Bayou with a loss of 2000 men; but General J. A. McClernand reduced Fort Hindman, capturing 5000 prisoners and 17 guns, while his loss was only 977. Colonel Grierson made a famous raid with 1700 cavalry to Baton Rouge, cutting Confederate communications and taking 500 prisoners. At Milliken's Bend the Unionist General Dennis, having 1400, repelled an attack of the Confederate General H. McCulloch, the loss on either side being 500. At Helena, Arkansas, the Unionist General B. M. Prentiss, with 4000, also repulsed General Holmes with 3646, of whom 1636 were lost. The Confederate raider, Morgan, with a mounted force of 4000 men, invaded Ohio, July 7th, but was caught by gunboats and obliged to surrender.

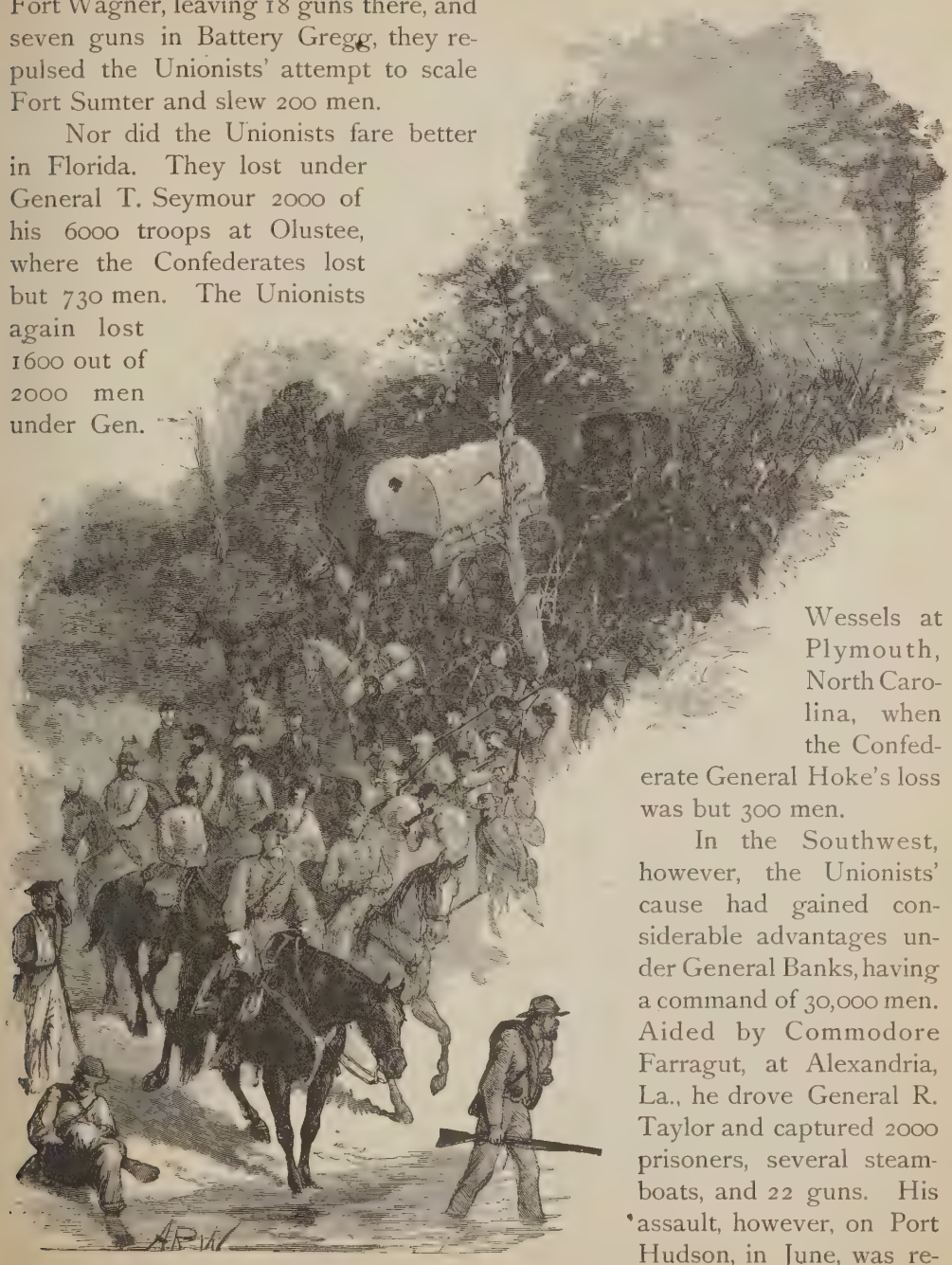
General Burnside, early in September, at Cumberland Gap, captured General Frazier with fourteen guns and 2000 men. Then came, on September 19th, the great battle of Chickamauga, between Rosecrans and Thomas with 55,000 men on one side, and Bragg and Longstreet with about the same number on the other side. Longstreet annihilated Rosecrans' right wing; but Thomas by his firmness and skill saved the day. The Confederates lost 18,000, while the Union loss was 1644 killed, 9262 wounded, 4945 missing; total, 15,581. Our army fell back on Chattanooga. Longstreet's attempt, Nov. 28th, to dislodge Burnside from Knoxville resulted in his own loss of 800 and retreat. The Unionists lost 100 men.

On September 22d to 24th the forces of General George H. Thomas, reinforced by General Sherman, under the command of Grant, assaulted Bragg's army on Mission Ridge, facing Chattanooga. General Sherman crossed the Tennessee to attempt a flank movement but was repulsed. General Hooker moved up Lookout Mountain and drove the Confederates before him, capturing men and guns. Then General G. H. Thomas, in accordance with his original plan of battle, moved his army by the front directly up the heights of Mission Ridge, assailing the enemy in the very teeth of his batteries. The fight was desperate, but Thomas's forces won, driving the enemy, making many prisoners and capturing many guns. The Union losses were 757 killed, 4529 wounded, 330 missing; total, 5616. There were 6142 prisoners captured from the enemy.

During this time Charleston, which had inaugurated the Rebellion, pluckily resisted all attempts to take it. For example, her defenders beat back 6000 Unionists with a loss of 574 men at Secessionville June 16th. Again, they disabled two of the blockading gunboats on January 1st, 1863; again, they forced nine bombarding iron-clads under Commodore Dupont to retire; again, they repulsed from Fort Wagner a storming party under General Gilmore, inflicting a loss of 1500, while their loss was but 100 men; again, while obliged to evacuate

Fort Wagner, leaving 18 guns there, and seven guns in Battery Gregg, they repulsed the Unionists' attempt to scale Fort Sumter and slew 200 men.

Nor did the Unionists fare better in Florida. They lost under General T. Seymour 2000 of his 6000 troops at Olustee, where the Confederates lost but 730 men. The Unionists again lost 1600 out of 2000 men under Gen.



RETREAT OF LEE'S ARMY.

Wessels at Plymouth, North Carolina, when the Confederate General Hoke's loss was but 300 men.

In the Southwest, however, the Unionists' cause had gained considerable advantages under General Banks, having a command of 30,000 men. Aided by Commodore Farragut, at Alexandria, La., he drove General R. Taylor and captured 2000 prisoners, several steamboats, and 22 guns. His assault, however, on Port Hudson, in June, was repelled with a loss of 2000

men, while the Confederates lost but 300 men. But Port Hudson, as it was about to be cannonaded by the gunboats set free by the fall of Vicksburg, was surrendered, July 6th, by the Confederate General Gardener, with his garrison of 6408 men. Banks' effective force had been reduced to 10,000. His total captures during the campaign were 10,584 men, 73 guns, and 6000 small arms. But Brashear City had some days before been surprised and captured by General R. Taylor (Confederate) with a Union loss of 1000 men and 10 guns. The Unionist General Dudley lost near Donaldsonville 300 prisoners, and again, the Unionist General Franklin with a fleet and 4000 men was repelled with a loss of two gunboats, 15 guns, and 250 men, by less than that number within the fort at Sabine Pass, and at Teche Bayou the 67th Indiana Regiment was captured entire.

The Red River expeditions in March and April, 1864, toward Shreveport under General Banks, from New Orleans, with a force of 40,000, and under General Steel, from Little Rock, with 12,000, were disastrous failures. The former had to retreat with a loss of about 5000, and the latter was also beaten back with a loss of 2200; but at Jenkins Ferry he repulsed the Confederate attack led by General Kirby Smith, with a loss of 2300. In August of this year (1864) Commodore Farragut executed one of the fiercest and most heroic naval combats on record. Having lashed himself to the mast of the Hartford, he advanced with a fleet of 14 wooden steamers and gunboats and four iron-clad monitors against Forts Morgan and Gaines, at the entrance of Mobile Bay. He ran the bows of his wooden vessels full speed against the rebel iron-clad Tennessee, gaining a notable victory, which ended in the fall of the forts and the city of Mobile.

General Grant was appointed Commander-in-chief of all the Union armies on March 1, 1864. Having sent Sherman to conduct a campaign in the West, he himself, on May 4 and 5, crossed the Rapidan for a direct southerly advance to Richmond. A campaign of 43 days followed, in which more than 100,000 men, frequently reinforced, were engaged on either side. He was met by Lee in the Wilderness, where, after two days of terrible slaughter, the battle ended without decided advantage to either side. Among the Unionists, General J. S. Wadsworth was killed and seven generals were wounded, the entire loss amounting to 20,000 men. The Confederates lost 8000 men, with Longstreet badly wounded.

Finding Lee's position impregnable, Grant advanced by a flank movement to Spottsylvania Court House. Here, on May 11th, Hancock, by a desperate assault, captured Generals Johnson and E. H. Stewart, with 3000 men and 30 guns, while Lee himself barely escaped. But no fighting, however desperate, could carry Lee's works. Sheridan with his cavalry now made a dashing raid toward Richmond. He fought the Confederate cavalry, killed their General, J. E. B. Stuart, and returned, having suffered little damage, to Grant. General

Butler with 30,000 men steamed up the James River and seized City Point, with the view of seizing Petersburg. He was, however, too slow, and in a fight with Beauregard, near Proctor's Creek, lost 4000 men, while the Confederates lost but 3000.

General Grant reached, May 17th, the North Anna, where he gained some advantage, but as Lee was strongly intrenched, he moved on again to Cold Harbor. Here an assault on Lee ended with a Union loss of 1705 killed, 9072 wounded and 2406 missing. Sheridan again raided Lee's rear, tore up railroads, and burnt stores, and after having lost 735 men he returned to Grant with 370 prisoners. Grant now pressed on toward the James River; assaults were

ENTRANCE TO GETTYSBURG CEMETERY.

made on Petersburg with a loss of many killed and 5000 prisoners. The Unionist General Wilson, with 8000 cavalry, while tearing up the Danville railroad, lost 1000 prisoners.

Another attempt to take Petersburg by a mine explosion resulted in a Unionist loss of 4400 and Confederate loss of 1000. A series of gallant attacks by the Unionists were as gallantly repulsed. Thus Hancock assailed Lee's left wing below Richmond, losing 5000 men. Warren seized the Weldon Railroad, at the expense of 4450, while the Confederates lost but 1200. Hancock's attempt to seize Ream's Station ended in his being driven back and

losing 2400 men. Warren grasped the Squirrel Level Road at a cost of 2500 men. Butler, however, took Port Harrison, with 115 guns, but failed to take Fort Gilmore after a loss of 300. The Confederates, attempting to retake Fort Harrison, were beaten back with a heavy loss. The Union cavalry under General Kautz advanced within five miles of Richmond, but were driven back with a loss of 9 guns and 500 men. Hancock tried to turn the Confederate flank and took 1000 prisoners, but had to retire with a loss of 1500.

Thus this campaign of 1864 closed with a loss in the aggregate of 87,387 men from the Army of the Potomac.

In West Virginia Sigel was routed at New Market by J. C. Breckinridge with a loss of six guns and 700 men. Hunter, succeeding Sigel, beat the Confederates, June 8th, at Piedmont, killing General Jones and taking 1500 men, but was himself, with 20,000 men, soon after beaten at Lynchburg, and forced to a disastrous retreat over the Alleghanies to the Potomac.

This opened the way for the Confederate, Early, with 20,000 veterans, to march northward. With a loss of but 600 he defeated General Lew Wallace near Frederick, killing and capturing 2000 men. After threatening Baltimore and Washington he retreated South with 2500 captured horses and 5000 cattle. He also defeated at Winchester General Crook, whose loss was 1200. Shortly after the Unionist General Averill defeated B. F. Johnson's cavalry and took 500 prisoners.

Not long after, on September 19, 1864, Early, after a brilliant attack by Sheridan at Winchester, was routed, losing 6000 men, while the Unionists lost 1000 less. At Fisher's Hill Sheridan again routed him, taking 16 guns and 1100 prisoners; at Cedar Creek, while Sheridan was absent at Washington, Early made a sudden and determined assault, throwing the Unionists into a panic-stricken mob, capturing 24 guns and 1200 prisoners. Sheridan, by his famous ride of twenty miles, met his beaten army. He reorganized it, inspired it to make a general and magnificent attack, and won a great victory, recapturing his 24 guns, taking 23 more, and 1500 prisoners. The loss on either side was about 3000.

In the Southwest General Sturgis (Union) with 12,000 men routed General Forrest at Guntown, Miss., killing and capturing 4000. In East Tennessee the Confederate raider Morgan captured 1600 Unionists at Licking River, but was himself soon after chased away with a loss of half his force. During these operations General Sherman advanced (May 18, 1864) with 100,000 men from Chattanooga. He was stubbornly resisted by General J. E. Johnston with an army of 54,000. At Kenesaw Mountain Sherman lost 3000 men while the Confederates lost 442. He, however, kept flanking and fighting the Confederates until he reached Atlanta, during which two months the enemy had lost 14,200 men; but reinforcements kept their numbers up to 51,000. During

these movements the Confederate General Polk, who on accepting his commission in the army had not resigned his position as a Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, was killed by a cannon ball while reconnoitring on Pine Mountain, a few miles north of Marietta. Hood succeeded Johnston, and aimed a heavy blow at Thomas, on Sherman's right, losing 4000 and inflicting

LONGSTREET REPORTING AT BRAGG'S HEADQUARTERS.

a loss of but 1500. On the 22d occurred another great battle in which McPherson, a very superior Union general, was killed, and 4000 Unionists were lost. The Confederate loss was, however, not less than 8000. General Stoneman whilst raiding Hood's rear was captured, with 1000 of his cavalry. Hood, after suffering a heavy repulse by Logan, and another at Jonesboro by Howard, in the latter of which he lost 2000, and still another by J. C.

Davis, when Jonesboro and many guns and prisoners were taken from him, retreated eastward, leaving Atlanta, September 1st, to the Union victors. Being reinforced, however, so as to have about 55,000 troops, he returned for an invasion of Tennessee. At Franklin, November 30th, he made a desperate onset against Schofield, and was baffled, at an expense of 4500 men to himself and of 2320 to the Union. At Nashville, to which he laid siege, he was struck by Thomas, December 15th, with great skill and determination during a two days' battle, and broken to pieces, having lost more than 13,000, besides seventy-two pieces of artillery. The Union loss was 10,000 during the campaign. In November and December Sherman at the head of 65,500, including the cavalry protection of Kilpatrick, executed his famous march to the sea, *i.e.*, from Atlanta to Savannah. His reward was 167 guns and 1328 prisoners and a demoralized South. The Confederate General Hardee, who had already evacuated Savannah, was obliged by a new advance of Sherman northward, February, 1865, to evacuate Charleston also, with 12,000 men. A cavalry engagement took place near the north line of South Carolina, between Kilpatrick and Wade Hampton, in which the former was surprised, but the latter finally beat him. Near Fayetteville, North Carolina, March 15th, he was attacked without success by Hardee, now acting under Joseph Johnston, having 40,000 men under his command; and three days after at Bentonville by Johnston himself. Sherman lost 1643, but forced Johnston to retire, leaving 267 dead and 1625 prisoners and wounded.

Fort Fisher, that protected the blockade runners at Wilmington, N. C., was bombarded by Commodore Porter and carried by assault by General A. H. Terry, January 16, 1865. This victory, purchased at a cost of 410 killed and 536 wounded, threw into the Union hands 169 guns and 2083 prisoners. And Wilmington itself fell about one month later, under an attack by Schofield.

General James H. Wilson, with 15,000 cavalry from the armies of Grant and Thomas, routed General Forrest at Selma, Ala., April 2d, capturing 22 guns and 2700 prisoners and burning 125,000 bales of cotton. Soon after, he captured at Columbus, Ga., 52 guns and 1200 prisoners, besides burning a gunboat, 250 cars, and 115,000 cotton bales. He took Fort Tyler by assault, but ceased operations at Macon, Ga., because by that time the rebellion was crushed.

General Grant resumed operations February 6, 1865, when he repulsed at Hatcher's Run, at a cost of 2000 troops, the Confederates, who lost 1000. General Sheridan with 10,000 cavalry routed Early, on March 2d, from Waynesboro, taking 11 guns and 1600 prisoners, and joined Grant at Petersburg after having passed entirely around Lee's army. An attack by Lee against Fort Stedman was repelled with a loss of 2500 to the Unionists and 4500 to the Confederates.

Grant, fearing that Lee might attempt to evacuate Richmond, threw Warren's corps and Sheridan's cavalry to the southwest of Petersburg. Warren, after having his divisions broken by Lee but re-formed by the aid of Griffin, united with Sheridan, who had been foiled the day before, April 1st, at Five Forks. Warren and Sheridan now charged the Confederates' works, which were taken, along with 5000 prisoners. A general assault was made by the Union army at daylight, April 2d, when Ord's Corps (Union) carried Forts Gregg and Alexander by storm. A. P. Hill, a brilliant Confederate general, was shot dead. That night Lee evacuated Richmond, burning his warehouses filled with stores. General Weitzel, at 6 A.M. April 3d, entered the city with his men and was soon followed by President Lincoln. Petersburg was at the same time abandoned. Lee halted his army, now dwindled to 35,000 men, at Amelia Court House. Grant rapidly pursued. Ewell was severed from Lee's rear and became one among 6000 prisoners. Lee heroically pushed on to Appomattox Court House, where his flight was intercepted by Sherman marching from the South. Lee was inclined to renew the fighting against Sherman, but his weary and famished army stood no chance against the fearful odds around them. And Lee, to prevent further useless bloodshed, surrendered his army to Grant on April 9, 1865, within three days of four years after the rebellion had been opened by the bombardment of Fort Sumter. Bell ringing, triumphant salutes, and boundless joy throughout the United States hailed this event as the close of the war. Johnston surrendered his army to Sherman at Raleigh, N. C., April 26th, and Dick Taylor his, to Canby at Citronville, Ala., May 4th. The terms of the surrender were magnanimous: "Each officer and man was allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by the United States authority so long as they observed their paroles and the laws in force where they may reside."

Jefferson Davis, the president of the now destroyed Confederacy, fled from Richmond at the time of its evacuation. Attended at first with a cavalry escort of 2000, which soon dwindled mostly away, he was making his way toward the coast, with his family and "a few faithful followers" when he was captured near Irwinsville, Georgia. After an imprisonment of two years in Fortress Monroe, he was released, and allowed to live without molestation, mourning the lost cause, until he died, December 6, 1889.

The Union soldiers numbered during the war 2,666,999, of which 294,266 were drafted, the rest being volunteers. The deaths on the field or from wounds amounted to 5221 officers and 90,868 men, while 2321 officers 182,329 men died from disease or accident. The Confederate armies enrolled were 600,000 men, of whom they lost more than one-half. The Confederate cruisers, the "Alabama," "Florida," "Georgia," "Sumter," and "Tallahassee," most of

which were fitted out in British ports, well nigh destroyed American commerce. The "Alabama," commanded by Raphael Semmes, went down off the French coast, June 19, 1864, in a memorable action with the U. S. S. "Kearsarge," commanded by Captain Winslow.

The greatest act of Abraham Lincoln was his Emancipation Proclamation, issued January 1, 1863, giving freedom to 4,000,000 of slaves.

And so ended the great internecine conflict, which has made us a strong, consolidated, free nation, never again, let us hope, to be given over to fraternal strife.

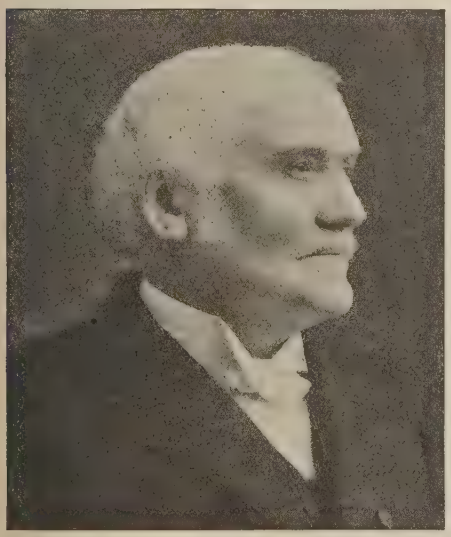
LINCOLN'S GRAVE.

CHAPTER XVII.

SOME FORGOTTEN LESSONS OF THE WAR.

By COLONEL A. K. McCLURE,
Editor and Proprietor of the Philadelphia Times.

Before all those who more or less actively participated in the civil or military events of our Civil War shall have passed away, it might be well to crystallize into history some of its forgotten lessons. The young student of to-day, who must turn to history for all knowledge of the dark days of the bloodiest civil war of modern times, can be easily and fully informed as to all important political events and the many battles which were fought between the blue and the gray. But there are many facts and incidents connected with the origin and prosecution of that memorable conflict which have no place in the annals of history, but which exercised a very great, and at times a controlling, influence in shaping the policy of the Government, and even in deciding the issues of the war itself. It is to some of these apparently forgotten lessons of the great conflict I propose to give a chapter that I hope may be entertaining and instructive.



COLONEL A. K. McCLURE.

When we turn aside from the beaten historical paths to explore the forgotten issues and movements of more than thirty years ago, we are startled at the magnitude of questions in those days which seem now to be accepted as incapable of controversy. The student of to-day only sees the fact that the issues between slavery and freedom were natural and irrepressible, and that in such a contest, with a vast preponderance of numbers, wealth, and physical and moral power, there could be but one result from such a struggle; but there are few to-day who have knowledge of the intrenched power of slavery, not only in our commercial cities, but throughout

the whole business interests of the country, and it will doubtless surprise many readers when they are told that even as late as September, 1862, when the war had been in progress for nearly two years, scores of thousands of thoroughly loyal supporters of the Government in every State shuddered at the idea of Emancipation. It will be equally surprising to the students of American history to-day to learn that the great mass of the people of both sections of the country were so profoundly interested in

THE SWAMP ANGEL BATTERY BOMBARDING CHARLESTON.

averting fraternal conflict that only the madness of the secession leaders forced the North to unite in the support of the war by wantonly firing upon the starving and helpless garrison of Fort Sumter when its peaceable surrender could have been accomplished within a few hours thereafter. So general and deep-seated was the aversion to war in the North, that had the Government

commenced hostilities, even after the capture of the national forts and arsenals which had been seized by the insurgents, the North would have been hopelessly divided on the question of supporting the Government.

While it is probable that the slavery issue would have culminated in civil war some time during the present century, I feel entirely warranted in assuming

GENERAL SHERIDAN TURNING DEFEAT INTO VICTORY AT CEDAR CREEK.

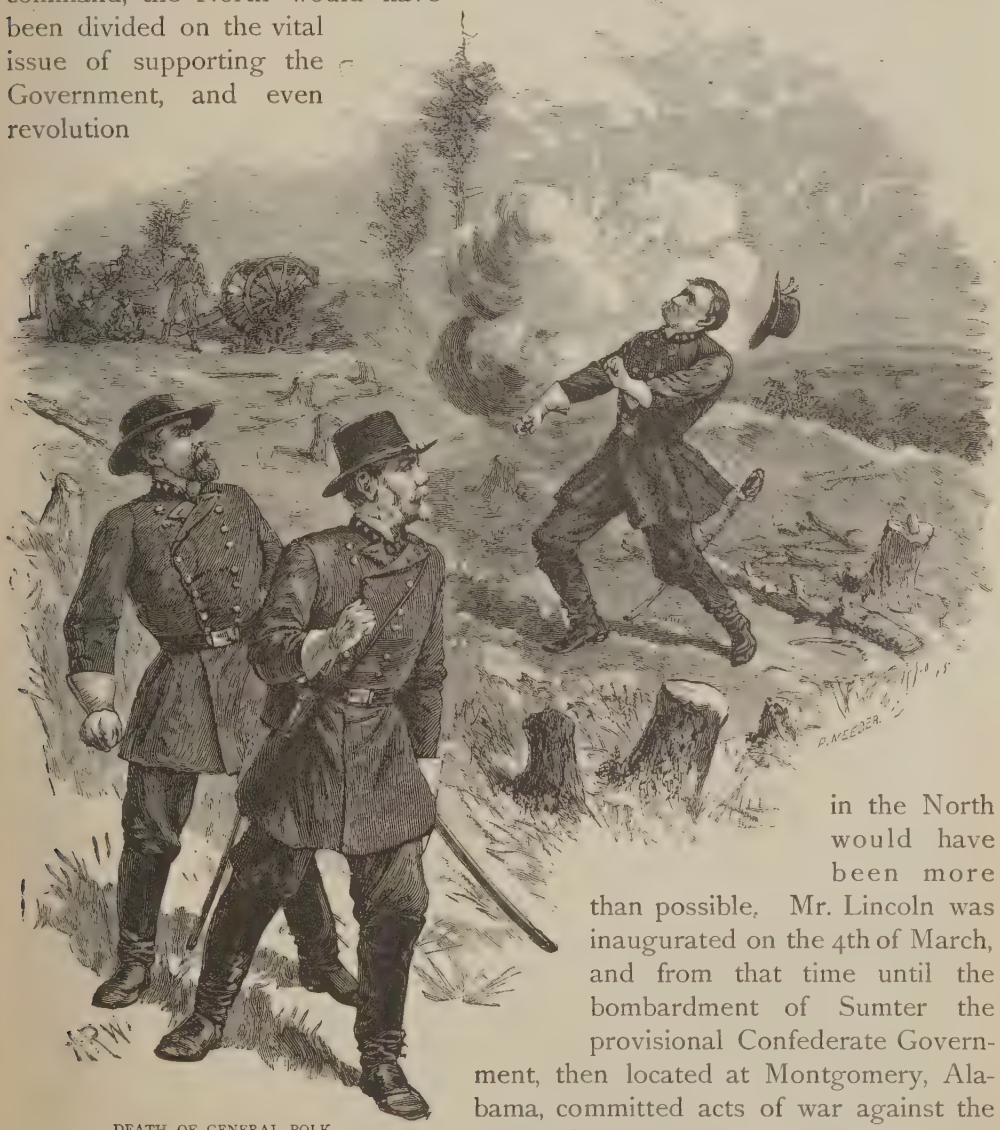
that the sectional conflict begun in 1861 would not have reached an appeal to the sword but for the fact that both sections mutually believed the other incapable of accepting civil war. Had the Northern and Southern people understood each other then as well as they understood each other after the soldiers of the blue and gray had exhibited their matchless heroism on so many battlefields, the election and inauguration of Abraham Lincoln as President would not have

precipitated war. Civil war had been threatened by alarmists and agitators in and out of Congress for many years, and many of the Southern leaders grew offensively arrogant in discussing sectional issues during the debates in Congress, for several years before the election of Lincoln. It was not uncommon for Northern men to be taunted as cowards because they refused to accept the code of honor, and finally, when the secession of States began, it was the almost universal belief throughout the South that the Northern people were mere money getters, and incapable of heroic action even in defense of their convictions. The South assumed that the North would not fight, because it was believed that the Northern people were so averse to fighting that they would submit even to dissolution of the government rather than risk their lives for its defense. On the other hand, the Northern people believed the Southerners to be led by bombasts who would take pause in their aggressive actions whenever compelled to face the fearful realities of actual war.

I have never forgotten an incident that occurred in a party caucus in the Pennsylvania Legislature, held on the night after the surrender of Sumter. I was then a Senator and in political accord with the majority of both branches of the Legislature that heartily sustained President Lincoln. The occasion was so grave that the caucus met in secret session, and the first half dozen speeches ridiculed the idea of actual war, because the Southern people were bombasts and cowards, and some of the speakers boldly declared that the Northern women could sweep away to the South of the Potomac, with their brooms, these blatant warriors. Having studied the situation both North and South, as Chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate, I ventured to correct the erroneous impressions created by the speakers, saying that the Southerners were of our own blood and lineage, had shared all our heroism in the achievements of the past, and that if we should become involved in civil war, it would be one of the most desperate and bloody wars of history. My declaration that the South would fight as heroically as the North was hissed from every section of the caucus. How fearfully true my statements and predictions were, was soon attested on the many battlefields, from the first Bull Run to Appomattox. No one then could have believed that the South would marshal and maintain an army of half a million men, to display the highest measure of heroism and sacrifice to overthrow the noblest government of the earth, and none could then have believed that the Northern people would furnish and maintain more than a million men during four long years of the bloodiest conflict, as the price of the perpetuity of the Republic. Had we known each other better then; had we known that the soldiers of both the North and the South would make Grecian and Roman story pale before their heroism in fraternal conflict, I doubt not that the Civil War begun in 1861 would have been postponed for a future generation.

The first gun fired against Sumter, on the 12th of April, 1861, sounded

the death knell of the Southern Confederacy and of slavery; and had the first gun of the war been fired by Major Anderson, the commander of Fort Sumter, against any of the Confederate batteries erected to bombard him and his little command, the North would have been divided on the vital issue of supporting the Government, and even revolution in the North would have been more than possible. Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated on the 4th of March, and from that time until the bombardment of Sumter the provisional Confederate Government, then located at Montgomery, Alabama, committed acts of war against the National Government, by seizing forts and arsenals, and by erecting batteries at Charleston, within range of Major Anderson's guns, to make his fort defenseless. With all these preparations for war on the part of the South, begun during the last three months of



DEATH OF GENERAL POLK.

Buchanan's Administration and continued after Lincoln's inauguration, the Government was entirely helpless to defend its forts and property. The forts could not be reinforced because the small standing army at that day was utterly unequal to the task. Nine important forts in six Southern States were garrisoned by but a handful of men, without supplies in case of siege, or means of defense in case of assault from batteries whose construction could not be impeded, as to fire upon them would have been an act of war. The Government was not only unable to man its forts and defend them and the arsenals of the South, but neither President Buchanan nor President Lincoln dared to call for an increase of the army. Had either of them done so, it would have been an open menace of war to coerce the rebellious States back into the Union; it would have inflamed the South into precipitating the conflict, and would not have been sustained by the people in the North.

Thus was the Government utterly helpless to hinder preparations for war by the new Confederacy. Many of the ablest and most patriotic men of both parties of the North doubted the right of the Government to coerce a State by the bayonet, and had either Buchanan or Lincoln called for an increase of the army, or attempted to recapture forts and arsenals seized by the South, it would have been regarded as needlessly hastening a conflict that all hoped could be avoided. It was the midsummer madness of the Southern Confederacy in precipitating the war by firing upon the starved and feeble garrison of Sumter that obliterated the issue of "coercion," and that practically united the North in sustaining the Government in an aggressive war policy. So entirely were we unprepared for war, that the President had no authority to call out troops, even after Sumter had been fired upon, and the President's proclamation summoning 75,000 volunteers for three months' service had to be legalized by subsequent act of Congress. The discussion of the propriety or impropriety of war was summarily ended when war was actually declared by the Charleston batteries hurling their hot shot into Sumter; and from that day until the surrender of the Confederate armies, after the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of lives and countless treasure, the North was inspired by its patriotism to prosecute the war until the Rebellion should be overthrown and the authority of the Government established in every State of the Union.

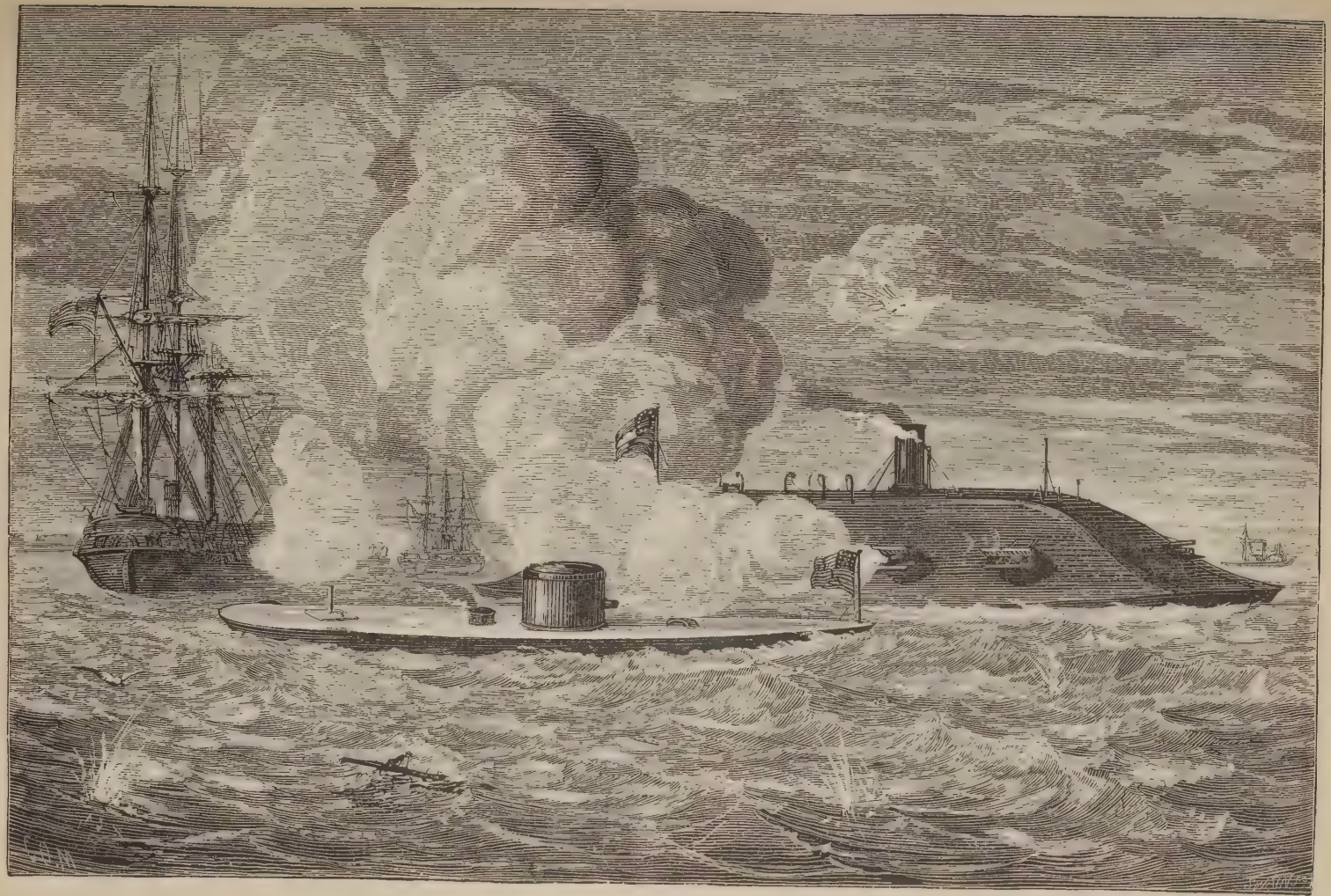
Had the Confederate Government been content to hold the forts and arsenals it had seized without bloodshed, and waited for the General Government to precipitate war, the conflict would have been indefinitely postponed and the Confederacy would have become so strong by the passive assent of the Government to its establishment that its overthrow might have been impossible. Certain it is that if President Lincoln had opened the war by firing upon the Southern forces, except in defense of assailed Government troops, he could not have commanded anything approaching a united support from the Northern

SURRENDER OF GENERAL LEE.

people; he would have been fearfully censured as having wantonly engaged in a great war over issues that might have been adjusted peaceably by patience; and none can now assume to say what would have been the issue of such a conflict with the North bitterly divided because of a sectional war precipitated by the aggressive action of the Government. It was the first gun fired against Sumter that crystallized the North, that gave Lincoln the power to summon patriotic armies to defend the Republic, and that assured, in the fullness of time, the utter overthrow of the Confederacy and the re-establishment of the great American Republic without the blot of slavery upon its escutcheon.

The naval warfare of the world was revolutionized in a single day by the battle between the "Merrimac" and the "Monitor", at Fortress Monroe, on the 9th of March, 1862. It was the most sudden and startling revolution ever attained in methods of warfare, and it was a revelation to every nation of the earth. The United States steam frigate "Merrimac" was set on fire at the Gosport Navy Yard at the outbreak of the war, when hastily abandoned by the Federal navy officers. It was burned to the water's edge and sunk, but soon after the Confederates raised the hull, which was not seriously damaged, and its engines in yet reasonably good condition, and they hurriedly undertook the then original conception of converting it into an iron-clad. A powerful prow of cast iron was attached to its stem, a few feet under water, and projecting sufficiently to enable it to break in the side of any wooden vessel. A low wooden roof two feet thick was built at an incline of about 36 degrees, and this was plated with double iron armor, making a four-inch iron plating. Under this protection were mounted two broadside batteries of four guns each, and a gun at the stem and stern. The Government was soon advised of the raising of the hull of the "Merrimac," and without having detailed information on the subject, knew that a powerful iron-clad was being constructed. A board of naval officers had been selected by the Government to consider the various suggestions for the construction of iron-clad vessels, and although, as a rule, naval officers had little faith in the experiment, Congress coerced them into action by the appropriation of half a million dollars for the work. The Naval Board recommended a trial of three of the most acceptable plans presented, and they were put under contract.

Among those who pressed the adoption of light iron-clads, capable of penetrating our shallow harbors, rivers, and bayous, was John Ericsson. He was a Swede by birth, but had long been an American citizen, and exhibited uncommon genius and scientific attainments in engineering. The vessel he proposed to build was to be only 127 feet in length, 27 feet in width, and 12 feet deep, to be covered by a flat deck rising only one or two feet above water. The only armament of the vessel was to be a revolving turret, about

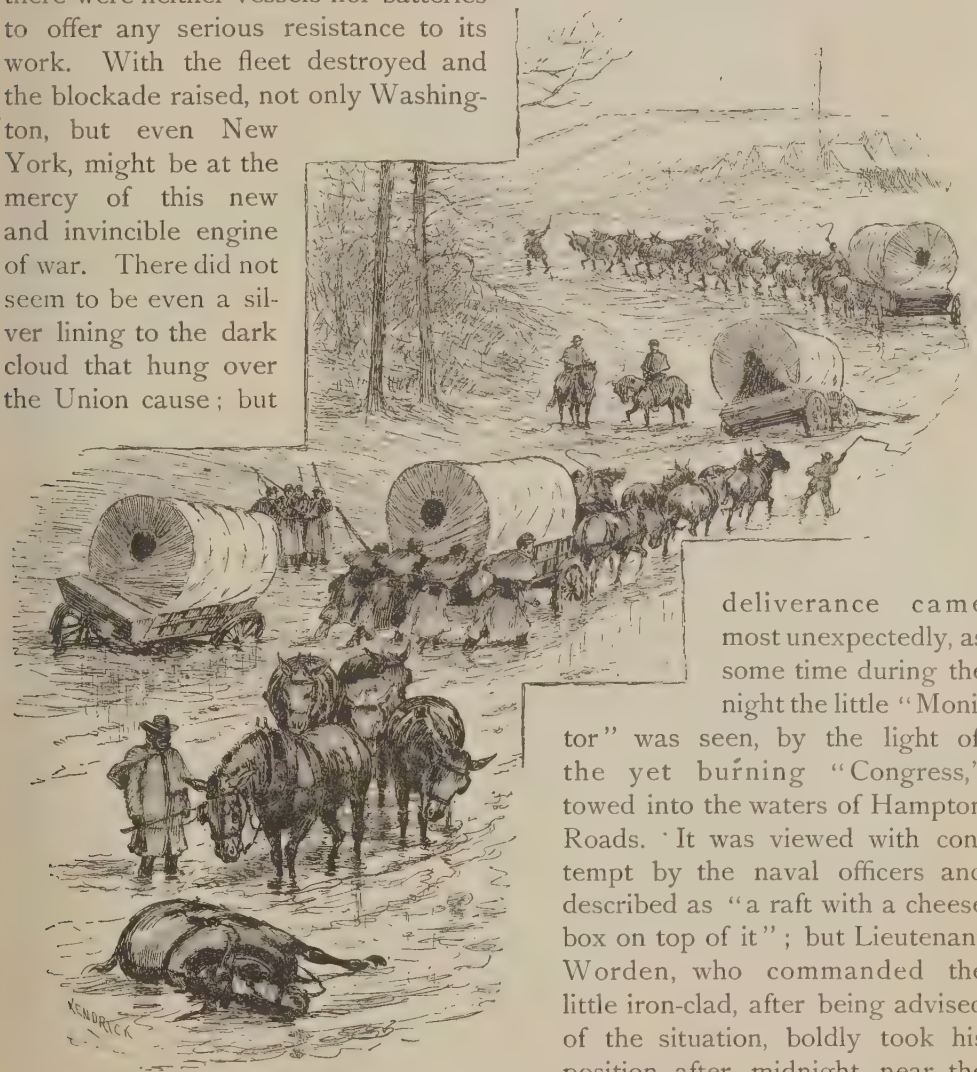


FIGHT BETWEEN THE "MONITOR" AND "MERRIMAC."

20 feet in diameter and nine feet high, made of plated wrought iron aggregating eight inches in thickness, with two eleven-inch Dahlgren guns. The guns were so constructed that they could be fired as the turret revolved, and the port-hole would be closed immediately after firing. The size of the "Merrimac" was well known to the Government to be quite double the length and breadth of the "Monitor," but it had the disadvantage of requiring nearly double the depth of water in which to manœuvre it. Various sensational reports were received from time to time of the progress made on the "Merrimac," the name of which was changed by the Confederates to "Virginia," and as we had only wooden hulls at Fortress Monroe to resist it, great solicitude was felt for the safety of the fleet and the maintenance of the blockade. While the Government hurried the construction of the new iron-clads to the utmost, little faith was felt that such fragile vessels as the "Monitor" could cope with so powerful an engine of war as the "Merrimac." The most formidable vessels of the navy, including the "Minnesota," the twin ship of the original "Merrimac," the "St. Lawrence," the "Roanoke," the "Congress," and the "Cumberland," were all there waiting the advent of the "Merrimac."

On Saturday, the 8th of March, the "Merrimac" appeared at the mouth of the Elizabeth River and steamed directly for the Federal fleet. All the vessels slipped cable and started to enter the conflict, but the heavier ships soon ran aground and became helpless. The "Merrimac" hurried on, and after firing a broadside at the "Congress," crashed into the sides of the "Cumberland," whose brave men fired broadside after broadside at their assailant only to see their balls glance from its mailed roof. An immense hole had been broken into the hull by the prow of the "Merrimac," and in a very few minutes the "Cumberland" sank in fifty feet of water, her last gun being fired when the water had reached its muzzle, and the whole gallant crew went to the bottom with their flag still flying from the masthead. The "Merrimac" then turned upon the "Congress." It was compelled to flee from such a hopeless struggle, and was finally grounded near the shore; but the "Merrimac," selecting a position where her guns could rake her antagonist, after a bloody fight of more than an hour, with the commander killed and the ship on fire, the "Congress" struck her flag, and was soon blown up by the explosion of her magazine. Most fortunately for the Federal fleet, the "Merrimac" had not started out on its work of destruction until after midday. Its iron prow had been broken in breaching the "Cumberland," and after the fierce broadsides it had received from the "Congress" and the "Cumberland," with the other vessels firing repeatedly during the hand-to-hand conflict, the "Merrimac" was content to withdraw for the day, and anchored for the night under the Confederate shore batteries on Sewall's Point.

The night of March 8th was probably the gloomiest period of the war. It was well known at Fortress Monroe and at Washington that the "Merrimac" would resume its work on the following day, and it was equally well known that there were neither vessels nor batteries to offer any serious resistance to its work. With the fleet destroyed and the blockade raised, not only Washington, but even New York, might be at the mercy of this new and invincible engine of war. There did not seem to be even a silver lining to the dark cloud that hung over the Union cause; but deliverance came most unexpectedly, as some time during the night the little "Monitor" was seen, by the light of the yet burning "Congress," towed into the waters of Hampton Roads. It was viewed with contempt by the naval officers and described as "a raft with a cheese box on top of it"; but Lieutenant Worden, who commanded the little iron-clad, after being advised of the situation, boldly took his position, after midnight, near the still helpless "Minnesota," thus challenging the whole fury of the "Merrimac" upon the "Monitor." On Sunday morning, the 9th of March, the "Merrimac" sailed out defiantly to complete its work of destruction and thus make itself master of the capital, of New York, and, presumably, end the Richmond campaign then contem-



MOIST WEATHER AT THE FRONT.

plated, and the little "Monitor" sailed out boldly to meet it. The history of that conflict need not be repeated. To the utter amazement of the commander of the "Merrimac," the "Monitor" was impervious to its terrible broadsides, while its lightness and shallow draft enabled it to out-manœuvre its antagonist at every turn; and while it did not fire one gun for ten of its adversary, its aim was precise and the "Merrimac" was materially worsted in the conflict. After three hours of desperate battle the defiant and invincible "Merrimac" of the day before was compelled to give up the contest and retreat back to Norfolk.

It was this single naval conflict, and the signal triumph of the little "Monitor," that revolutionized the whole naval warfare of the world in a single day, and from that time until the present the study of all nations for aggressive or defensive warfare has been the perfection of the iron-clad. To the people of the present time the iron-clad is so familiar, and its discussion so common, that few recall the fact that only thirty years ago it was unknown, and little dreamed of as an important implement of war. It is notable that neither of those vessels which inaugurated iron-clad warfare, and made it at once the accepted method of naval combat for the world, ever afterward engaged in battle during the three years of war which continued. The "Merrimac" was constantly feared as likely to make a new incursion against our fleet, but her commander never again ventured to lock horns with the "Monitor" and the additional iron-clads which were soon added to the navy. Early in May the capture of Norfolk by General Wool placed the "Merrimac" in a position of such peril that on the 11th of May, 1862, she was fired by her commander and crew and abandoned, and soon after was made a hopeless wreck by the explosion of her magazine. The fate of the "Monitor" was even more tragic. The following December, when being towed off Cape Hatteras, she foundered in a gale and went to the bottom with a portion of her officers and men; but she had taught the practicability of iron-clads in naval warfare, and when she went down a whole fleet was under construction after her own model, and some vessels already in active service.

One of the forgotten lessons of the war is given in the singular fatality that attended the formidable iron-clad vessels constructed by the Confederacy. The South not only furnished the first iron-clad of the war, but it constructed others which were confidently and reasonably relied upon to raise the blockade in both Savannah and New Orleans. The Confederates had converted the English iron-clad steamer Fingal, one of the successful blockade runners, into one of the most powerful iron-clad war vessels constructed by either side during the war. It was regarded by all as the most dangerous engine of war that had yet been produced; and when Admiral Dupont ordered two of his best monitors, the "Weehawken" and the "Nahant," to accept the "Atlanta's" challenge of battle, the gravest fears were cherished by the Admiral as to the issue of the conflict.

So confident were the officers of the "Atlanta" and the people of Savannah of the speedy and complete victory of the new Confederate iron-clad, that when the "Atlanta," on the 17th of June, 1863, steamed out to give battle, it was accompanied by steamers brilliantly decorated with flags and crowded with men and women, the elite of the city, to witness the destruction of the Union fleet.

DEATH OF MAXIMILIAN.

The "Atlanta" opened the battle, but the Federal monitors were silent until they got the exact range desired, when a ball from the "Weehawken" struck the side of the "Atlanta," penetrated its armor, and prostrated half the fighting force of the vessel by the concussion. The second shot struck the "Atlanta" and seriously damaged its plating; the third wounded both the pilots and

demolished the pilot house; and the fourth and final shot crashed through a port shutter. So stunning was the first shot received by the "Atlanta" from the "Weehawken" that the "Atlanta" never again fired a gun, as it became unmanageable and entirely at the mercy of its adversary. Thus in a very few minutes after the battle opened the Confederate iron-clad displaced its colors with the white flag, and it was regarded as one of the grandest naval prizes of the war. The captured iron-clad was towed away by the victors and reconstructed for service in the Federal navy, but on the 6th of December, 1863, when with the fleet within Charleston Harbor, a rough sea caught it, heavily laden with shells, and before relief could come it sunk to the bottom with some twenty-five officers and men.

Such was the fate of the two great iron-clads of the Confederacy that were completed and put into action. Each fought one battle and both perished soon thereafter; but the most formidable of all the iron-clads constructed by the South during the war, was within a few weeks of completion when Admiral Farragut captured New Orleans. The Admiral was advised of the construction of this vessel, and the fear of its completion certainly hastened his aggressive action in attacking the Confederate forts and fleet on the Mississippi, to enter New Orleans. Neither was his information in any degree at fault as to the invulnerable character of the new iron-clad. After the capture of New Orleans, Admiral Farragut and General Butler informed themselves minutely of this new engine of war, and both confessed that had it been completed before the capture of the city, it would have been capable of destroying Farragut's entire fleet, raising the blockade and defending New Orleans from capture. Most fortunately for the Union cause, with all the haste that could be practiced in the construction of this vessel, it could not be made serviceable until after Farragut's heroic and successful assault, and it shared the fate of the first of the Confederate iron-clads by being blown up by those who had staked the highest hopes upon its achievements. Thus while the Confederates were eminently successful with their free-lance vessels assailing our commerce on the seas of the world, and while they conceived and accomplished much in the construction of great iron-clads, their vessels were all singularly fated to be valueless in promoting the Confederate cause. When it is remembered that had the Federal blockade been raised in any of our leading ports and an open port maintained, as was possible by each of these Confederate iron-clads, the recognition of the Confederacy by England and France would have speedily followed, we may justly appreciate the magnitude of the succession of disasters that attended these Confederate engines of war.

The civilized world dates the emancipation of slaves in the United States with President Lincoln's proclamation of January 1st, 1863, and all historians of the future will date the overthrow of bondage in our land with that

immortal instrument. But the Emancipation Proclamation was not the end of slavery; it was simply the means that crystallized the forces that led to universal freedom within the limits of the Republic. In point of fact, President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation did not liberate a single slave, and it did not even assume to overthrow slavery in all the States of the Union. Tennessee, Maryland, and Delaware, three slave States then in partial accord with the Government, and nearly one-half the territory of Virginia and

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE NORTH END OF ANDERSONVILLE PRISON.
(*From a photograph.*)

In the middle-ground midway of the swamp is the "Island" which was covered with shelters after the higher ground had all been occupied.

a considerable portion of the territory of Louisiana, were expressly excluded from the operations of the proclamation. It was an exercise of the extreme authority of the Executive under the war powers of the Constitution, and had it been thus carried into effect, it would have left slavery existing in five of the States. Congress had advanced toward emancipation to the extent of giving freedom to every slave that reached the Federal lines whose master was in rebellion against the Government, and the Emancipation

Proclamation practically accomplished nothing more. While it proclaimed freedom to all the slaves within the States and territory named, their actual freedom was not attained until our victorious armies brought them within our lines, and possessed the territory of the slave States.

President Lincoln well appreciated the fact that his proclamation was simply the final step toward the utter overthrow of slavery, and that other and most important agencies were essential to the completion of the great work with which his name must ever be associated. A prompt movement was made in Congress to give completeness to the emancipation policy by a constitutional amendment forbidding slavery in every State and Territory of the Union, and one of the most desperate Congressional struggles of the war was precipitated by that effort. It was defeated in 1864, wanting

LIBBY PRISON IN 1865.

several votes of the necessary two-thirds in the House, but the same House, during the second session, finally adopted it, and thus slavery was abolished throughout the length and breadth of the land, and thus the complete triumph of Lincoln's Emancipation Policy was attained. But none the less will future generations turn back to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, as we do now, to date the deliverance of the great Republic of the world from the blistering stain of human bondage, and throughout all the peoples of the earth where the altar of liberty shall be known, there will the name of Abraham Lincoln be honored, because it gave freedom to 4,000,000 of bondmen.

There are very many forgotten lessons taught on the bloody battle fields of our Civil War which will never be recorded in history. The battle of Gettysburg, the Waterloo of the Confederacy, furnishes some most conspicuous

instances of the apparent accidents which control the destiny of great armies, and possibly the destiny of nations. That great battle-field had not been chosen by the leaders of either army. It was accident or fate, or the omnipotent power that rules over all, that doomed the Confederate army to be defeated when it was most confident of victory and best equipped in numbers, munitions, and confidence for a triumphant campaign. The first day was an appalling disaster to the Federal army. Two army corps, embracing probably one-fourth of Meade's entire force, were not only defeated but routed in that engagement, the commanding officer killed, and the demoralized Federal forces driven through Gettysburg to Cemetery Hill. Had they been pursued by the Con-

LIBBY PRISON IN 1884, BEFORE ITS REMOVAL TO CHICAGO.

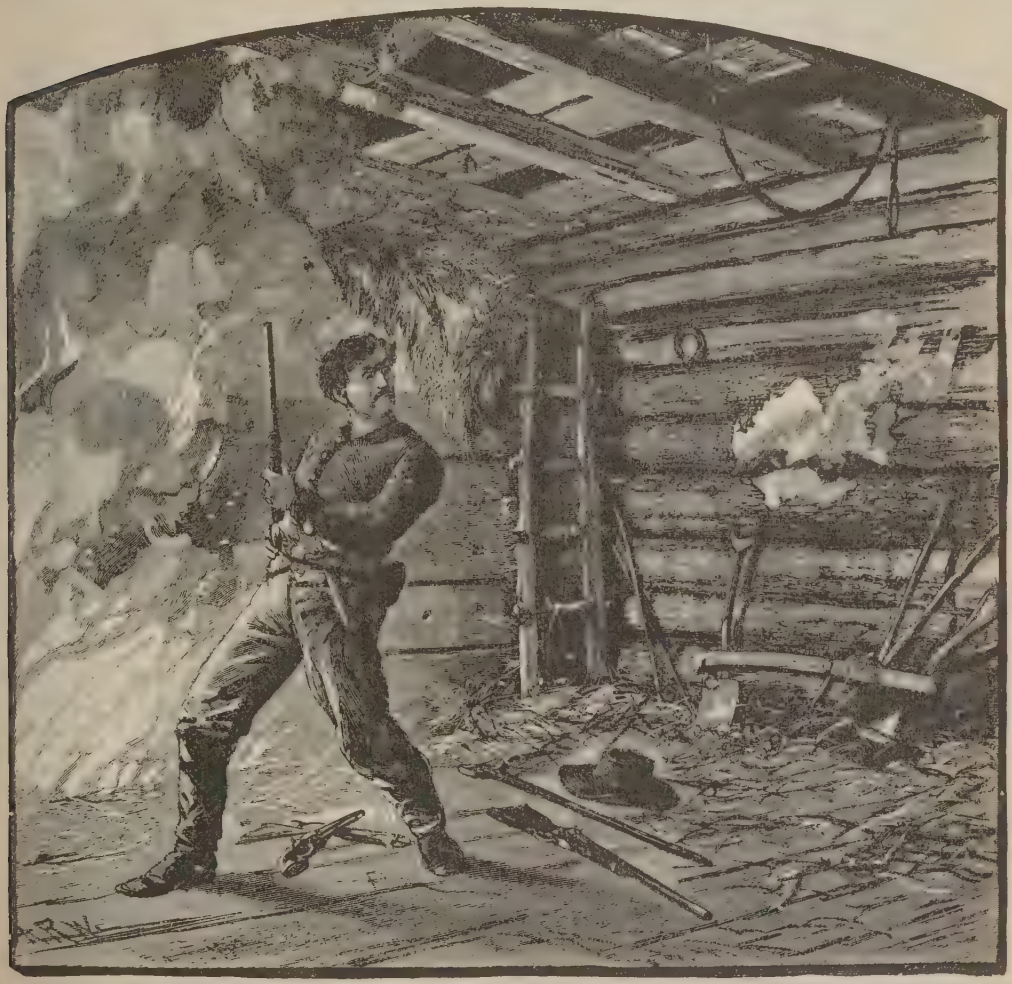
federate force that had defeated them, they could have been captured or scattered so as to be ineffective in the future battle; and even after the pursuit had been abandoned and Confederate headquarters established on Seminary Hill, Round Top, that commanded the left of the Federal position, and Culp's Hill, that commanded its right, could have been taken without firing a gun. Had that been done, the most impregnable position between Williamsport and Washington could not have been held an hour the following morning, the great decisive battle of the war, fought between the opposing lines on Cemetery and Seminary Hills, would have been unknown to history, and on no other field chosen by the Federal commander could Lee have been compelled to fight at such a disadvantage. Had Meade been defeated at Gettysburg who could

measure the consequences? Baltimore, Philadelphia, all the teeming wealth of the Lancaster and Cumberland valleys, and possibly even the Capital itself, would have been at the mercy of the Southern victors.

Three days' delay in the arrival of pontoon trains at Fredericksburg not only lost Burnside that battle, but ended in one of the most bloody assaults of the war, and one that was equaled only by Pickett's assault at Gettysburg in the wanton sacrifice of life. Burnside's delay, caused by the failure of his pontoon trains, gave Lee ample time to concentrate his army and entrench himself on the heights of Fredericksburg, and the defeat of the Federal army, with 16,000 killed and wounded, was the sequel of the blunder. The mistake of a single officer in choosing a road when executing the orders of General Meade in marching upon Mine Run, in all human probability, saved Lee from a most disastrous defeat, and compelled Meade to retire and close the campaign. Had his plans been executed he would have suddenly thrown his entire army between Lee's divided forces, fought them in detail and defeated them; but the mistaken march of part of his army separated his own forces and enabled Lee to concentrate at Mine Run, where he was so strongly entrenched that his position was absolutely impregnable. Many such instances might be cited, and results no less momentous frequently depended upon the condition of the roads and bridges, or of the weather, for "moist weather at the front" meant indefinite delay in the movement of trains and utter uncertainty as to the time in which necessary movements could be executed. The most heroic strategy of the war was exhibited by General Grant, when he swung his army away from the Mississippi River around to Jackson, defeated General Johnson in several pitched battles, separated him finally from General Pemberton, and shut Pemberton up in Vicksburg for his memorable siege that ended in the surrender of Pemberton's army six weeks thereafter. Grant is the only General of the army who would have made that campaign, and he did it against the advice of his subordinate officers and even against the written protest of General Sherman. It was a most perilous venture, but it meant the surrender and early capture of Vicksburg if successful, and Grant made it a success by his indomitable courage and celerity of movement. How he moved may be understood when it is stated that he was himself entirely without personal baggage, and he was so swift in his marches and in his attacks upon the enemy that when Johnson was defeated in the first battle, he was never given time to concentrate for another. But for that heroic movement it is doubtful whether Vicksburg could have been captured at all, and it is reasonably certain that, if captured, it would have been months later and after fearful sacrifice of life.

It was the deep-seated personal prejudice of Jefferson Davis that made Sherman's romantic march to the sea possible, in 1864. General Joseph E. Johnson was not in favor with the Confederate President. A short time before

the capture of Atlanta, Davis appeared there in person, removed Johnson from command and substituted General Hood, who was a brave but unskillful General; and in a public speech Davis gave notice that the Confederate army was to assume the aggressive. Hood speedily justified the prediction of Davis



THE CAPTURE OF BOOTH, THE SLAYER OF LINCOLN.

by making a desperate assault upon Sherman's lines to raise the siege of Atlanta. It was one of the bloodiest conflicts of the war, and for an hour or more after McPherson fell victory seemed to tremble in the balance, but Hood's army was finally defeated after terrible slaughter, and so impaired in strength that Sherman was soon able to manœuvre him out of Atlanta without another great

battle. Had General Johnson remained in command at Atlanta, it is entirely safe to say that General Sherman never would have attempted his march to the sea.

Stonewall Jackson made the most heroic and perilous movement at Chancellorsville ever made by the Confederate army. He divided Lee's forces in the face of an enemy overwhelmingly superior in numbers, made a long march to strike General Hooker's right, surprised it, routed it and compelled Hooker's retreat back across the Rapidan without the two great armies meeting face to face in a general engagement. That movement cost Jackson his life and the Confederate army, confessedly, its ablest Lieutenant. Had Jackson opened the battle of Gettysburg there would have been no battle fought on Cemetery Hill. He would have possessed the strong positions on both flanks of that line, and the battle on the second day would not have been delayed until after mid-day. That delay enabled Meade largely to increase his army by the arrival of fresh corps and to make his position impregnable by fortification. It was the absence of the special qualities possessed by Jackson that lost Lee more than an even chance for winning that desperate and decisive conflict. There was but one General in the Union army who could have captured Lee at Appomattox. It was General Sheridan, and Sheridan alone, who made Lee's escape impossible. He was the very fiend of battle, capable of greater endurance than any other officer in the field, and inspired as he was by the hope of making Lee captive, he neither slept nor rested after the battle of Five Forks until the end came at Appomattox. Lee would have been defeated and routed without Sheridan, but he is the only General who would have forced Lee to surrender in an open country.

The general public has almost forgotten the latest attempt of a European government to gain a foothold in North America. The brief reign of Maximilian as Emperor of Mexico; his base desertion by the Emperor of the French when it became evident that the United States was to survive the rebellion as a united and powerful nation, and that the continued presence of a European army on American soil was regarded by the great Republic as a demonstration of hostility, and resented as such; the immediate collapse of the empire when foreign support was withdrawn and the tragic death of Maximilian, form one of the saddest, but one of the most instructive, chapters in American history.

Such are some of the forgotten lessons of the war, and if all of them were carefully studied and faithfully presented, they would fill a large volume of most interesting history; but the actors in that crimson drama are rapidly passing away. Not one of the great chieftains of either the blue or the gray now survives, and each year sadly thins the already narrow circle of those who can recall the many forgotten lessons which are so romantically or so tragically interwoven with the history of the most heroic conflict ever made in man's

WM. T. SHERMAN.

struggle for man. It is well to believe that some of its lessons will never be forgotten. The horror of war which so hindered the prompt suppression of the Rebellion grew deeper and took firmer hold upon the minds of our people. To those communities, North and South, which sent out their best and bravest to unknown graves on distant battle-fields ; to those families who waited with fear and trembling to know at what cost to them was purchased the last great victory ; to those who saw their loved ones painfully hobbling upon crutches, or carrying an empty sleeve, or returning, the shadow of their former selves, from the horror of Andersonville or Libby Prison ; to these, and they were our whole people, war was, and is, utterly horrible.

It is well to remember how the great man whose election to the presidency precipitated the conflict in those four years of supreme trial, of sadness and of victory, bound to him the hearts of the people ; and it is well to remember how, even in that terrible time when Lincoln was assassinated, and when his slayer was being pursued and captured, in the hour which might seem to invite anarchy, our national administration was equal to every emergency, and the government was undisturbed. That a government of the people can live through such catastrophes is a lesson not soon to be forgotten. The great lesson of the war is the permanency, the adaptability and the adequacy of republican institutions.

A. K. McClure.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OUR FLAG AT SEA.

THE origin of the American navy dates from the commencement of the struggle for national independence. Up to that time the colonies had looked to the mother country for protection on the seas. So the outbreak of the Revolution found them entirely without a navy. Their maritime interests were great, and their fishing craft and merchant vessels were numerous and were manned by singularly able and daring mariners. But fighting ships they had none, while their opponent was not only the greatest naval power of the world, but was doubtless, at sea, stronger than all others put together. England was therefore able not only to command the American coasts with her fleet, but also largely to thwart whatever feeble efforts toward the construction of a navy were made by the haggling and incompetent Continental Congress. Nevertheless the American navy did then come into existence, and wrought at least one deed as immortal in the history of the sea, as Bunker Hill in that of the war upon the land.

In the fall of 1775, the building of thirteen war-cruisers was begun; but only six of them ever got to sea. Only one ship-of-the-line was built, the "America," and she was given to France before she was launched. During the whole war, a total of twenty small frigates and twenty-one sloops flew the American flag; and fifteen of the former and ten of the latter were either captured or destroyed. What cockle-shells they were, and how slight in armament, compared with the floating fortresses of to-day, may be reckoned from the fact that twelve-pounders were their heaviest guns. Beside these, of course, there were many privateers, sent out to prey upon the enemy's commerce. These swift fishing craft ventured even to cruise along the very coast of England, and down to the time of the French alliance captured more than six hundred English vessels.

In the annals of the regular navy, there are but three great captains' names: Wickes, Conyngham, and Jones. It was Lambert Wickes who, on his little sixteen gun "Reprisal," first bore the American war-flag to the shores of Europe,

and made it a terror to the great power that claimed to "rule the waves." After a brilliant cruise the "Reprisal" went down, with all hands, in the summer of 1777, on the treacherous banks of Newfoundland. Then Gustavus Conyngham took up the work, with his "Surprise" and "Revenge," and that very summer so scourged the might of England in the North Sea and in the British Channel itself, that the ports were crowded with ships that dared not venture out, and the rates of marine insurance rose to fabulous figures.

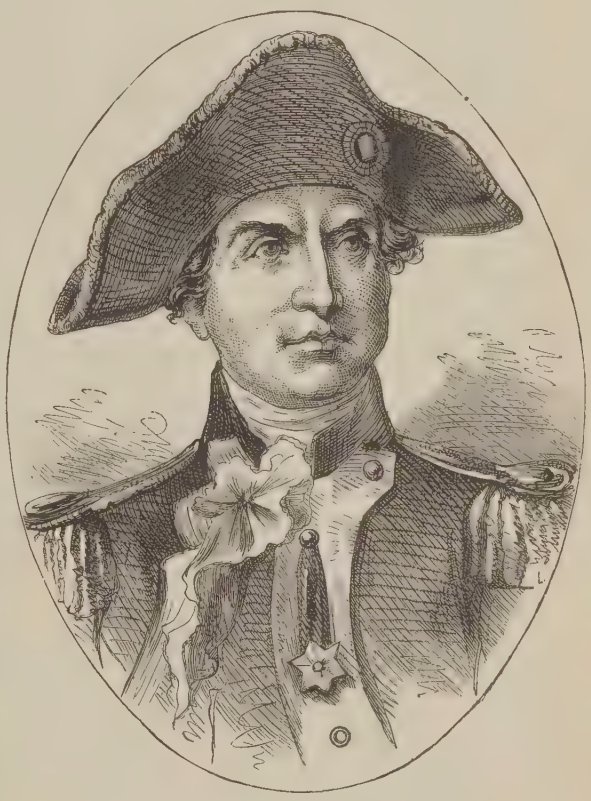
But the one splendid name of that era was that of a canny young Scotchman, John Paul Jones. Eighteenth he stood on the list of captains commissioned by the Congress, but on the scroll of fame, for those times, first—and there is no second. Coming to Virginia in boyhood, he entered the mercantile marine. When the war broke out he offered his services to the Congress, and was made a captain. And in 1778 he was sent with the "Ranger," of eighteen guns, to follow where Wickes and Conyngham had led. He swept with his tiny craft up and down the Irish Channel, entered Whitehaven and burned the shipping at the docks; captured off Carrickfergus the British war-sloop "Drake," larger than his own ship, and then made his way to Brest with all his prizes in tow.

Next year he set out on his immortal cruise, with a squadron of five ships. His flagship was an old merchantman, the "Duras," fitted up for fighting and renamed the "Bon Homme Richard," in honor of Franklin and his "Poor Richard's Almanac." She was a clumsy affair, armed with thirty-two twelve-pounders and six old eighteen-pounders not fit for use, and manned by 380 men of every race, from New Englanders to Malays. The "Pallas" was also a merchantman transformed into a thirty-two gun frigate. The "Vengeance" and the "Cerf" were much smaller; quite insignificant. The "Alliance" was a new ship, built in Massachusetts for the navy, but unhappily commanded by a Frenchman named Landais, half fool, half knave. Indeed, all the vessels save the flagship were commanded by Frenchmen, who were openly insubordinate, refusing half the time to recognize the commodore's authority, and often leaving him to cruise and fight alone. Yet the motley squadron did much execution along the shores of Britain. It all but captured the city of Leith, and entered Humber and destroyed much shipping.

But the crowning glory came on September 23, 1779. On that immortal date Jones espied, off Flamborough Head, a fleet of forty British merchantmen, guarded by two frigates, bound for the Baltic. At once he gave chase. He had, besides his own ship, only the "Pallas" and the "Alliance," but they would be sufficient to capture the whole fleet. But the miserable Landais refused to obey the signal, and kept out of the action. So the fight began, two and two. Jones, with the "Bon Homme Richard," attacked the "Serapis," Captain Pearson, and the "Pallas" engaged the "Countess of Scarborough." The "Serapis" had fifty guns and was much faster and stronger than Jones's ship. The

"Countess of Scarborough," on the other hand, was much inferior to the "Pallas" and proved an early victim.

It was growing dark, on a cloudy evening, and the sea was smooth as a mill-pond, when the "Bon Homme Richard" and the "Serapis" began their awful duel. Both fired full broadsides at the same instant. Two of Jones's old eighteen-pounders burst, killing twelve men, and the others were at once abandoned. So all through the fight, after that first volley, he had only his thirty-two twelve-pounders against the fifty guns—twenty of them eighteen-pounders, twenty nine-pounders, and ten six-pounders—of the "Serapis." For an hour they fought and manœuvred, then came together with a crash. An instant, the firing ceased. "Have you struck your colors?" demanded Pearson. "I have not yet begun to fight!" replied Jones. Then with his own hands Jones lashed the two ships together, and inseparably joined, their sides actually touching, they battled on. Solid shot and canister swept through both ships like hail, while musketmen on the decks and in the rigging exchanged storms of bullets. For an hour and a half the conflict raged. Then Landais came up with the "Alliance" and began firing equally on both. Jones ordered him to go to the other side of the "Serapis" and board, and his answer was to turn helm and go out of the fight altogether. Now the fighting ships were both afire, and both leaking and sinking. Most of the guns were disabled, and three-fourths of the men were killed or wounded. The gallant Pearson stood almost alone on the deck of the doomed "Serapis," not one of his men able to fight longer. Jones was as solitary on the "Bon Homme Richard," all his men still able-bodied being at the pumps, striving to keep the ship afloat. With his own hands he trained a gun upon



PAUL JONES.

the mainmast of the "Serapis," and cut it down; and then Pearson surrendered. The "Pallas" and "Alliance" came up and took off the men, and in a few hours the two ships sank, still bound together in the clasp of death.

This was not only one of the most desperate and deadly naval battles in history. Its moral effect was epoch-making. John Paul Jones was the hero of the day, and Europe showered honors upon him. The American flag was hailed as a rival to that of England on the seas, and all Europe was encouraged to unite against England and force her to abate her arrogant pretensions, and to accede to a more just and liberal code of international maritime law than had before prevailed. In view of this latter fact, this battle must be ranked among the three or four most important in the naval history of the world. It was this battle that inspired Catharine of Russia to enunciate the doctrine of the rights of neutrals in maritime affairs; and the tardy acquiescence of England, eighty years later, in that now universal principle, was brought about by the blow struck by John Paul Jones off Flamborough Head.

There were no other naval operations of importance during the Revolution, save those of the French fleet at Yorktown. But soon after the declaration of peace, new complications arose, threatening a war at sea. England and France were fighting each other, and commerce was therefore diverted to the shipping of other nations. A very large share of Europe's carrying trade was done by American vessels. But these were between two fires. England insisted that she had a right to stop and search American ships and take from them all sailors of English birth; actually taking whom she pleased; and France made free to seize any American ships she pleased, under the pretext that there were English goods aboard; and when she captured an English ship and found on board an American seaman who had been impressed, instead of treating him as a prisoner of war, like the others, she hanged him as a pirate.

Naturally indignation rose high, and preparations were made for war with France. In July, 1798, the three famous frigates, the "Constellation," the "United States," and the "Constitution," best known as "Old Ironsides," were sent to sea, and Congress authorized the navy to be increased to include six frigates, twelve sloops, and six smaller craft. Among the officers commissioned, were the illustrious Bainbridge, Hull, Decatur, Rodgers, and Stewart. Actual hostilities soon began. French piratical cruisers were captured, and an American squadron sailed for the West Indies to deal with the French privateers that abounded there, in which work it was generally successful. In January, 1799, Congress voted a million dollars, for building six ships of the line and six sloops. Soon after, on February 9, occurred the first engagement between vessels of the American and French navies. The "Constellation," Captain Truxton, overhauled "L'Insurgente," at St. Kitts, in the West Indies, and after a fight of an hour and a quarter forced her to surrender. The "Constellation" had three

men killed and one wounded; "L'Insurgente" twenty killed and forty-six wounded.

Again, on February 1, 1800, Truxton with the "Constellation" came up, at Guadeloupe, with the French Frigate "La Vengeance." After chasing her two days he brought on an action. The two ships fought all night. In the morning, "La Vengeance," completely silenced and shattered, drew away and escaped to Curacoa, where she was condemned as unfit for further service. The "Constellation" was little injured save in her rigging. For his gallantry, Truxton received a gold medal from Congress. Later in that year there were some minor engagements, in which Americans were successful.

By the spring of 1801, friendly relations with France were restored. The President was accordingly authorized to dispose of all the navy, save thirteen ships, six of which were to be kept constantly in commission, and to dismiss from the service all officers save nine captains, thirty-six lieutenants, and one hundred and fifty midshipmen. At about this time ground was purchased and navy-yards established at Portsmouth, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington and Norfolk, and half a million dollars was appropriated for the completion of six seventy-four gun ships.

Now came on real war. For many years the pirate ships of the Barbary States, Algeria and Tripoli, had been the scourge of the Mediterranean. The commerce of every land had suffered. European powers did not venture to suppress the evil, but some of them basely purchased immunity by paying tribute to the pirates. America, too, at first followed this humiliating course, actually thus paying millions of dollars. In September, 1800, Captain Bainbridge went with the frigate "George Washington" to bear to the Dey of Algeria the annual tribute. The Dey took the money, and then impressed Bainbridge and his ship into his own service for a time, to go on an errand to Constantinople. Bainbridge reported this to Congress, adding, "I hope I shall never again be sent with tribute, unless to deliver it from the mouth of our cannon." However, Bainbridge was received courteously at Constantinople, and his ship was the first to display the American flag there.

Captain Dale was sent with a squadron to the Mediterranean in 1801, to repress the pirates of Tripoli. One of his ships, the schooner "Experiment," captured a Tripolitan cruiser, and this checked for a time the ardor of the pirates. But open war was soon declared between the two countries, and Congress authorized the sending of a larger fleet to the Mediterranean. The gallant Truxton was offered the command of it, but declined because the cheese-paring Administration was too parsimonious to allow him a proper staff of subordinates. Thereupon he was dismissed from the service, and Captain Morris sent in his place. But false economy had so enfeebled the navy that the fleet was able to do little. One Tripolitan ship was captured, however, and another destroyed.

Then the Government woke up, and began building new ships, and sent another squadron over, led by Preble with the "Constitution." He went first to Morocco, whose Sultan at once sued for peace; and then proceeded to Tripoli. Here he found that the frigate "Philadelphia," with Bainbridge and three hundred men aboard, had been captured and was being refitted by the Tripolitans for their own use. Decatur, commanding the "Enterprise," under Preble, determined upon a bold counter-stroke. Taking a small vessel, the "Intrepid," which he had captured from Tripoli, he sailed boldly into the harbor, flying the Tripolitan flag and pretending to be a merchant of that country. Running alongside the "Philadelphia," he boarded her, set her afire, and sailed away in safety, though amid a storm of shot and shell. The "Philadelphia" was burned to the water's edge.

Nothing more was done at the time, however, save to keep up a blockade, and Bainbridge and his men remained in captivity. In August, 1804, Preble and Decatur made a vigorous attack upon the harbor, and destroyed two and captured three vessels. A few days later other attacks were made. Then a new squadron under Commodore Barron came to the scene, and Preble was superseded. No other naval operations of importance occurred, and peace was finally concluded in 1805.

Troubles with England now grew more serious. That country persisted in searching American ships and taking from them all whom she chose to call deserters from the British service. And so the two powers drifted into the war of 1812. In that struggle, the Americans were badly worsted on land, but won victories of the first magnitude on the lakes and ocean. America had only nine frigates and a score of smaller craft, while England had a hundred ships of the line. Yet the honors of the war on the sea rested with the former. Her triumphs startled the world. The destruction of the "Guerriere" by the "Constitution," Captain Hull, marked an epoch in naval history. Then the "United States," Captain Decatur, vanquished the "Macedonian;" the "Wasp," Captain Jones, the "Frolic;" the "Constitution," Captain Bainbridge, the "Java;" and the "Hornet" the "Peacock." On Lake Erie, Commodore Perry won a great victory, which he announced in the famous message, "We have met the enemy, and they are ours." Equally brilliant was the victory of MacDonough on Lake Champlain. The most deplorable reverse was the destruction of the "Chesapeake" by the British ship "Shannon," the "Chesapeake's" commander, Lawrence, losing his life, but winning fame through his dying words, "Don't give up the ship!"

The conflicts of this war are more fully detailed elsewhere in this volume. It is needful here only to mention them briefly, as we have done. The cause of the surprising successes of the Americans may well be explained, however. It was due to that very inventive ingenuity that has made the history of the

GOING TO THE RESCUE.

world's industrial progress so largely a mere chronicle of "Yankee notions." The Americans had invented and were using sights on their cannon. That was all. But the result was that their aim was far more accurate and their fire far more effective than that of their opponents. This advantage, added to courage and skill in seamanship equal to any the world had known, gave them their victory.

This war was ended in February, 1815, and a month later another was begun. This was against the Dey of Algeria, who had broken the peace and seized an American ship, despite the fact that America had continued down to this time to pay tribute to him. It was now determined to make an end of the business; so Bainbridge was sent, as he had requested, to deliver the final tribute from his cannons' mouths. Before he got there, however, Decatur, did the work. He captured an Algerine vessel; sailed into port and dictated an honorable peace; and then imposed like terms on Tripoli and Tunis, thus ending the tyranny of the Barbary States over the commerce of the world.

Thereafter for many years the navy had not much to do. Some vessels were used for purposes of exploration and research, and much was thereby added to the scientific knowledge of the world. During the Mexican war, naval operations were unimportant. But in 1846 complications with Japan were begun. In that year two ships were sent to the Island empire, on an errand of peaceful negotiation, which proved fruitless. Three years later another went, on a sterner errand, and rescued at the cannon's mouth a number of shipwrecked American sailors who had been thrown into captivity.

Finally the task of "opening Japan" to intercourse with the rest of the world, a task no other power had ventured to assume, was undertaken by America. On November 24, 1852, Commodore Perry set sail thither, with a powerful fleet. His commission was to "open Japan"; by peaceful diplomacy if he could, by force of arms if he must. The simple show of force was sufficient, and in 1854, he returned in triumph, bearing a treaty with Japan.

The most extended and important services of the United States navy were performed during the War of the Rebellion At the outbreak of that conflict, in 1861, the whole navy comprised only forty-two vessels in commission. Nearly all of these were scattered in distant parts of the world, where they had been purposely sent by the conspirators at Washington. Most of those that remained were destroyed in port, so that there was actually for a time only one serviceable war-ship on the North Atlantic coast. But building and purchase soon increased the navy, so that before the end of the year it numbered two hundred and sixty-four, and was able to blockade all the ports of the Southern Confederacy. They were a motley set, vessels of every imaginable type, ferry-boats and freight steamers, even, being pressed into use; but they served.

The first important naval action was that at Hatteras Inlet, in August, 1861.

There Commodore Stringham, with a fleet of steam and sailing craft, bombarded a series of powerful forts and forced them to surrender, without the loss of a single man aboard the ships. Next came the storming of Port Royal. At the end of October Commodore Dupont and Commander Rodgers went thither with a strong squadron. They entered the harbor, and formed with their ships an ellipse, which kept constantly revolving, opposite the forts, and constantly pouring in a murderous fire. It was earthworks on land against old-fashioned wooden ships on the water; but the ships won, and the forts surrendered. A small flotilla of rebel gunboats came to the assistance of the forts, but were quickly repulsed by the heavy fire from the ships.

The next year saw much naval activity in many quarters. The blockade of all Southern ports was rigorously maintained, and there were some exciting engagements between the national ships and blockade runners. On the Cumberland, Ohio, Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers the gunboats of Foote and Porter greatly aided the land forces, in the campaigns against Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, at Island No. 10, and Vicksburg. Roanoke Island and New Berne, on the Carolina coast, were taken by a combined naval and military expedition.

One of the most striking events of the war was the entrance of the Mississippi and capture of New Orleans by Admiral Farragut. He had a fleet of forty vessels, all told. Opposed to him were two great and strong land forts, Jackson and St. Philip, one on each side of the river, mounting two hundred and twenty-five guns. From one to the other stretched a ponderous iron chain, completely barring the passage, and beyond this was a fleet of iron-clad gun-boats, fire-ships, etc. Military and naval authorities scouted the idea that Farragut's wooden ships could ever fight their way through. But Farragut quietly scouted the authorities. Making his way up to within range of the forts he began a bombardment. On the first day his guns threw 2000 shells at the enemy. A huge fire-raft was sent against him, but his ships avoided it and it passed harmlessly by. Another was sent down that night, a floating mountain of flame. But one of Farragut's captains deliberately ran his ship into it, turned a hose upon it, and towed it out of the way!

For a week the tremendous bombardment was kept up, 16,800 shells being thrown at the forts. Then Farragut cut the chain, and started to run the fiery gauntlet of the forts with his fleet. Before daylight one morning the mortar-boats opened a furious fire, under cover of which the ships steamed straight up the river. The forts opened on them with every gun, a perfect storm of shot and shell, and the ships replied with full broadsides. Five hundred cannon were thundering. One ship was disabled and dropped back. The rest swept on in a cloud of flame. Before they were past the forts, fire-ships came down upon them, and iron-clad gunboats attacked them. The "Varuna," Captain

Boggs, was surrounded by five rebel gunboats, and sank them all. As the last of them sank, a sixth, a huge iron-clad ram, came rushing upon the "Varuna." Boggs saw he could not escape it, so he turned the "Varuna" so as to receive the blow squarely amidships. The ram crushed her like an egg-shell, and in a few minutes she sank. But her fearful broadsides, at such close range, riddled the ram, and the two went down together. In an hour and a half, eleven rebel gunboats were sent to the bottom, and the fleet was past the forts. Next

SINKING OF THE ALABAMA.

morning Farragut raised the national flag above the captured city of New Orleans.

This tremendous conflict was not, however, the most significant of that year. There was another which, in a single hour, revolutionized the art of naval warfare. When, at the outbreak of the war, the Norfolk Navy-yard had been destroyed to keep it from falling into rebel hands, one ship partially escaped the flames. This was the great frigate "Merrimac," probably the finest ship in

the whole navy. The Confederates took her hull, which remained uninjured, and covered it completely with a sloping roof of iron plates four inches thick, backed with heavy timbers, put a great iron ram at her bow, and fitted her with large guns and powerful engines. Then, to protect her further, she was coated thickly with tallow and plumbago. She was regarded as entirely invulnerable to cannon-shot, and her builders believed she would easily destroy all ships sent against her and place New York and all Northern seaports at the mercy of her guns. At the same time a curious little craft was built, hurriedly enough, in New York. It was designed by John Ericsson, and was called the "Monitor." It consisted of a hull nearly all submerged, its flat iron deck only a few inches above the water, and upon this a circular iron tower, which was turned round and round by machinery and which carried two large guns. Naval experts laughed at the "cheese-box on a plank," as they called it, and thought it unworthy of serious consideration.

A REVOLUTION IN NAVAL WARFARE.

At noon of Saturday, March 8, the mighty "Merrimac," a floating fortress of iron, came down the Elizabeth River to where the National fleet lay in Hampton Roads. The frigate "Congress" fired upon her, but she paid no attention to it, but moved on to the sloop-of-war "Cumberland," crushed her side in with a blow of her ram, riddled her with cannon-balls, and sent her to the bottom. The solid shot from the "Cumberland's" ten-inch guns glanced from the "Merrimac's" armor, harmless as so many peas. Then the monster turned back to the "Congress" and destroyed her. Next she attacked the frigate "Minnesota" and drove her aground, and then retired for the night, intending the next day to return, destroy the entire fleet, and proceed northward to bombard New York.

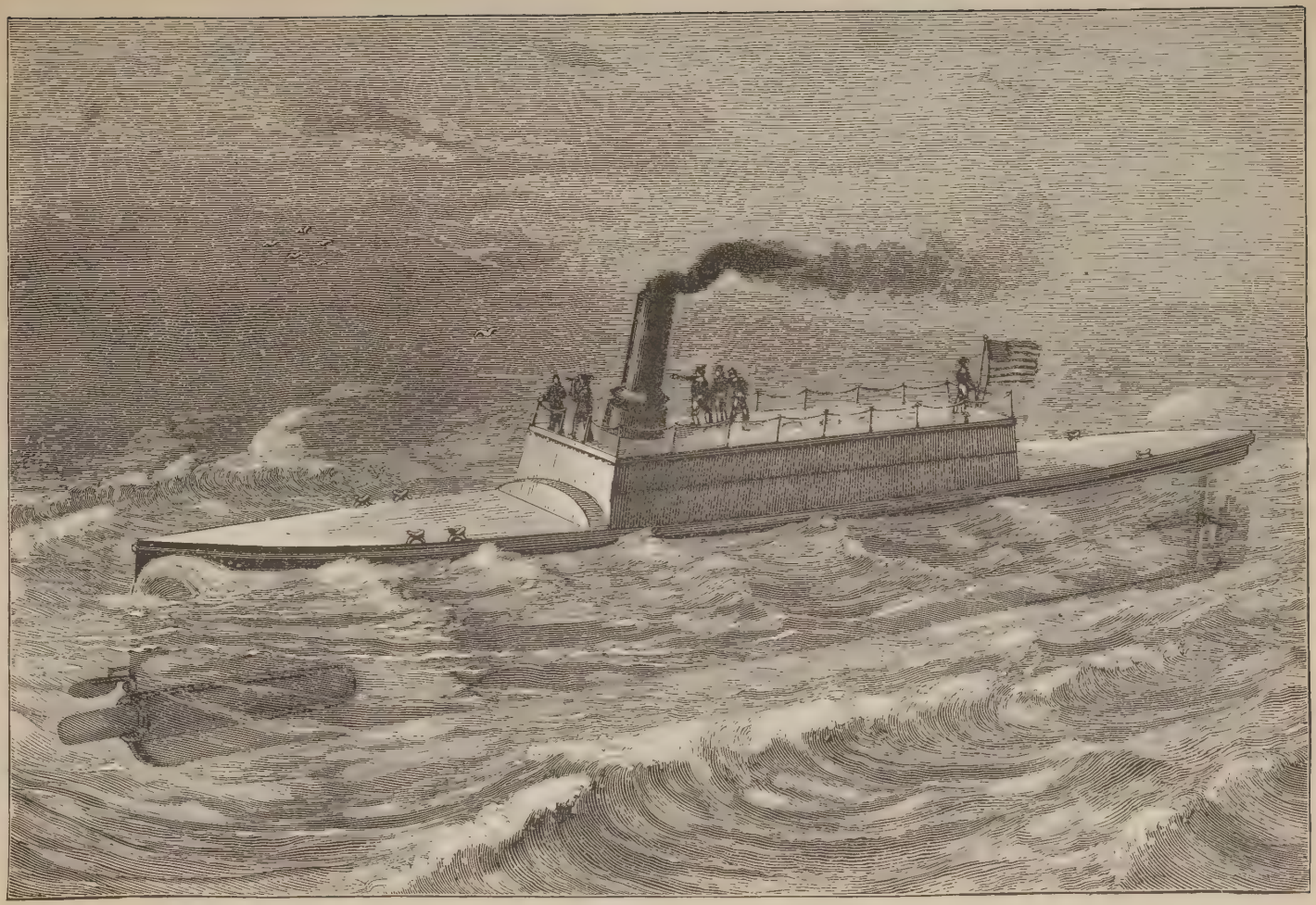
That night the "Monitor" arrived. She had been hurriedly completed. She had come down from New York in a storm, and was leaking and her machinery was out of order. She was not in condition for service. But she was all that lay between the "Merrimac" and the boundless destruction at which she aimed. So she anchored at the side of the "Minnesota" and waited for daylight. It came, a beautiful Sunday morning; and down came the huge "Merrimac" to continue her deadly work. Out steamed the tiny "Monitor" to meet her. The "Merrimac" sought to ignore her, and attacked the "Minnesota." But the "Monitor" would not be ignored. Captain Worden ran her alongside the "Merrimac," so that they almost touched, and hurled his 160-lb. shot at the iron monster as rapidly as the two guns could be worked. Those shots, at that range, told, as all the broadsides of the frigates had not. The "Merrimac's" armor began to yield, while her own firing had no effect upon the "Monitor." It was seldom she could hit the little craft at all, and when she did the shots glanced off without harm. Five times she tried to

ram the "Monitor," but the latter eluded her. A sixth time she tried it, and the "Monitor" stood still and let her come on. The great iron beak that had crushed in the side of the "Cumberland" merely glanced on the "Monitor's" armor and glided upon her deck. The "Merrimac" was so lifted and tilted as to expose the unarmored part of her hull to the "Monitor's" deadly fire, while the "Monitor" quickly slid out from under her, uninjured. Then the "Merrimac" retreated up the river, and her career was ended. She was a mere wreck. But the "Monitor," though struck by twenty-two heavy shots, was practically uninjured. The only man hurt on the "Monitor" was the gallant Captain Worden. He was looking through the peep-hole when one of the "Merrimac's" last shots struck squarely just outside. He was stunned by the shock and half-blinded by splinters; but his first words on regaining consciousness were, "Have we saved the 'Minnesota'?"

The "Monitor" had saved the "Minnesota," and all the rest of the fleet, and probably many Northern cities. But, more than that, she had, in that grim duel, revolutionized naval warfare. In that hour England saw her great ships of the line condemned. The splendid frigates, with their tiers of guns, were thenceforth out of date and worthless. The "cheese-box on a plank" in a single day had vanquished all the navies of the world.

The success of Farragut in passing the Mississippi forts led Dupont, in April, 1863, to attempt in like manner to enter Charleston harbor; but in vain. The fire from the forts was too fierce, and his fleet was forced to fall back with heavy losses. But in August, 1864, Farragut repeated his former exploit at Mobile. Forming his ships in line of battle, he stood in the rigging of the "Hartford," glass in hand, and directed their movements. As Dupont had done at Port Royal, he swept round and round in a fiery ellipse. At a critical point in the battle the lookout reported, "Torpedoes ahead!" A cry arose to stop the ship. "Go ahead! Damn the torpedoes!" roared the great Admiral, and the ship went on. Then the huge iron ram "Tennessee" came forward, to crush them as the "Merrimac" had crushed the "Cumberland." But Farragut, with sublime audacity, turned the bow of his wooden ship upon her and ran her down. Thus the Mobile forts were silenced and the harbor cleared. Nor must the storming of Fort Fisher be forgotten. The first attack was made in December, 1864. Admiral Porter bombarded the place furiously, and then General Butler attempted to take it with land forces. He failed, and returned to Fortress Monroe, saying the place could not be taken. But Porter thought otherwise, and remained at his post with his fleet. General Terry then went down with an army, Porter renewed the bombardment, the fort was captured, and the last port of the Confederacy was closed.

While the National navy was thus carrying all before it along the coast, the Confederates were active elsewhere. Their swift, armed cruisers, fitted out



THE "DESTROYER" TORPEDO-VESSEL OF CAPTAIN ERICSSON.

in English ports, scoured the seas and preyed upon American commerce everywhere, until the American merchant flag was almost banished from the ocean. The most famous of all these cruisers was the "Alabama," commanded by Raphael Semmes. During her career she destroyed more than ten million dollars' worth of American shipping. For a long time her speed and the skill and daring of her commander kept her out of the hands of the American navy. But at last, in June, 1864, Captain Winslow, with the ship "Kearsarge," came up with her in the neutral harbor of Cherbourg, France. Determined to make an end of her, he waited, just outside the harbor, for her to come out. Semmes soon accepted the challenge, and the duel occurred on Sunday, June 19. The shore was crowded with spectators, and many yachts and other craft came out, bearing hundreds anxious to see the battle. The vessels were not far from equal in strength. But the "Kearsarge" had two huge eleven-inch pivot guns, that made awful havoc on the "Alabama." The "Alabama," on the other hand, had more guns than the "Kearsarge." But the famous cruiser's time had come. As the two ships slowly circled round and round, keeping up a constant fire, every shot from the "Kearsarge" seemed to find its mark, while those of the "Alabama" went wide. And soon the "Alabama" sank, leaving the "Kearsarge" scarcely injured.

A volume might be filled with accounts of notable exploits of the navy which there is not room even to mention here. But one more must be named, so daring and so novel was it. In April, 1864, the great iron-clad ram, "Albemarle," was completed by the Confederates and sent forth to drive the National vessels from the sounds and harbors of the North Carolina coast. She came down the Roanoke River and boldly attacked the fleet, destroying one ship at the first onset and damaging others, while showing herself almost invulnerable. It was feared that she would actually succeed in raising the blockade, and extraordinary efforts were made to destroy her, but without avail.

At last the job was undertaken by a young officer, Lieutenant Cushing, who had already distinguished himself by his daring. He took a small steam launch, manned by himself and fifteen others, armed with a howitzer, and carrying a large torpedo. The "Albemarle" was at her dock at Plymouth, some miles up the river, and both banks of the narrow stream were closely lined with pickets and batteries. On a dark, stormy night the launch steamed boldly up the river and got within a short distance of the "Albemarle" before it was seen by the pickets. Instantly the alarm was given, and a hail of bullets fell upon the launch, doing, however, little harm. Cushing headed straight for the huge iron-clad, shouting at the top of his voice, in bravado, "Get off the ram! We're going to blow you up!" Running the launch up till its bow touched the side of the "Albemarle," he thrust the torpedo, at the end of a pole, under the latter and fired it. The explosion wrecked the "Albemarle"

and sank her. The launch was also wrecked, and the sixteen men took to the water and sought to escape by swimming. All were, however, captured by the Confederates, save four. Of these, two were drowned, and the other two—one of them being Cushing himself—reached the other shore and got safely back to the fleet.

We have said that in the spring of 1861 there were only 42 vessels in commission in the navy. There were also 27 serviceable ships not in commission, and 21 unserviceable, or 90 in all. During the four years of the war there were built and added to the navy 125 unarmored and 68 armored vessels, most of the latter being of the "Monitor" type. A few figures regarding some of the engagements will give a vivid idea of the manner in which the ships fought. In the futile attack of the iron-clads on the forts in Charleston harbor, April 7, 1863, nine vessels took part, using 23 guns and firing 139 times, at from 500 to 2100 yards range. They hit Fort Wagner twice, Fort Moultrie 12 times, and Fort Sumter 55 times, doing little damage. Against them the forts used 77 guns, firing 2229 times, and hitting the vessels 520 times, but doing little damage except to one monitor, which was sunk. In the second bombardment of Fort Fisher 21,716 projectiles, solid shot and shell, were thrown by the fleet.

But the most important thing achieved was the entire transformation effected in naval science. Hitherto the war-ship had been simply an armed merchant-ship, propelled by sails or, latterly, by steam, carrying a large number of small guns. American inventiveness made it, after the duel of the "Monitor" and "Merrimac," a floating fortress of iron or steel, carrying a few enormously heavy guns. The glory of the old line-of-battle ship, with three or four tiers of guns on each side and a big cloud of canvas overhead, firing rattling broadsides, and manœuvring to get and hold the weather-gauge of the enemy—all that was relegated to the past forever. In its place came the engine of war, with little pomp and circumstance, but with all the resources of science shut within its ugly, black iron hull.

John Paul Jones, with his "Bon Homme Richard," struck the blow that made universal the law of neutrals' rights. Hull, with the "Constitution," sending a British frigate to the bottom, showed what Yankee ingenuity in sighting guns could do. Ericsson and Worden, with the "Monitor," sent wooden navies to the hulk-yard and ushered in the era of iron and steel fighting-engines. These are the three great naval events of a century.

One of the most thrilling events in naval history occurred in a time of peace. It was in the harbor of Apia, Samoa, in March, 1889. A great storm struck the shipping and destroyed nearly every vessel there. Three German war-ships were wrecked. One English war-ship, by herculean efforts, was saved. Two American war-ships were wrecked, and one was saved after being run on the beach. This was the "Nipsic." The wrecked vessels were the

"Trenton" and the "Vandalia." The combined strength of their engines and anchors was not enough to keep them from being driven upon the fateful reefs. The "Vandalia" was already stranded and pounding to pieces, and the "Trenton" was drifting down upon her. "Suddenly," says a witness of the scene, "the Stars and Stripes were seen flying from the gaff of the 'Trenton.' Previous to this no vessel in the harbor had raised a flag, as the storm was raging so furiously at sunrise that that ceremony was neglected. It seemed now as if the gallant ship knew she was doomed, and had determined to go down with the flag of her country floating above the storm. Presently the last faint ray of daylight faded away, and night came down upon the awful scene. The storm was still raging with as much fury as at any time during the day. The poor creatures who had been clinging for hours to the rigging of the 'Vandalia' were bruised and bleeding, but they held on with the desperation of men who hang by a thread between life and death. The ropes had cut the flesh of their arms and legs, and their eyes were blinded by the salt spray which swept over them. Weak and exhausted as they were, they would be unable to stand the terrible strain much longer. They looked down upon the angry water below them, and knew that they had no strength left to battle with the waves. Their final hour seemed to be upon them. The great black hull of the 'Trenton' could be seen through the darkness, almost ready to crush into the stranded 'Vandalia' and grind her to atoms. Suddenly a shout was borne across the waters. The 'Trenton' was cheering the 'Vandalia.' The sound of 450 voices broke upon the air and was heard above the roar of the tempest. 'Three cheers for the "Vandalia!"' was the cry that warmed the hearts of the dying men in the rigging. The shout died away upon the storm, and there arose from the quivering masts of the sunken ship a response so feeble that it was scarcely heard on shore. The men who felt that they were looking death in the face aroused themselves to the effort and united in a faint cheer to the flagship. Those who were standing on shore listened in silence, for that feeble cry was the saddest they had ever heard. Every heart was melted to pity. 'God help them!' was passed from one man to another. The sound of music next came across the water. The 'Trenton's' band was playing 'The Star Spangled Banner.' The thousand men on sea and shore had never before heard strains of music at such a time as this." And so the good ships went to wreck, and many a life was lost; but a standard of endurance and of valor was there set up that shall command the reverence and wonder of the world as long as time shall endure.

During fifteen years of peace, following the War of the Rebellion, the navy was much neglected. No new ships were built, and the old ones fell into decay. In 1881, however, William H. Hunt, Secretary of the Navy, appointed an Advisory Board to plan the building of a new navy adequate to the needs of the

BURNSIDE'S EXPEDITION CROSSING HATTERAS BAR.

nation. From the deliberations of this Board and its successor, appointed by Secretary Chandler, sprang the splendid new fleet. The Board recommended the construction of four steel vessels: the "Chicago," of 4500 tons displacement; the "Boston" and "Atlanta," of 3189 tons displacement each, and the "Dolphin," of 1485 tons displacement. The dates of the acts authorizing these vessels were August 5, 1882, and March 3, 1883, and the contracts were taken for all four vessels by John Roach & Sons in July, 1883.

The pioneer of the new steel navy was the "Dolphin." Although classed as a "dispatch boat" in the Navy Register, she has well earned the title of a first-class cruiser, and would be so classed if she had the tonnage displacement, since she made a most successful cruise around the world, traversing 52,000 miles of sea without a single mishap. The "Dolphin" was launched April 21, and she was finished in November, 1884, and although no material changes were made in her she was kept in continuous service for nearly six years. After her trip around Cape Horn, and after ten months hard cruising, she was thoroughly surveyed, and there was not a plate displaced, nor a rivet loosened, nor a timber strained, nor a spar out of gear. At the end of her cruise around the world she was pronounced "the stanchest dispatch-boat in any navy of the world."

The "Dolphin" is a single-screw vessel of the following dimensions: Length over all, 265½ feet; breadth of beam, 32 feet; mean draught, 14¼ feet; displacement, 1485 tons. Her armament consists of two four-inch rapid-firing guns; two six-pounder rapid-firing guns; four forty-seven-millimeter Hotchkiss revolving cannon, and two Gatling guns. She is also fitted with torpedo tubes. Her cost, exclusive of her guns, was $315,000. Her complement of crew consists of 10 officers and 98 enlisted men.

The first four vessels were called the "A, B, C, and D of the New Navy," because of the first letters of their names—the "Atlanta," "Boston," "Chicago," and "Dolphin." The "Atlanta" and "Boston" are sister ships—that is, they were built from the same designs and their plates, etc., were moulded from the same patterns and they carry the same armament—hence a description of one is a description of the other. They followed the "Dolphin" in service, the "Atlanta" being launched on October 9, 1884, and the "Boston" on December 4, 1884. The "Atlanta" cost $619,000 and the "Boston" $617,000. The official description of these vessels is that they "are central superstructure, single-deck, steel cruisers." Their dimensions are: Length over all, 283 feet; breadth of beam, 42 feet; mean draught, 17 feet; displacement, 3189 tons; sail area, 10,400 square feet. The armament of each consists of two eight-inch and six six-inch breech-loading rifles; two six-pounder, two two-pounder, and two one-pounder rapid-firing guns; two 47-millimeter and two 37-millimeter Hotchkiss revolving cannon, two Gatling guns, and a set of torpedo-firing tubes.

Larger and finer still is the "Chicago," the flagship of the fleet, which was launched on December 5, 1885. She was the first vessel of the navy to have heavy guns mounted in half turrets, her four eight-inch cannon being carried on the spar-deck in half turrets built out from the ship's side, the guns being twenty-four and a-half feet above the water and together commanding the entire horizon. There are six six-inch guns in the broadside ports of the gun-deck and a six-inch gun on each bow. There are also two five-inch guns aft in the after portion of the cabin. Her secondary battery is two Gatlings, two six-pounders, two one-pounders, two 47-millimeter revolving cannon, and two 37-millimeter revolving cannon.

This auspicious start being made, the work of building the new navy went steadily on. Next came the protected cruisers "Baltimore," "Charleston," "Newark," "San Francisco," and "Philadelphia," big steel ships, costing from a million to nearly a million and a half dollars each. Much smaller cruisers, or gunboats, were the "Yorktown," "Concord," and "Bennington," and, smallest of all, the "Petrel." All these ships, though varying in size, are of the same general type. They are not heavily armored, and are not regarded as regular battle-ships, yet could doubtless give a good account of themselves in any conflict. They are chiefly intended, however, as auxiliaries to the real fighters, and as cruisers, commerce destroyers, etc.

The "Vesuvius," launched in April, 1888, is a "dynamite cruiser," a small, swift vessel, carrying three huge guns, each of fifteen inches bore, pointing directly forward and upward. From these, charges of dynamite are to be fired by compressed air. The "Cushing" is a swift torpedo boat, with three tubes for discharging the deadly missiles. It was launched in 1890, and named after the intrepid destroyer of the "Albemarle," whose feat has already been described. The "Stiletto" is a very small, wooden torpedo boat, of very great speed.

The new navy also contains a number of vessels intended for coast-defense, heavily armored for hard fighting. The "Monterey" is a vessel of the "Monitor" type invented by Ericsson. It has two turrets, or barbettes, each carrying two twelve-inch guns, and protected by from eleven to thirteen inches of armor. The bow is provided with a ram. The "Puritan" is a vessel of similar design, with fourteen inches of armor. Besides the four big guns there is a secondary battery of twelve rapid-firing guns, four Hotchkiss revolving cannon, and four Gatling guns. The "Miantonomah", is another double-turreted monitor. Her four ten-inch rifles have an effective range of thirteen miles, and she has a powerful secondary battery. Her big guns can send a five hundred-pound bolt of metal through twenty inches of armor, and she is herself heavily armored. This is a singularly powerful battle-ship, and would probably

prove a match for any war-ship in the world. Several similar vessels are now under construction.

The "Maine" is a heavily-armored cruiser, and while intended for sea-going, is really a battle-ship. It has eleven inches of armor and carries four ten-inch rifles, besides numerous smaller guns. The "Texas" is a similar ship. The "Detroit," "Montgomery," and "Marblehead," not yet completed, are small, partially armored cruisers. The "New York" is a mighty armored cruiser, believed to surpass any other ship ever built in the combination of offen-

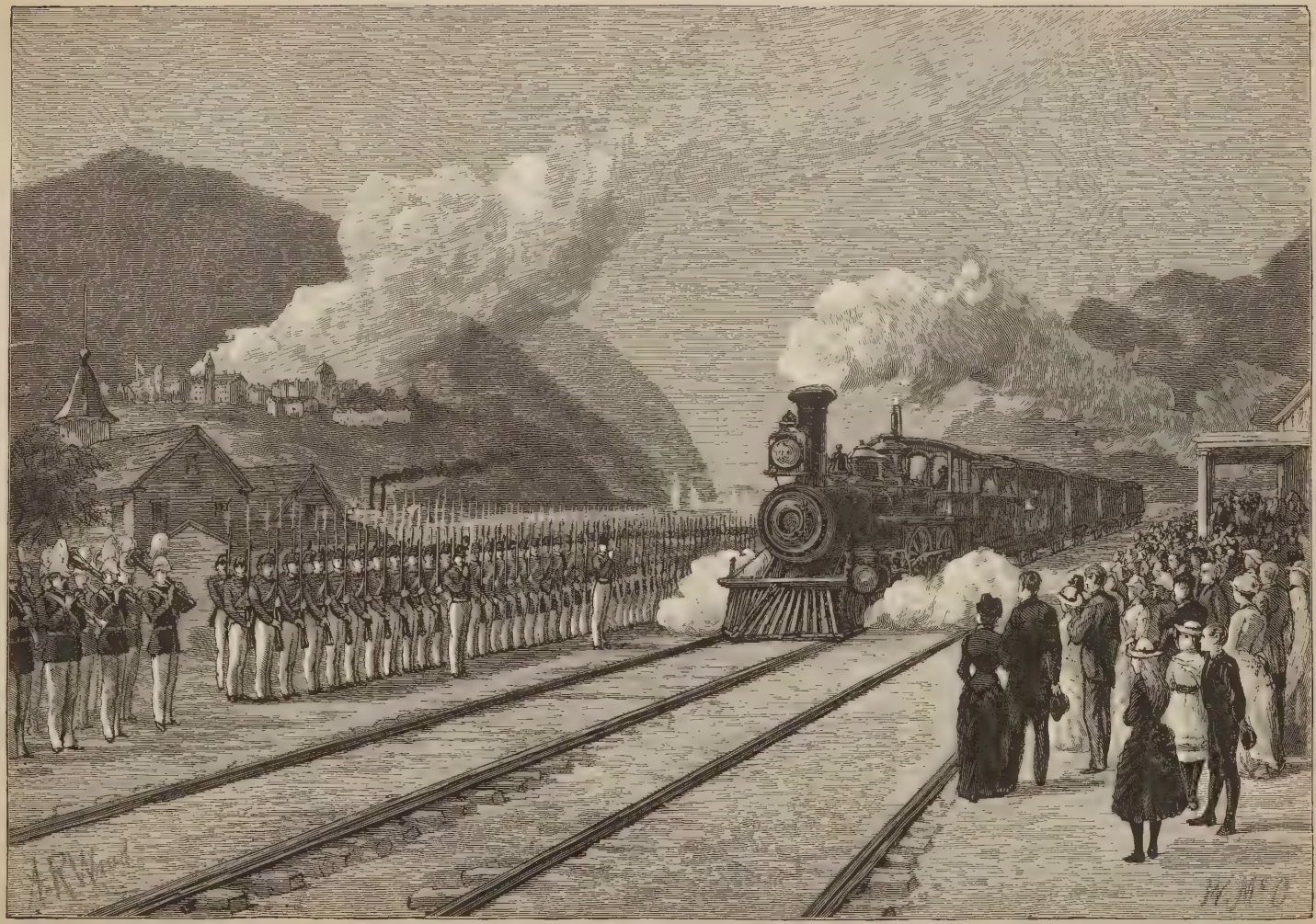
"CHICAGO," U. S N., ONE OF THE NEW "WHITE SQUADRON" WAR SHIPS.

sive and defensive power, coal endurance, and speed. She is 380 feet 6½ inches long; steams 20 knots per hour; can go 13,000 miles without coaling; has from six to eight inches of armor, and carries six eight-inch and twelve four-inch rifles, and numerous smaller guns.

The "Raleigh" and "Cincinnati" are protected cruisers of medium size. There are several other cruisers, not yet named, especially designed as commerce-destroyers, having great speed, and being made to look as much like merchant-ships as possible. Other gunboats and battle-ships are also being built; one practice cruiser, intended for a school-ship, and a harbor-defense

ram, carrying no guns, but provided with a particularly ugly beak at the bow. Altogether, the new navy, built or building, down to the present date comprises thirteen armored battle-ships, seventeen unarmored but "protected" cruisers, and six gunboats, all of them fully equal to any ships of their class in the world.

In scarcely any department of human industry are the changes produced by the progress of civilization more strikingly seen than in the navy. When America was discovered, the galleon and the caravel were the standard war-ships of the world—clumsy wooden tubs, towering high in air, propelled by sails and even oars, with a large number of small cannons, and men armed with muskets and cross-bows. Such was the famed Armada, "that great fleet invincible," that was vanquished by the smaller, lighter crafts of Britain. Four hundred years have passed, and what is the war-ship of to-day? A low-lying hulk of iron and steel; armed with a few big guns, one of which throws a heavier shot than a galleon's whole broadside; driven resistlessly through the water by mighty steam engines; lighted and steered by electric apparatus, and using an electric search-light that makes midnight as bright as day. All the triumphs of science and mechanic arts have contributed to the perfection of these dreadful sea monsters, a single one of which could have destroyed the whole Armada in an hour, and laughed to scorn the might of Nelson in Trafalgar Bay. What the locomotive is to the stage-coach, that is the "Miantonomah" or the "New York" to the "San Philip" or the "Revenge."



THE FUNERAL TRAIN OF GENERAL GRANT PASSING WEST POINT.
(From a sketch by Cadet C. T. Hamilton.)

CHAPTER XIX.

DIFFICULTIES WITH FOREIGN POWERS.

N a bright spring morning, the date, April 30, 1789, amid the booming of cannon, the plaudits of the multitude, and the general rejoicing of the people of the whole country, Washington had been inaugurated President of the United States. That day saw one of the most significant events accomplished in the history of the world; for there in the city of New York, where the inauguration took place, a nation was born in a day. The old Confederacy was gone: the new nation stood forth "like a giant ready to run a race." And what a race it has run since that time History has told.

It would be strange indeed if the peace that then brooded over the country was to become unbroken, perpetual. No nation up to that time had made such a record, which might well be considered as heralding the Millennium; and the United States was destined to prove no exception to the course marked out by all other empires since the government of the State had supplanted that of the tribe and clan. The fact is, the seeds of conflict were already sown and were destined to bear fruit, both in civil and foreign war.

THE DIFFICULTY WITH THE BARBARY STATES.

If the reader will look at any map of Africa he will see on the northern coast, defining the southern limits of the Mediterranean, four States, Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli, running east and west a distance of 1800 miles. These powers had for centuries maintained a state of semi-independency by paying tribute to Turkey. But this did not suit Algeria, the strongest and most warlike of the North African States; and in the year 1710 the natives overthrew the rule of the Turkish Pasha, expelled him from the country, and united his office to that of the Dey. The Dey thus governed the country by means of a Divan or Council of State chosen from the principal civic functionaries. The Algerians, with the other "Barbary States," as the piratical States were called, defied the Powers of Europe. France alone successfully resisted

these depredations, but only partially, for after she had repeatedly chastised the Algerians, the strongest of the northern piratical States, and had induced the Dey to sign a treaty of peace, they would bide their time, and after a time return to their bloody work. It was Algiers which was destined to force the United States to resort to arms in the defense of its persecuted countrymen ; the result is a matter of history.

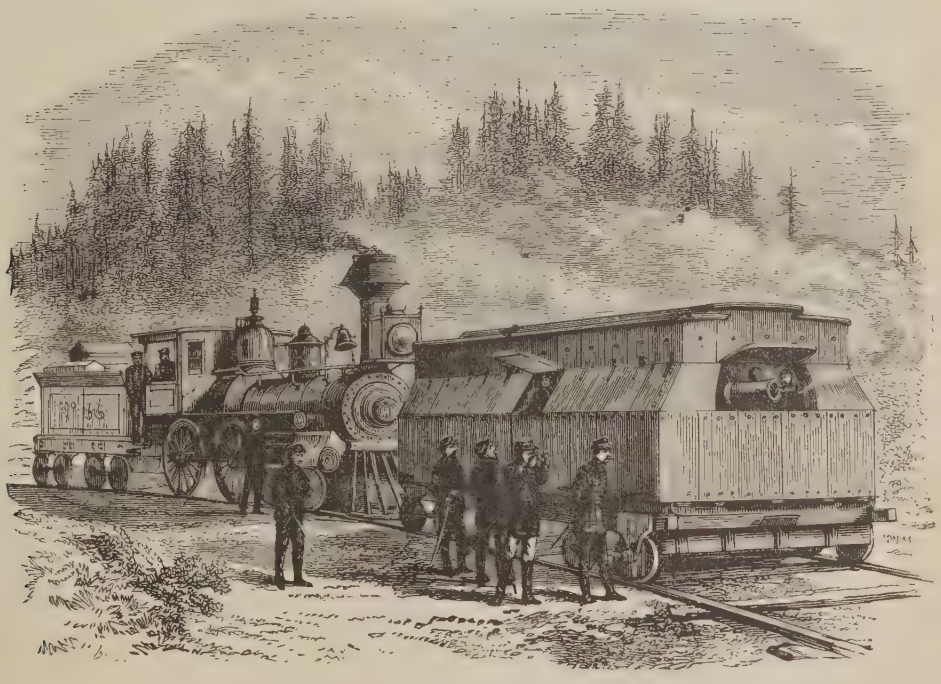
The truth is, this conflict was no less irrepressible than that greater conflict which a century later deluged the land in blood. For, before the Constitution had been adopted, two American vessels flying the flag of thirteen stripes and only thirteen stars, instead of the forty-four which now form our national constellation, while sailing the Mediterranean had fallen a prey to the swift, heavily armed Algerian cruisers. The vessels were confiscated and the crews, to the number of twenty-one persons, had been held for ransom, for which an enormous sum was demanded.

This sum our Government had been unwilling to pay, as to do so would be to establish a precedent not only with Algeria, but with Tunis, Tripoli, and Morocco as well, for each of these African piratical States was in league with the others, and all had to be separately conciliated.

But, after all, what else could the Government do? The country had no navy. It could not undertake in improvised ships to go forth and fight the swift, heavily armed cruisers of the African pirates—States so strong that the commercial nations were glad to win exemption from their depredations by annual payments. Why not, then, ransom these American captives by the payment of money and construct a navy sufficiently strong to resist their encroachments in the future? This feeling on the part of the Government was shared by the people of the country, and so it was, Congress finally authorized the building of six frigates, and by another act empowered President Washington to borrow a million of dollars for purchasing peace. Eventually the money was paid to all the four Powers, and it was hoped all difficulty was at an end. The work of constructing the new war-ships was pushed with expedition, and as will be seen, it was well that it was so.

We are now brought to the year 1800. Tripoli, angry at not receiving as much money as was paid to Algiers, declared war against the United States ; but now circumstances had changed for the better. For our new navy, a small but most efficient one, was completed, and a squadron consisting of the frigates "Essex," Captain Bainbridge, the "Philadelphia," the "President," and the schooner "Experiment," was in Mediterranean waters. Two Tripolitan cruisers lying at Gibraltar on the watch for American vessels, were blockaded by the "Philadelphia." Cruising off Tripoli the "Experiment" fell in with a Tripolitan cruiser of fourteen guns, and after three hours' hard fighting captured her. The Tripolitans lost twenty killed and thirty wounded ; this brilliant result had a marked effect in quieting the turbulent pirates.

But peace was not yet assured. In 1815, while this country was at war with England, the Dey of Algiers unceremoniously dismissed the American Consul and declared war against the United States; and all because he had not received the articles demanded under the tribute treaty. This time the Government was well prepared for the issue. The population of the country had increased to over eight millions. The military spirit of the nation had been aroused by the war with Great Britain, ending in the splendid victory at New Orleans under General Jackson. Besides this, the navy had been increased and made far more effective. The Administration,



A RAILROAD BATTERY.

with Madison at its head, decided to submit to no further extortions from the Mediterranean pirates, and the President sent in a forcible message to Congress on the subject, taking high American ground. The result was a prompt acceptance of the Algerian declaration of war. Events succeeded each other in rapid succession. Ships new and old were at once fitted out. On May 15, 1815, Decatur sailed from New York to the Mediterranean. His squadron comprised the frigates "Guerriere," "Macedonian," and "Constellation," the new sloop of war "Ontario," and four brigs and two schooners in addition.

On June 17, the second day after entering the Mediterranean, Decatur

captured the largest frigate in the Algerian navy, having forty-four guns. The next day an Algerian brig was taken, and in less than two weeks after his first capture Decatur, with his entire squadron, appeared off Algiers. The end had come! The Dey's courage, like that of Bob Acres, oozed out at his fingers' ends. The terrified Dey sued for peace, which Decatur compelled him to sign on the quarter-deck of the "Guerriere." In this treaty it was agreed by the Dey to surrender all prisoners, pay a heavy indemnity, and renounce all tribute from America in the future. Decatur also secured indemnity from Tunis and Tripoli for American vessels captured under the guns of their forts by British cruisers during the late war.

This ended at once and forever the payment of tribute to the piratical States of North Africa. All Europe, as well as our own country, rang with the splendid achievements of our navy; and surely the stars and stripes had never before floated more proudly from the mast-head of an American vessel, and they are flying as proudly to-day.

KING BOMBA BROUGHT TO TERMS.

It was seventeen years later, in 1832, under the administration of General Jackson, that one of the most interesting cases of difficulty with a foreign power arose. As with Algeria and Tripoli, so now, our navy was resorted to for the purpose of exacting reparation. This time the trouble was with Italy, or rather that part of Italy known at that time as the Kingdom of Naples, which had been wrested from Spain by Napoleon, who placed successively his brother Joseph and Murat, Prince, Marshal of France, and brother-in-law of Napoleon, on the throne of Naples and the two Sicilies. During the years 1809–12 the Neapolitan Government under Joseph and Murat successively had confiscated numerous American ships with their cargoes. The total amount of the American claims against Naples, as filed in the State Department, when Jackson's Administration assumed control, was $1,734,994. They were held by various insurance companies and by citizens, principally of Baltimore. Demands for the payment of these claims had from time to time been made by our Government, but Naples had always refused to settle them.

Jackson and his Cabinet took a decided stand, and determined that the Neapolitan Government, then in the hands of Ferdinand II—subsequently nicknamed Bomba because of his cruelties—should make due reparation for the losses sustained by American citizens. The Hon. John Nelson, of Frederick, Maryland, was appointed Minister to Naples and ordered to insist upon a settlement. Commodore Daniel Patterson,* who aided in the defense of New

* Daniel T. Patterson was born on Long Island, New York, March 6, 1786; was appointed midshipman in the navy, 1800; was attached to the frigate "Philadelphia" when she ran upon a reef near Tripoli; was captured and a prisoner until 1805; was made lieutenant in 1807 and

Orleans in 1815, was put in command of the Mediterranean squadron and ordered to coöperate with Minister Nelson in enforcing his demands. But Naples persisted in her refusal to render satisfaction, and a warlike demonstration was decided upon, the whole matter being placed, under instructions, in the hands of Commodore Patterson.

The entire force at his command consisted of three fifty-gun frigates and three twenty-gun corvettes. So as not to precipitate matters too hastily, the plan was for three vessels to appear in the Neapolitan waters, one at a time, and

UNITED STATES MILITARY TELEGRAPH WAGON.

instructions were given accordingly. The "Brandywine," with Minister Nelson on board, went first. Mr. Nelson repeated the demands for a settlement, and they were refused: there was nothing in the appearance of a Yankee envoy and a single ship to trouble King Bomba and his little kingdom. The "Brandy-

master-commandant in 1813. In 1814 he won great credit as commander of naval forces at New Orleans, and received the thanks of Congress. He commanded the flotilla which destroyed the fort and defenses of Lafitte, the pirate. He was made captain in 1815; Navy Commissioner, 1828 to 1832, and commanded the Mediterranean Squadron, 1832–1835. He died on August 15, 1839, being then in command of the Washington Navy Yard.

wine" cast anchor in the harbor and the humbled Envoy waited patiently for a few days. Then another American flag appeared on the horizon, and the frigate "United States" floated into the harbor and came to anchor. Mr. Nelson repeated his demands, and they were again refused. Four days slipped away, and the stars and stripes again appeared off the harbor. King Bomba, looking out from his palace windows, saw the fifty-gun frigate "Concord" sail into the harbor and drop her anchor. Then unmistakable signs of uneasiness began to show themselves. Forts were repaired, troops drilled, and more cannon mounted on the coast. The demands were reiterated, but the Neapolitan Government still refused. Two days later another war-ship made her way into the harbor. It was the "John Adams." When the fifth ship sailed gallantly in, the Bourbon Government seemed almost on the point of yielding; but three days later Mr. Nelson sent word home that he was still unable to collect the bill. But the end was not yet. Three days later, and the sixth sail showed itself on the blue waters of the peerless bay. It was the handwriting on the wall for King Bomba, and his Government announced that they would accede to the American demands. The negotiations were promptly resumed and speedily closed, the payment of the principal in installments with interest being guaranteed. Pending negotiations, from August 28 to September 15 the entire squadron remained in the Bay of Naples, and then the ships sailed away and separated. So, happily and bloodlessly, ended a difficulty which at one time threatened most serious results.

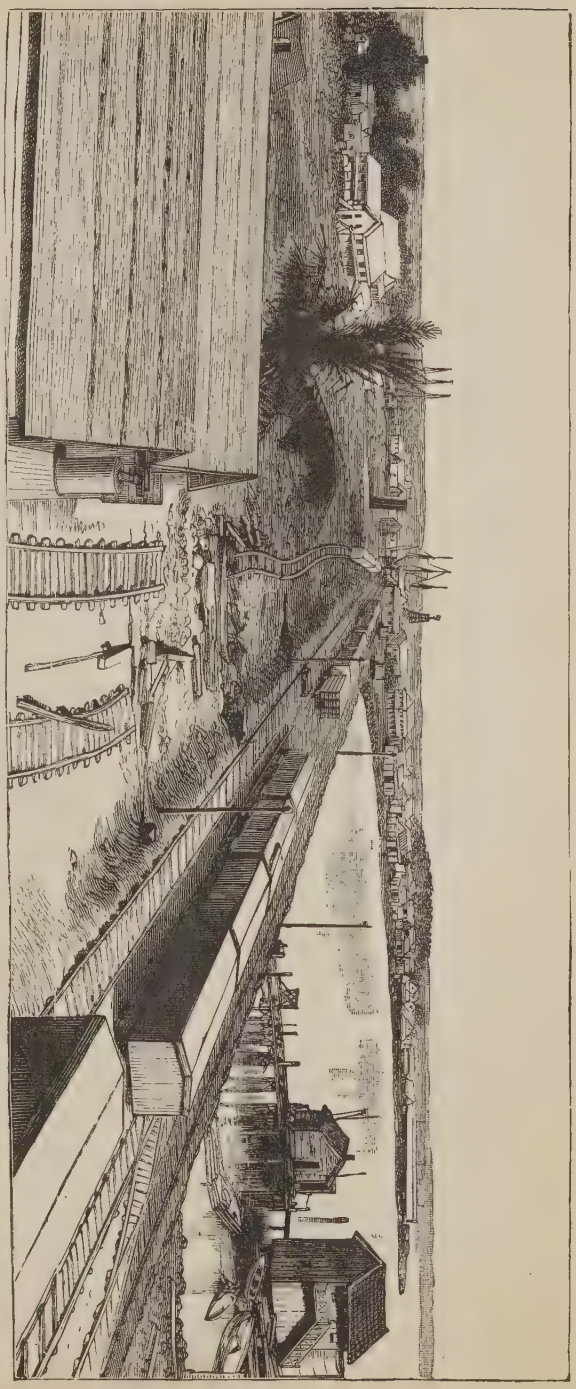
AUSTRIA AND THE KOSZTA CASE.

Another demonstration, less imposing in numbers but quite as spirited, and, indeed, more intensely dramatic, occurred at Smyrna in 1853, when Captain Duncan N. Ingraham, with a single sloop-of-war, trained his broadsides on a fleet of Austrian war-ships in the harbor. The episode was a most thrilling one, and "The Story of America" would indeed be incomplete were so dramatic an affair left unrecorded on its pages. And this is the record:—

When the revolution of Hungary against Austria was put down, Kossuth, Koszta, and other leading revolutionists fled to Smyrna, and the Turkish Government, after long negotiations, refused to give them up. Koszta soon after came to the United States, and in July, 1852, declared under oath his intention of becoming an American citizen. He resided in New York city a year and eleven months.

The next year Koszta went to Smyrna on business, where he remained for a time undisturbed. He had so inflamed the Austrian Government against him, however, that a plot was formed to capture him. On June 21, 1853, while he was seated on the Marina, a public resort in Smyrna, a band of Greek mercenaries, hired by the Austrian Consul, seized him and carried him off to an Austrian ship-of-war, the Huzzar, then lying in the harbor. On board the vessel

Archduke John, brother of the Emperor, was said to be in command. Koszta was put in irons and treated as a criminal. The next day an American sloop-of-war, the "St. Louis," commanded by Capt. Duncan N. Ingraham, * sailed into the harbor. Learning what had happened, Capt. Ingraham immediately sent on board the "Huzzar" and courteously asked permission to see Koszta. His request was granted, and Captain Ingraham assured himself that Koszta was entitled to the protection of the American flag. He demanded Koszta's release of the Austrian commander. When it was refused he communicated with the nearest United States official, Consul Brown, at Constantinople. While he was waiting for an answer six Austrian war-ships sailed



THE PORT OF COLON—TERMINUS OF PANAMA RAILROAD.

* Duncan Nathaniel Ingraham was born December 6, 1802, at Charleston, South Carolina. He entered the United States Navy in 1812 as midshipman, and became a captain September 14, 1855. In March, 1856, he was appointed Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance and Hydrography of the Navy Department, a position which he held until South Carolina passed her ordinance of secession in 1860. He then resigned his commission in the navy and took service under the Confederate States, in which he rose to the rank of Commodore. He died in 1891.

into the harbor and came to anchor in positions near the "Huzzar." On June 29th, before Captain Ingraham had received any answer from the American Consul, he noticed unusual signs of activity on board the "Huzzar," and before long she began to get under way. The American Captain made up his mind immediately. He put the "St. Louis" straight in the "Huzzar's" course and cleared his guns for action. The "Huzzar" hove to, and Captain Ingraham went on board and demanded the meaning of the "Huzzar's" action.

"We propose to sail for home," replied the Austrian. "The Consul has ordered us to take our prisoner to Austria."

"You will pardon me," said Captain Ingraham, "but if you attempt to leave this port with that American on board I shall be compelled to resort to extreme measures."

The Austrian glanced around at the fleet of Austrian war-ships and the single American sloop-of-war. Then he smiled pleasantly, and intimated that the "Huzzar" would do as she pleased.

Captain Ingraham bowed and returned to the "St. Louis." He had no sooner reached her deck than he called out: "Clear the guns for action!"

The Archduke of Austria saw the batteries of the "St. Louis" turned on him, and he realized that he was in the wrong. The "Huzzar" was put about and sailed back to her old anchorage. Word was sent to Captain Ingraham that the Austrian would await the arrival of the note from Mr. Brown.

The Consul's note, which came on July 1st, commended Captain Ingraham's course and advised him to take whatever action he thought the situation demanded.

At eight o'clock on the morning of July 2d, Captain Ingraham sent a note to the commander of the "Huzzar," formally demanding the release of Mr. Koszta. Unless the prisoner was delivered on board the "St. Louis" before four o'clock the next afternoon, Captain Ingraham would take him from the Austrians by force. The Archduke sent back a formal refusal. At eight o'clock the next morning Captain Ingraham once more ordered the decks cleared for action and trained his batteries on the "Huzzar." The seven Austrian war-vessels cleared their decks and put their men at the guns.

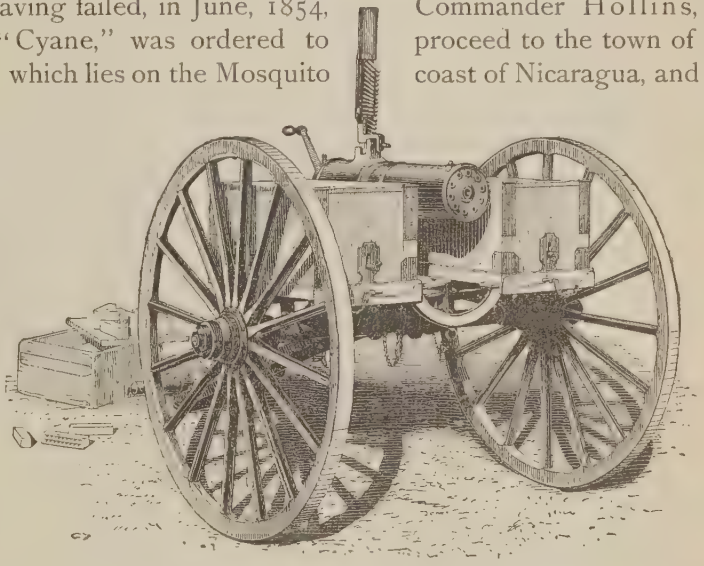
At ten o'clock an Austrian officer came to Captain Ingraham and began to temporize. Captain Ingraham refused to listen to him.

"To avoid the worst," he said, "I will agree to let the man be delivered to the French Consul at Smyrna until you have opportunity to communicate with your Government. But he must be delivered there, or I will take him. I have stated the time."

At twelve o'clock a boat left the "Huzzar" with Koszta in it, and an hour later the French Consul sent word that Koszta was in his keeping. Then several of the Austrian war-vessels sailed out of the harbor. Long negotiations

between the two Governments followed, and in the end Austria admitted that the United States was in the right, and apologized.

Scarcely had the plaudits which greeted Captain Ingraham's intrepid course died away, when, the next year, another occasion arose where our Government was obliged to resort to the force of arms. This time Nicaragua was the country involved. Early in June, 1854, after repeated but unsuccessful attempts at a settlement had been made by the United States, our Government—Franklin Pierce was then President—determined to secure a settlement by appeal to arms. Various outrages, it was the contention of our Government, had been committed on the persons and property of American citizens dwelling in Nicaragua. The repeated demands for redress were not complied with. Peaceful negotiations having failed, in June, 1854, Commander Hollins, with the sloop-of-war "Cyane," was ordered to proceed to the town of San Juan, or Greytown, which lies on the Mosquito coast of Nicaragua, and to insist on favorable action from the Nicaraguan Government. Captain Hollins came to anchor off the coast and placed his demands before the authorities. He waited patiently for a response, but no satisfactory one was offered him. After waiting in vain for a number of days he made a final appeal and then proceeded to carry out instructions. On the morning of July 13th he directed his batteries on the town of San Juan and opened fire. Until four o'clock in the afternoon the cannon poured out broadsides as fast as they could be loaded. By that time the greater part of the town had been destroyed. Then a party of marines was put on shore, and they completed the destruction of the place by burning the houses.



LATEST MODEL OF GATLING FIELD GUN.

A lieutenant of the British navy commanding a small vessel of war was in the harbor at the time. England claimed a species of protectorate over the settlement, and the British officer raised violent protest against the action taken by America's representative. Captain Hollins, however, paid no attention to the interference and carried out his instructions. The United States Government

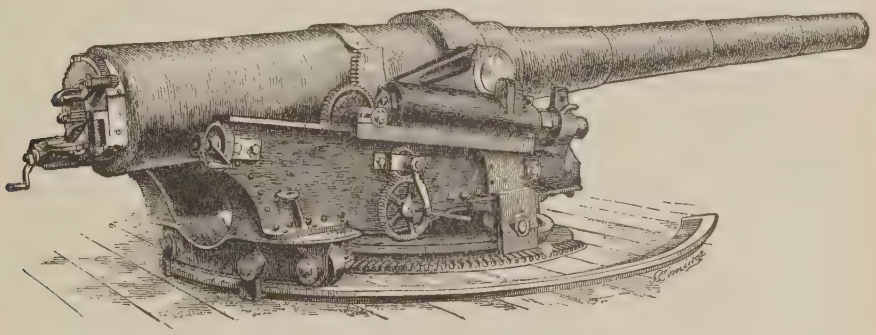
later sustained Captain Hollins in everything that he did, and England thereupon thought best to let the matter drop. In this they were unquestionably wise.

At this time the United States seems to have entered upon a period of international conflict. For no sooner had the difficulties with Austria and Nicaragua been adjusted, than another war-cloud appeared on the horizon. Here again but a year from the last conflict had elapsed, for in 1855 an offense was committed against the United States by Paraguay. We now have to go back three years. In 1852 Captain Thomas J. Page,* commanding a small light-draught steamer, the "Water Witch," by direction of his Government started for South America to explore the river La Plata and its large tributaries, with a view to opening up commercial intercourse between the United States and the interior States of South America. We have said the expedition was ordered by our Government; it also remains to be noted that the expedition was undertaken with the full consent and approbation of the countries having jurisdiction over those waters. Slowly, but surely, the little steamer pushed her way up the river, making soundings and charting the river as she proceeded. All went well until February 1, 1855, when the first sign of trouble appeared.

It was a lovely day in early summer—the summer begins in February in that latitude—and nothing appeared to indicate the slightest disturbance. The little "Water Witch" was quietly steaming up the River Paraná, which forms the northern boundary of the State of Corrientes, separating it from Paraguay, when suddenly, without a moment's warning, a battery from Fort Itaparu, on the Paraguayan shore, opened fire upon the little steamer, immediately killing one of her crew who at that time was at the wheel. The "Water Witch" was not fitted for hostilities; least of all could it assume the risk of attempting to run the batteries of the fort. Accordingly, Captain Page put the steamer about, and was soon out of range. It should here be explained that at that time President Carlos A. Lopez was the autocratic ruler of Paraguay, and that he had previously received Captain Page with every assurance of friendship. A few months previous, however, Lopez had been antagonized by the United States Consul at Ascencion, who, in addition to his official position, acted as agent for an American mercantile company, of which Lopez disapproved and went so far as to break up the business of the company. He also issued a decree forbidding foreign vessels of war from navigating the Paraná or any of the waters bounding Paraguay, which he clearly had no right to do, as half the stream belonged to the State bordering on the other side.

* Thomas Jefferson Page was born in Virginia in 1815. He entered the navy as midshipman in October, 1827, and was promoted to a lieutenancy in June, 1833. In September, 1855, he became a commander. In 1861, his State having passed the ordinance of secession, he resigned from the United States Navy, joining that of the Confederate States, where he attained the rank of Commodore.

Captain Page, finding it impracticable to prosecute his exploration any further, at once returned to the United States, giving the Washington authorities a detailed account of the occurrence. It was claimed by our Government that the "Water Witch" was not subject to the jurisdiction of Paraguay, as the channel was the equal property of the Argentine Republic. It was further claimed that even if she were within the jurisdiction of Paraguay she was not properly a vessel of war, but a Government boat employed for scientific purposes. And even were the vessel supposed to be a war vessel, it was contended that it was a gross violation of international right and courtesy to fire shot at the vessel of a friendly power without first resorting to more peaceful means. At that time William L. Marcy, one of the foremost statesmen of his day, was Secretary of State. Mr. Marcy at once wrote a strong letter to the Paraguayan Government, stating the facts of the case, declaring that the action of Paraguay in



EIGHT-INCH GUN AND CARRIAGE OF THE "BALTIMORE."
(*Built at the Washington Navy-Yard, of American Steel.*)

firing upon the "Water Witch" would not be submitted to, and demanding ample apology and compensation. All efforts in this direction, however, proved fruitless. Lopez refused to give any reparation: and not only so, but declared no American vessel would be allowed to ascend the Paraná for the purpose indicated.

The event, as it became known, aroused not a little excitement; and while there were some who "deprecated a resort to extreme measures"—a euphemistic phrase frequently resorted to by those who would neither resent an insult nor take umbrage at an intended offense—the general sentiment of the country was decidedly manifested in favor of an assertion of our rights in the premises. Accordingly, President Pierce sent a message to Congress stating that a peaceful adjustment of the difficulty was impossible, and asking that he be authorized to send such a naval force to Paraguay as would compel her arbitrary ruler to give the full satisfaction demanded.

To this request Congress promptly and almost unanimously gave assent, and one of the strongest naval expeditions ever fitted out by the United States up

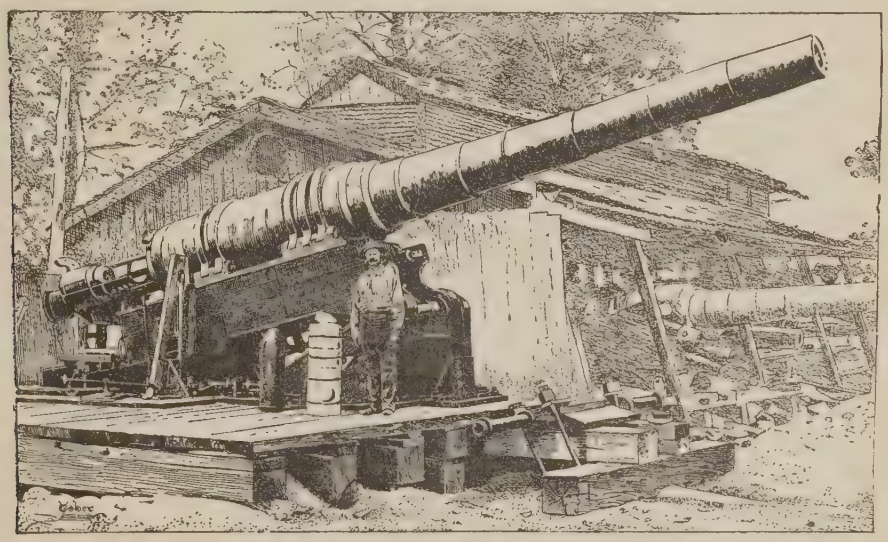
to that time was ordered to assemble at the mouth of La Plata River. The fleet was a most imposing one and comprised nineteen vessels, seven of which were steamers specially chartered for the purpose, as our largest war vessels were of too deep draught to ascend La Plata and Paraná. The entire squadron carried 200 guns and 2500 men, and was commanded by Flag Officer, afterward Rear Admiral, Shubrick,* one of the oldest officers of our navy, and one of the most gallant men that ever trod a quarter deck. Flag Officer Shubrick was accompanied by United States Commissioner Bowlin, to whom was intrusted negotiations for the settlement of the difficulty. Three years and eleven months had now passed since the "Water Witch" was fired upon, and President Buchanan had succeeded Franklin Pierce. The winter of 1859 was just closing in at the North; the streams were closed by ice, and the lakes were ice-bound, but the palm trees at the South were displaying their fresh green leaves, like so many fringed banners, in the warm tropical air when the United States squadron assembled at Montevideo [Montevidêo]. As has been said, the force was an imposing one. There were two United States frigates, the "Sabine" and the "St. Lawrence;" two sloops-of-war, the "Falmouth" and the "Preble;" three brigs, the "Bainbridge," the "Dolphin," and the "Perry;" six steamers especially armed for the occasion, the "Memphis," the "Caledonia," the "Atlanta," the "Southern Star," the "Westernport," the "M. W. Chapin," and the "Metacomet;" two armed storeships, the "Supply" and the "Release;" the revenue steamer, "Harriet Lane;" and, lastly, the little "Water Witch" herself, no longer defenseless, but all in fighting trim for hostilities.

On the 25th of January, 1859, within just one week of four years from the firing upon the "Water Witch," the squadron got under way and came to anchor off Ascencion, the capital of Paraguay. Meanwhile President Urquiza, of the Argentine Republic, who had offered his services to mediate the difficulty, had arrived at Ascencion in advance of the squadron. The negotiations were reopened, and Commissioner Bowlin made his demand for instant reparation. All this time Flag Officer Shubrick was not idle. With such of our vessels as were capable of ascending the river, taking them through the difficulties created by the currents, shoals, and sand bars of the river, he brought

* William Branford Shubrick was one of the most illustrious men whose name has appeared on the roll of United States naval officers. He was born in 1790; appointed midshipman United States Navy June 20, 1806; joined the sloop-of-war "Wasp" 1812; a year later was transferred to the frigate "Constellation;" aided in the capture of the British vessels "Cyane" and "Levant;" and in 1815 was awarded a sword by his native State. In 1820 was made commander; in 1829 commanded the "Lexington;" in 1846 commanded the Pacific squadron, and filled various prominent positions extending over a period of sixty-one years, till May 12, 1876, when he died.

them to a chosen position, where they made ready in case of necessity to open fire. The force within striking distance of Paraguay consisted of 1740 men, besides the officers, and 78 guns, including 23 nine-inch shell guns and one shell gun of eleven inches.

Ships and guns proved to be very strong arguments with Lopez. It did not take the Dictator-President long to see that the United States meant business, and that the time for trifling had passed and the time for serious work had indeed begun. President Lopez's cerebral processes worked with remarkable and encouraging celerity. By February 5th, within less than two weeks of the starting of the squadron from Montevideo, Commissioner Bowlin's demands were all acceded to. Ample apologies were made for firing on the "Water



ONE OF THE "MIANTONOMAH'S" FOUR TEN-INCH BREECH-LOADING RIFLES.

Witch" and pecuniary compensation was given to the family of the sailor who had been killed. In addition to this, a new commercial treaty was made between the two countries, and cordial relations were fully restored between the two governments. When the squadron returned the Secretary of the Navy expressed the satisfaction of the government and the country in the following terms:—

"To the zeal, energy, discretion, and courteous and gallant bearing of Flag-officer Shubrick and the officers under his command, in conducting an expedition far into the interior of a remote country, encountering not only great physical difficulties, but the fears, apprehensions and prejudices of numerous States; and to the good conduct of the brave men under his command, is the country largely indebted, not only for the success of the enterprise, but for the friendly feeling towards the United States which now prevails in all that part of South America."

To such a happy and peaceful conclusion were our difficulties with Paraguay finally brought.

A period of thirty years elapsed before any serious difficulty occurred with any foreign powers. It was in 1891 that a serious difficulty threatened to disrupt our relations with Chili and possibly involve the United States in war with that power. Happily the matter reached a peaceful settlement. In January, 1891, civil war broke out in Chili, the cause of which was a contest between the legislative branch of the government and the executive, for the control of affairs. The President of Chili, General Balmaceda, began to assert authority which the legislature, or "the Congressionalists," as the opposing party was called, resisted as unconstitutional and oppressive, and they accordingly proceeded to interfere with Balmaceda's Cabinet in its efforts to carry out the despotic will of the executive.

Finally matters came to a point where appeal to arms was necessary. On the 9th of January the Congressional party took possession of the greater part of the Chilian fleet, the navy being in hearty sympathy with the Congressionalists, and the guns of the war-ships were turned against Balmaceda, Valparaiso, the capital, and other ports being blockaded by the ships. For a time Balmaceda maintained control of the capital and the southern part of the country. The key to the position was Valparaiso, which was strongly fortified, Balmaceda's army being massed there and placed at available points.

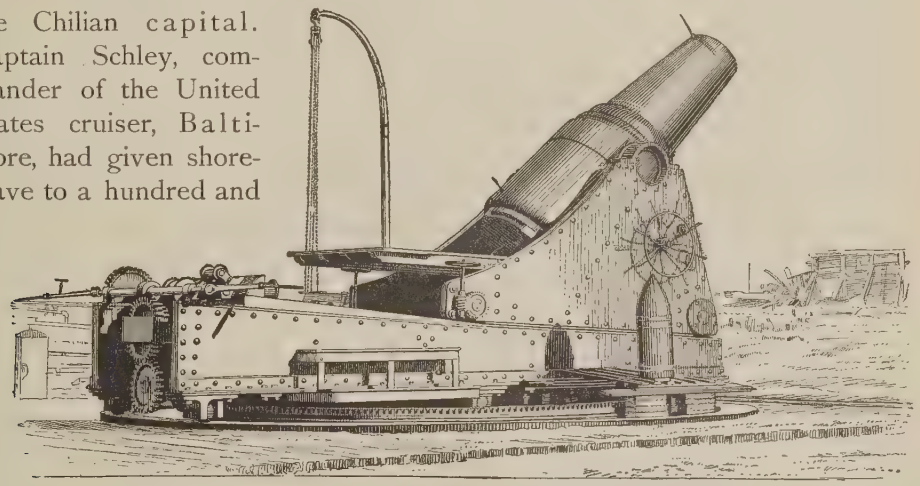
At last the Congressionalists determined to attack Balmaceda at his capital, and on August 21st landed every available fighting man at their disposal at Concon, about ten miles north of Valparaiso. They were attacked by the Dictator on the 22d, there being twenty thousand men on each side. The Dictator had the worst of it. Then he rallied his shattered forces, and made his last stand at Placillo, close to Valparaiso, on the 28th. The battle was hot, the carnage fearful; neither side asked or received quarter. The magazine rifles, with which the revolutionists were armed, did wonders. The odds were against Balmaceda; both his generals quarreled in face of the enemy; the army marched against the foe divided and demoralized. In the last battle both Balmaceda's generals were killed. The valor and the superior tactics of General Canto, leader of the Congressional army won the day. Balmaceda fled and eventually committed suicide, and the Congressionalists entered the capital in triumph.

Several incidents meantime had conspired, during the progress of this war, to rouse the animosity of the stronger party in Chili against the United States. Before the Congressionalists' triumph the steamship Itata, loaded with American arms and ammunition for Chili, sailed from San Francisco, and as this was a violation of the neutrality laws, a United States war vessel pursued her to the harbor of Iquique, where she surrendered. Then other troubles arose. Our minister at Valparaiso, Mr. Egan, was charged by the Congressionalists, now

in power, with disregarding international law in allowing the American Legation to become an asylum for the adherents of Balmaceda. Subsequently these refugees were permitted to go aboard American vessels and sail away. Then Admiral Brown, of the United States squadron, was, in Chili's opinion, guilty of having acted as a spy upon the movements of the Congressionalists' fleet at Quinteros, and of bringing intelligence of its movements to Balmaceda at Valparaiso. This, however, the Admiral stoutly denied.

AN ATTACK UPON AMERICAN SEAMEN.

The strong popular feeling of dislike which was engendered by this news culminated on the 16th of October, in an attack upon American seamen by a mob in the streets of the Chilian capital. Captain Schley, commander of the United States cruiser, Baltimore, had given shore-leave to a hundred and



UNITED STATES 12-INCH BREECH-LOADING MORTAR, OR HOWITZER.

seventeen petty officers and seamen, some of whom, when they had been on shore for several hours, were set upon by Chilians. They took refuge in a street car, from which, however, they were soon driven and mercilessly beaten, and a subordinate officer named Riggen fell, apparently lifeless. The American sailors, according to Captain Schley's testimony, were sober and conducting themselves with propriety when the attack was made. They were not armed, even their knives having been taken from them before they left the vessel.

The assault upon those in the street car seemed to be only a signal for a general uprising ; and a mob which is variously estimated at from one thousand to two thousand people attacked our sailors with such fury that in a little while these men, whom no investigation could find guilty of any breach of the peace, were fleeing for their lives before an overwhelming crowd, among which were a

number of the police of Valparaiso. In this affray eighteen sailors were stabbed, several dying from their wounds.

Of course, the United States Government at once communicated with the Chilian authorities on the subject, expressing an intention to investigate the occurrence fully. The first reply made to the American Government by Signor Matta, the Chilian Minister of Foreign Affairs, was to the effect that Chili would not allow anything to interfere with her own official investigation.

An examination of all the facts was made on our part. It was careful and thorough, and showed that our flag had been insulted in the persons of American seamen. Yet, while the Chilian Court of Inquiry could present no extenuating facts, that country refused at first to offer apology or reparation for the affront.

In the course of the correspondence Minister Matta sent a note of instruction to Mr. Montt, Chilian representative at Washington, in which he used most offensive terms in relation to the United States, and directed that the letter be given to the press for publication.

After waiting for a long time for the result of the investigation at Valparaiso, and finding that, although no excuse or palliation had been found for the outrage, yet the Chilian authorities seemed reluctant to offer apology, the President of the United States, in a message to Congress, made an extended statement of the various incidents of the case and its legal aspect, and stated that on the 21st of January he had caused a peremptory communication to be presented to the Chilian Government, by the American Minister at Santiago, in which severance of diplomatic relations was threatened if our demands for satisfaction, which included the withdrawal of Mr. Matta's insulting note, were not complied with. At the time that this message was delivered no reply had been sent to this note.

Mr. Harrison's statement of the legal aspect of the case, upon which the final settlement of the difficulty was based was, that the presence of a war-ship of any nation in a port belonging to a friendly power is by virtue of a general invitation which nations are held to extend to each other; that Commander Schley was invited, with his officers and crew, to enjoy the hospitality of Valparaiso; that while no claim that an attack which an individual sailor may be subjected to raises an international question, yet where the resident population assault sailors of another country's war vessels, as at Valparaiso, animated by an animosity against the government to which they belong, that government must show the same enquiry and jealousy as though the representatives or flag of the nation had been attacked; because the sailors are there by the order of their government.

Finally an ultimatum was sent from the State Department at Washington, on the 25th, to Minister Egan, and was by him transmitted to the proper Chilian authorities. It demanded the retraction of Mr. Matta's note and suit-

able apology and reparation for the insult and injury sustained by the United States. On the 28th of January, 1892, a dispatch from Chili was received, in which the demands of our Government were fully acceded to, the offensive letter was withdrawn and regret was expressed for the trouble. In his relation to this particular case Minister Egan's conduct received the entire approval of his Government.

While the United States looked for a peaceful solution of this annoying international episode, the proper preparations were made for a less desirable

HARPER'S FERRY.

outcome. Our naval force was put in as efficient a condition as possible, and the vessels which were then in the navy yard were gotten ready for service with all expedition. If the Chilian war-scare did nothing else, it aroused a wholesome interest in naval matters throughout the whole of the United States, and by focusing attention upon the needs of this branch of the public service, showed at once how helpless we might become in the event of a war with any first-class power. We can thank Chili that to-day the United States Navy, while far from being what it should be, is in a better condition than at any time in our history.

REVIEW OF UNION ARMIES AT WASHINGTON, AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR.

CHAPTER XX.

ARCTIC ADVENTURERS.

F the earliest adventurers who first brought the news of Polar seas and Arctic cold to the wonder seeking world of Europe we have not the space to speak. Neither can we dwell upon the trials and triumphs of the adventurous Cabots, devoted Cortereals, Frobisher, Willoughby, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Barentz, Hudson or Baffin, who have all associated their names with the frozen regions of the North.

Behring and the Russian explorers, Van Wrangel and Anjou, have written their records in the illimitable solitudes of ice. British heroes, Ross and Parry, Buchan and Franklin, as well as other later but not less noble Englishmen, have shown to what lengths men may go when actuated by the call of duty or the summons of a great idea. But with Frenchman, Hollander, Russian or Englishman we must have little to do in this chapter.

Sir John Franklin sailed from the Thames on his last voyage on the 9th of May, 1845. His two ships, the "Erebus" and "Terror," were provisioned for three years. On the 26th of July of that year they were seen by a whaler, moored to an iceberg, waiting for an opening in the ice field to advance into Baffin's Bay; they were then two hundred and ten miles from the entrance to Lancaster sound. Towards the close of 1847 anxiety in England began to grow concerning the fate of the gallant Franklin and his command, and shortly three relief or search expeditions were sent out by the British government to try to obtain news of him. These were unsuccessful but were followed by others, some fitted up by private individuals and some by the government. Lady Franklin did much to keep the search alive, but to no purpose.

THE FATE OF SIR JOHN FRANKLIN.

The fate of the intrepid Englishman was only known after years of careful search, and was learned little by little, hints and clues being fitted together till the outline of the pitiful story of disaster and failure could be read.

From the time that the "Erebus" and "Terror" entered the narrow seas over

which the grim sentinel bergs stood guard till the latter vessel was nipped in the grinding floe, the peril was unremitting. No sadder sight can we imagine than the lonely graves that mark the desolate shores of Beechy Island; no more disappointing search than that for the lost records has ever been made.

Such men as Ross, Richardson, Collinson, Rae, Killett and McClure, in these unsuccessful efforts, added lustre to the Anglo-Saxon name.

The English expeditions, though coming short of success, were not entirely without result. Captains Austin and Penny discovered Franklin's winter quarters on Beechy Island, in the winter of 1845-46, but found no clue to his direction upon breaking camp. Dr. Rae brought home tidings also, and even discovered and obtained from the Esquimo, a number of Franklin relics.

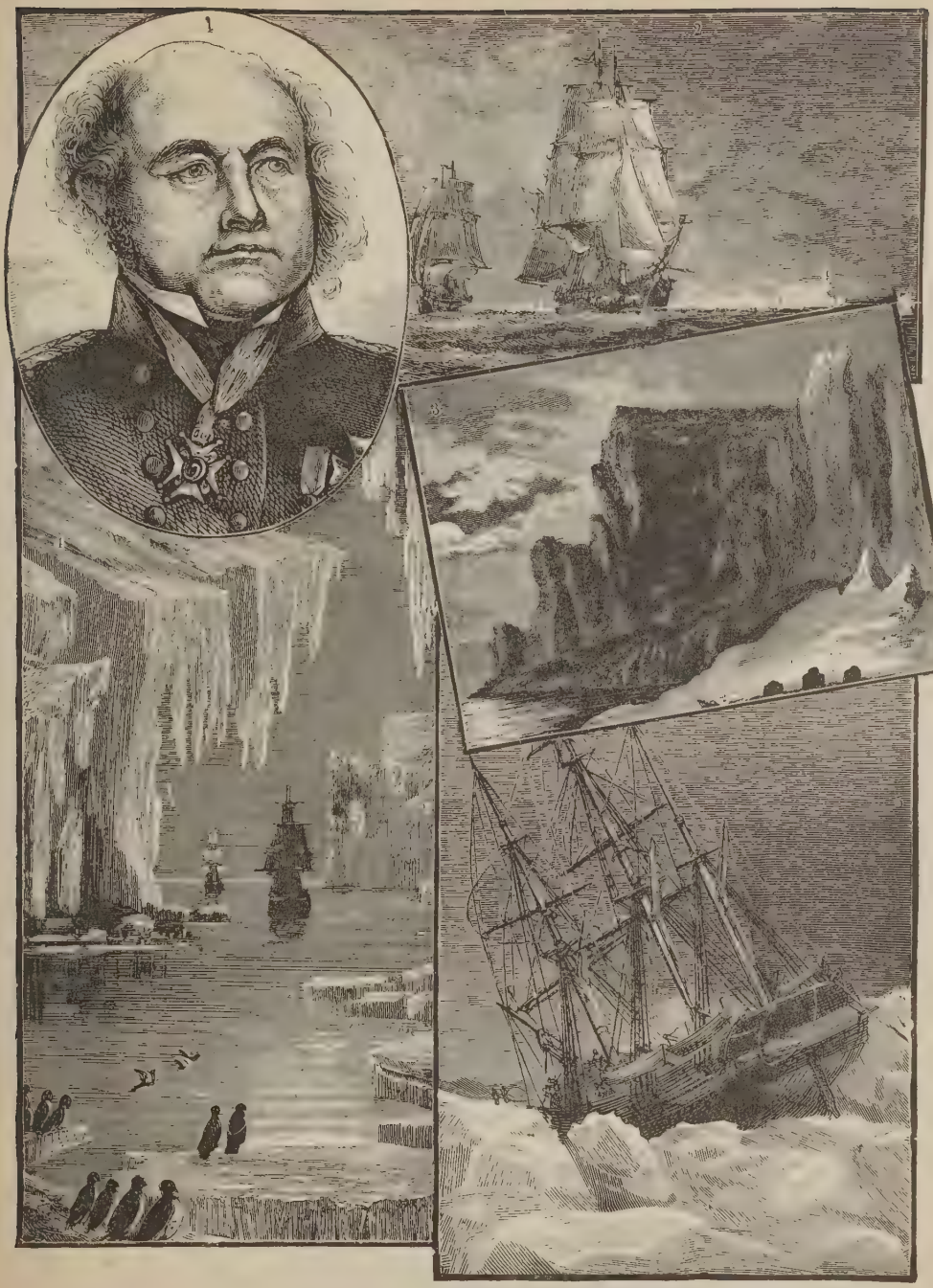
It is a noteworthy fact that Franklin added more to the world's knowledge of Arctic lands and seas by his death than he could have accomplished by his life, since a large proportion of the work done in that direction in the last half century has been in the course of efforts to discover the records of his last voyage.

DR. KANE AND THE GRINNELL EXPEDITION.

The first of American explorers to join in the Franklin search was Elisha Kent Kane. His vessel, the "Advance," of 120 tons, was fitted up at the expense of Henry Grinnell and George Peabody, first in 1850. He reached Beechy Island and assisted in the search for Franklin records at the camp already mentioned, but returned without wintering. Later, in 1853, Dr. Kane once more sailed for Smith's Sound, from New York. It was on the last day of May that he left and August found him ice-locked in Smith's Sound, in 78°45′ North, only about seventeen miles from the entrance. He wintered in Van Rensselaer Harbor. Though greatly hampered by sickness and want his party made a number of discoveries, that of the Humboldt Glacier being one of these. Traveling parties and even single individuals made excursions from the brig, and among these we must mention Morton, Dr. Kane's steward, who crossed the glacier with a dog team. After a second winter in the now unseaworthy brig, a winter that tried the souls of the brave little party that was sheltered there,—when cold, hunger and scurvy failed to subdue the indomitable courage and cheerfulness of the leader or his men,—the vessel that had come to be so much like home to them was abandoned to her fate and a masterly retreat commenced.

With sledges and boats Dr. Kane conducted his command, the well helping the sick. Only one man died on the way to the Danish settlement of Upernevic, the most northerly habitation of civilized man in the world. All the records and instruments were saved, though the perilous journey led over pack and floe, glacier and hummock ice.

Lieutenant Hartstene was sent in search of Dr. Kane's party, but reached Van Rensselaer harbor too late, overtaking the explorer, however, on



1. SIR JOHN FRANKLIN. 2. THE "EREBUS" AND "TERROR" ENTERING THE ARCTIC REGIONS. 3. FRANKLIN'S WINTER QUARTERS IN 1845–6. 4. THE "EREBUS" AND "TERROR" AMONG ICEBERGS. 5. THE "TERROR" NIPPED IN THE ICE.

his return trip. Kane's expedition, though not a success so far as the finding of Franklin was concerned, was yet of great benefit to science, since he added new lands to geography, and completer physical observations than any explorer had previously done; besides this his valuable notes of the Etah Esquimo have been of benefit to all succeeding travelers in the frozen North.

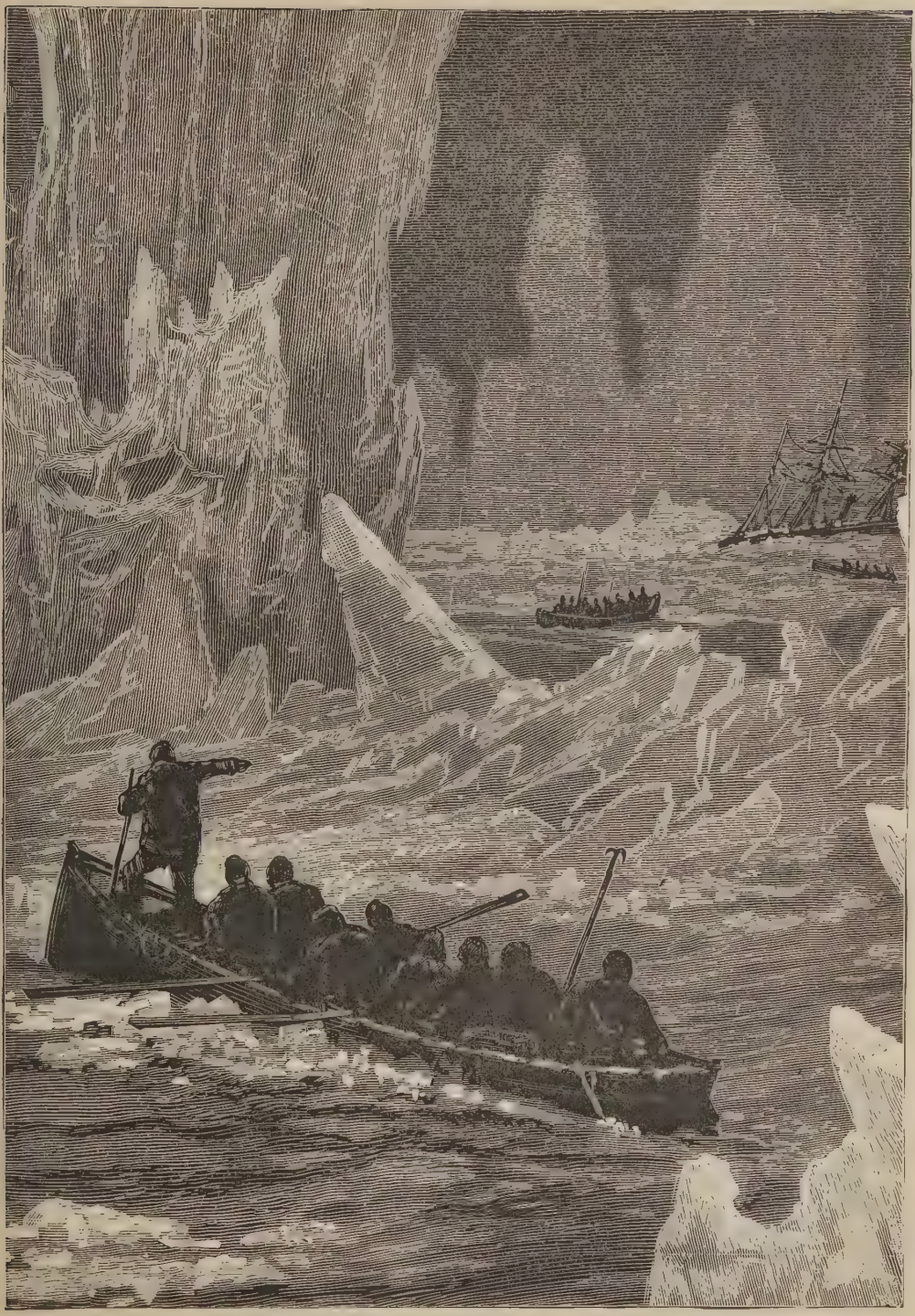
DR. HAYES DISCOVERS GRINNELL LAND.

D. J. J. Hayes, Kane's surgeon, was the first white man to put foot on Grinnell Land. During one part of the sojourn in Van Renssellaer Bay,

KANE AND HIS COMPANIONS IN THEIR VESSEL.

Hayes took a party, and started southward to Upernevic, which, however, he did not reach, and finally returned, almost dead with fatigue, exposure, and hunger, to his chief, who received him with great kindness, though the attempt to leave the main party was unauthorized.

Later, Hayes led a separate expedition to the Arctic regions, sailing from Boston for Smith's Sound, in the schooner "United States," in July of 1860.



THE CREW OF THE "JEANNETTE" LEAVING IN BOATS.

Following up the line of research commenced by Dr. Kane, he proceeded to Port Foulke, where he wintered in 78° 17′ North Lat. One of his most noteworthy exploits was crossing Smith's Sound in sledges.

Another remarkable American explorer was Charles Hall, of Cincinnati, whose first voyage was made in 1860. He was a man of humble origin, who had made his own way and devoted himself, his money, and his intellect to the search for Franklin, with the purest enthusiasm. His first find was the stone house built by Martin Frobisher on the Countess of Warwick Island.

Hall's second expedition was the one most generally known. Begun in 1864, it lasted until 1869, and by the exercise of patience, endurance, and pertinacity seldom equaled, the searcher finally was rejoiced to find the line of Franklin's retreat at Todd's Island and Peffer River, on the south coast of King William Land. Then he learned from the Esquimo the sad story of the wreck of one of the vessels, and that seven bodies were buried at Todd's Island. He brought home the bones of one, supposed to be Lieutenant le Vescount.

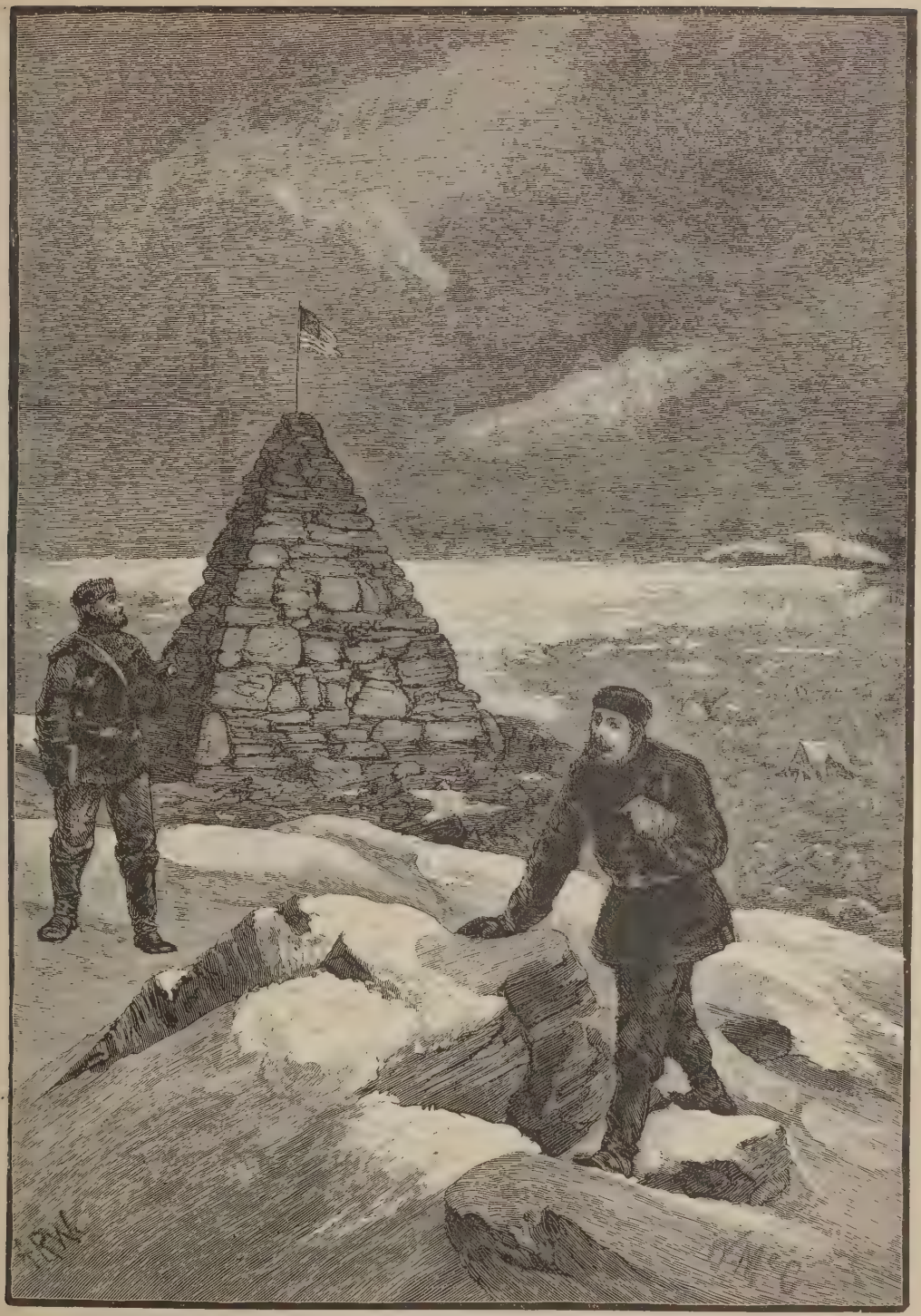
THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN HALL.

Again, in 1871, Hall made his third and, as it proved, his last voyage in the "Polaris." He penetrated 250 miles to the northward of Smith's Sound and was ice-locked on the 30th of August of that year in 82° 16′ North. The following winter he spent at a spot called Thank God Bay, a degree further south than his farthest point.

While the "Polaris" was ice-locked there, Hall suddenly died and the captain, Budington, prepared to abandon her. While his preparations were being made, and during the time that some of the party were out upon the ice with a quantity of provisions, the vessel broke away, and those upon the ice made one of the most remarkable journeys on record, being rescued only after they had drifted two thousand miles on the floe.

While these voyages were being made, Robert Brown, Captain Nares, Nordenskiold, Sir Henry Gore, Booth, Markham, and many other noted foreigners were adding to their fame in the Frigid Zone. Nordenskiold discovered the Northeast passage, that had been the dream of Navigators for more than three centuries.

In 1879 Lieutenant Schwatka headed an expedition from the United States, his object being to explore thoroughly the west coast of King William's Land in search of Franklin's records. He wintered in Hudson Bay, near Chesterfield inlet. This expedition was from the outset remarkable for one fact, that it was the first that had subsisted upon the game of the country. The traveling was all by land, or rather ice, and was accomplished without regard to weather or temperature. From the winter camp, overland for the estuary of the great Fish River, Schwatka started in the early spring of 1879,



THE FARTHEST NORTH REACHED BY LIEUT. LOCKWOOD ON THE GREELY EXPEDITION.

with only one month's provisions. The complete record of this expedition, as told by Mr. Gilder, the second in command, is full of interest. The search over the ground where the survivors of the Franklin party had been traced was minute. Esquimo witnesses were examined, and every cairn, every heap of stones was scrutinized, till at length the inevitable conclusion was forced upon them that the Franklin records were lost forever. During the search the grave of an officer of the "Terror" was discovered and identified by the clothing and trinkets. This was Lieutenant Irving, the third officer of the ill-fated vessel.

THE "JEANNETTE" AND HER COMMANDER.

The "Jeannette" left San Francisco on July 8, 1879, with Captain De Long in command. Her crew numbered thirty-three men. She was put into the ice pack in two months from the time of her departure and frozen in before the end of November. For two years her people supported the hardships and deprivations of Arctic winters, and at last, in June, 1881, the "Jeannette" sank.

Then began a long, perilous and ill-fated retreat, of which the interesting record is to be found in the journal of the unfortunate Commander. It is a story of heroic endeavors to cross the ice fields, from the time when the loaded boats left the sinking "Jeannette" to the hour when the hand of the writer could no longer hold his pencil.

In many respects the narrative of cold and fog, of refractory dogs, broken sledges, sudden immersions and disastrous losses is much like those of other explorers of the Frozen Zone. But its pathos is deeper, because its record of unwavering courage and manliness is so abundant. Yet sometimes De Long uttered a note of regret, as when he writes, on July 4, '81: "Our flags are flying in honor of the day, though to me it is a blue one. Three years ago to-day, at Havre, the 'Jeannette' was christened, and many pleasant things were said and anticipations formed, all of which have gone down with the ship. I did not think then that three years afterwards would see us all out on the ice with nothing accomplished and a story of a lost ship to come back to our well-wishers at home. My duty to those who came with me is to see them safely back, and to devote all my mind and strength to that end. * * * I must endeavor to look my misfortune in the face and to learn what its application may be. It will be hard, however, to be known hereafter as a man who undertook a polar expedition and sunk his ship in the seventy-seventh parallel."

But the "nothing accomplished" was changed to rejoicing on the 29th of that same month, when, after a most critical journey over rough and broken ice, battling almost constantly with an impenetrable fog, he used a piece of floe ice for a ferry boat and from this strange craft landed on the shore of an island hitherto undiscovered. In the journal he records his address to the men of his command.

"I have to announce to you that this island, toward which we have been struggling for more than two weeks, is newly discovered land. I therefore take possession of it in the name of the President of the U. S., and name it Bennett Island."

Upon the Northern coast of the mainland of Siberia, after untold hardships, De Long landed and then perished.

The "Jeannette" expedition was planned and financially backed by James Gordon Bennett, but it had been adopted and made national by an Act of Congress, so that the obligation to find and rescue, if possible, those who had survived the sinking of the vessel was imperative. After the separation of the boats, which occurred before reaching the mainland, Lieutenant Melville with part of the crew reached Irkutsch, and as soon as practicable he set out in search of De Long. On March 23, 1883, the body of the latter, together with two of his men, was found. They had perished from starvation. Two steamers were sent in search of the "Jeannette" party from the United States; one of these, the "Rodgers," under Lieutenant Berry, was burned in her winter quarters north of Wrangell Land, after doing excellent work in exploration, having reached the highest point ever attained on that meridian. One of the officers, Mr. Gilder, made a hazardous home journey through Siberia.

A FUNERAL IN THE ARCTIC REGIONS.

A suggestion was made, in 1875, by Lieutenant Weyprecht, a German, to establish an international system of polar stations for synchronous meteorological and magnetic observations and records. Weyprecht died too soon to see his plan carried into effect, but, later, eight nations agreed to follow it, and among these was our own.

On June 14, 1881, the Lady Franklin Bay expedition, usually known as the Greely expedition, sailed from Baltimore by way of St. John's, Newfoundland, for Smith's Sound. Lieutenant Greely was in command, and second to him was the lamented Lieutenant Lockwood, while Dr. Pavey was the physician of the

party. They proceeded with a full corps of men, on the steamer "Protean," to Lady Franklin Bay, where, finding the season exceptionally favorable, a house was built, in which they stored two years' provisions.

The great and fatal mistake of the Government in regard to this expedition was the failure to provide an intermediate supply station which could be visited by vessels from the South, and to which the voyagers might retreat in case of need.

From the start two regular sets of observations were made and the scientific work of the party, which was preserved through all the subsequent disasters and hazards, was perfectly successful.

History does not present a more heroic story than that of the continuance of the work of observation, when disease and famine had reduced the strength of the party so that the living were not able always to bury the dead, and the gaunt, haggard forms of the survivors staggered to their work till the last vestige of strength had utterly failed. The soldier who stands to his gun through the hot climax of some terrific battle does not achieve such a triumphant mastery over defeat as did the heroes of Cape Sabine.

At first all went well. Some brilliant work was done. Dr. Pavey with one companion made a northward excursion that will be ever memorable, and few members of the command failed to distinguish themselves by pluck, endurance and devoted fidelity to comrades. But the crowning success of the expedition, so far as the work of exploration went, was made by Lieutenant Lockwood.

He made a journey along the north coast of Greenland, establishing new lines upon that hitherto unchartered waste, and then, turning his sledges northward still further, reached a small island in 83° 24′ N. and stood in a higher latitude than any to which a human being has penetrated since the first attempt to pierce the Arctic solitudes. Sergeant Brainard who accompanied him, wrote in his journal this note: "We unfurled the glorious stars and stripes to the exhilarating Northern breezes with an exultation impossible to describe."

After the return of Lockwood and Brainard with their party, great hardships overtook the Greely command. In the summer of 1883 the expected help did not arrive, relieving vessels failing to reach them. Falling back upon Cape Sabine in Smith's Sound, which they reached in August of 1883, they subsisted for a little while upon the stores left there by Sir George Nares and then began to give way to that most dreadful enemy, famine. When at length the steamers "Thetis" and "Bear" arrived and the gallant commander Schley completed the long attempted rescue, only Lieutenant Greely and six companions were left alive, and these were helplessly awaiting the death they had faced so long. Reverently the American reads the record of their daring and suffering, and pays the tribute of admiration both to the few survivors and the many for whom the relief came too late.

PLACES OF WORSHIP IN NEW YORK IN 1742.

1. Lutheran. 2. French. 3. Trinity. 4. New Dutch. 5. Old Dutch. 6. Presbyterian. 7. Baptist. 8. Quaker. 9. Synagogue.

CHAPTER XXI.

RELIGION UNDER NEW CONDITIONS.

THE physical and social conditions by which the early settlers of this country were environed after reaching it were hardly more diverse from those to which they had been accustomed than were the new conditions of their religious life. The tendency of their surroundings, however clear or vague to their apprehension, was, it is now evident, toward the development of an order of things in their communities akin to, if not identical with, the primitive Hebrew commonwealth. Absolute equality of religious relations among the individuals of the nation was a cardinal principle in the genius of that commonwealth, but the conception of the principle, along with any grasp of what it involved, had lapsed from the minds of most men in Europe before the discovery of America,—where, as is plain enough in our day, it is ultimately to have such illustration as the world has not yet seen. The seeds for its growth came to these shores with some of the settlers, and a survey of facts will emphasize the statement.

Protestant Episcopalianism, known in America prior to the American Revolution as the "Church of England," was established in Virginia as early as 1686, its first rector in America being the Rev. Robert Hunt. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, of England (1539–1583), was the first to direct his attention to this country from religious considerations, and when the Virginia Company obtained its charter one of its articles provided for the "preaching of the true Word and the praise of God," not only in the American colonies, but as far as possible among the savages bordering upon them. The Rev. Mr. Whitaker succeeded Rector Hunt, and was denominated the "Apostle of Virginia." He was the first Protestant who baptized an Indian convert, and that convert was Pocahontas, daughter of the Chief, Powhatan. In 1787 the American Episcopal Church became independent of the English, and assumed the name of *The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States*,—Rev. Dr. William White, of Philadelphia,

Pa., and Rev. Dr. Samuel Provost, of New York city, its first bishops,* being consecrated as such by the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth Palace, the archiepiscopal residence in London, England, February 4, of that year.

Next in order of time came hither the English *Pilgrims*, *Puritans*, *and Congregationalists*. Their story is well known. The Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock, in the present State of Massachusetts, and held their first religous services on Sabbath, December 22, 1620, the number of their churches in the world at that date, which can now be identified, being not more than five or six. In 1629 a church was organized at Salem, Mass., one at Charlestown, in 1630; another at Duxbury, in 1632, and others still, soon after, in Connecticut. By the census of 1890 the number of Congregational organizations in the United States was 4857, with church property in the denomination valued at $43,243,962, and a membership of 511,198 persons.

BIBLE BROUGHT OVER IN THE "MAYFLOWER" IN PILGRIM HALL, NEW PLYMOUTH.

Third in order of arrival were the *Lutherans*, the earliest settlement of the denomination being made by emigrants from Holland to New York soon after the first establishment of the Dutch in that city, in 1621. They did not enjoy the services of a pastor of their own faith until after the colony fell into the hands of the English in 1664. In 1638 emigrants from Sweden founded a Lutheran church at the present Wilmington, Del. In 1890 the Lutheran Communion in the United States had 8427 organizations or congregations, with 6559 church edifices; its church property was valued at $34,218,234, and its communicants numbered 1,199,514.

The first of the American Reformed Protestant Dutch churches (known since 1867 as *The First Reformed Church in America*) was gathered in New York city in 1628. The minister was Rev. Jonas Michaelius, and the Dutch language was exclusively used in their churches until 1764, when Rev. Archibald Laidlie, a Scotch minister from Flushing, in Holland, connected himself with the

* The consecration of Bishop Samuel Seabury by Episcopal bishops at Aberdeen, Scotland, in 1784, was for "the churches of the Episcopal persuasion in Connecticut, in North America."

Dutch Church, was invited to New York, and there commenced services in the English tongue. The returns of the eleventh (1890) United States census give the Reformed Dutch Church in the country 572 organizations; value of church property, $10,340,159; members, 92,970.

The history of the *Roman Catholic Church* in the United States properly begins with the settlement of Maryland by a colony of Catholics and Protestants under the auspices of Lord Baltimore. These people located at St. Mary's, Md., in 1634. In 1890 this denomination of Christians had within the limits of the United States 10,221 organizations or congregations, 8766 houses of worship, valued at $118,381,516, and 6,250,045 communicants.

The *Associated Baptists* followed next, Rev. Roger Williams, who had been assistant preacher to the Congregational Church at Salem, Mass., going to the present Providence, R. I., after his final banishment from the Massachusetts Colony (1635), and forming there the first Baptist church in America, in 1639. A second Baptist church organization was effected at Newport, R. I., in 1644.

As early as 1640 Irish *Presbyterians* came to this country, but accredited historians of the denomination are chary of statement as to the time of the organization of the earliest Presbyterian Church in America. Authority, however, establishes the fact that in 1683 Rev. Francis Mackemie came from the North of Ireland and began to gather the people at Rehoboth, in Maryland, and elsewhere, into Presbyterian churches, the first Presbytery being formed of seven ministers, at Philadelphia, Pa., in 1705. The church at Jamaica, L. I., organized in 1662, claims to have been Presbyterian in polity at the date of its formation. The organizations of the Presbyterian Church in the United States in 1890 are reported from the Census Office as 6717; value of church property as $74,445,200; members, 788,224.

Methodist Episcopal classes in America were founded by Philip Embury,—the first in New York city, in 1766. The earliest Methodist preaching-place was dedicated on John Street in that city, in 1768. Two years later the first Methodist church edifice in Philadelphia, Pa., was built. December 25, 1784, at Baltimore, Md., sixty Methodist clergymen met in General Conference and formally constituted *The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States.* This body of Christians had in the United States, by the census of 1890, 25,863 organizations; church property valued at $86,718,808, and 2,229,281 members.

Concerning each of these sects, which have been the most prominent of those in the United States,—although in a qualified sense as to some of them,—and, in general, of all immigrants who have come to the United States or its Territories, two things of cardinal importance are to be observed in any adequate view of the subject of this chapter. The first is, that they came to America from countries where the union of Church and State, the possession and use of power within the Church by the civil government, and the allowance

to the State of that power within the Church, by the Church itself, in return for benefits received,—with the more or less frequent and large use of power in civil affairs by the Church itself,—prevailed in greater or in less degree. Another fact not to be lost sight of is that most of them came, and come in our day, from lands where they had always felt the dominant authority of a hierarchy or priesthood, in things spiritual, and not seldom in things secular, as an element the activity of which was unremitting. It has well been said that only in the United States of America has the experiment ever been tried (and it began here with the coming of the early settlers) of applying Christianity to man and to society without the intervention of the State, and with a continually lessening power, among the clergy, of imposing their will either upon the Church or upon individuals within the Church. This has made the history of the Christian Church within the United States, more emphatically, of course, in some regions than in others,—but yet within all regions,—a history with such peculiarities as these: "1. its history is not the record of the conversion of a new people, but of the transplanting of old races, already Christianized, to a new theatre, comparatively untrammeled by institutions and traditions; 2. independence of the civil power; 3. the voluntary principle applied to the support of religious institutions; 4. moral and ecclesiastical, but not civil power the means of retaining the members of any communion; 5. development of the Christian Church in its practical and moral aspects rather than in its theoretical and theological; 6. stricter discipline in the churches than is practicable when Church and State are one; 7. increase of the churches to a considerable extent through revivals of religion rather than by the natural growth of children in an establishment; 8. excessive multiplication of sects and division on questions of moral reform." *

CHURCH SPIRES OF NEW YORK IN 1746.

Such has been the tendency of things in this section of the New World from the outset of its settlement by the whites, and if any of the American colonies, for instance that of the Massachusetts Bay, founded their social fabric on the theory of uniting Church and State, or, to speak with precision, by making the Church the State, the attempt was abortive, and in its issue sustained the statements now made. It will assuredly prove interesting to observe the working of these new conditions in certain outer aspects of religious life and experience.

Those aspects were not, indeed, directly or solely the fruit of the conditions to which we have referred. Many other conditions conspired with these to produce them, such as the antecedent experience of the settlers in Europe, the untamed Nature that was around them, the perils and exposure incident to pioneer

* Professor Henry B. Smith: Tables of Church History.

life, aggravated by the proximity, and often by the hostility, of the Indians, lords of the soil before the seventeenth century. But a prime fact in this connection is that in large portions of the country the resultant of the influences that moulded the religious life of the early settlers was to impart to its spirit a quality of grimness that was almost sombre. This was especially true of the New England settlements, although it is not true to the extent which has ordinarily been alleged. But it existed in New England beyond any other part of the colonies, and the confirmation of the statement is not far to find in more than one direction. As this appeared in the social life of New England communities, one may come near toward gauging it by the influence it had upon the observance of the Sabbath.

Very much has been said concerning what have been styled the "blue laws" of the New Haven Colony, founded in 1638, and the three that follow have been most bitterly ridiculed:—

"No one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep house, cut hair, or shave on the Sabbath Day.

"No woman shall kiss her child on the Sabbath or fasting day.

"No one shall ride on the Sabbath Day, or walk in his garden, or elsewhere, except reverently to and from meeting."

But since these "laws," so-called, had no existence in any New England code, colonial or other, but are merely citations from a "General History of Connecticut," printed in England, in 1781, by the Rev. Samuel A. Peters, sometime Tory rector of the Episcopal churches at Hartford and at Hebron, in that Colony, after he had been forced to fly from America to England, in which work he poured out the vials of his wrath upon the land from which he had taken his departure, it does not seem worth one's while to dwell upon them.

It is not, however, to be gainsaid that among the Puritans in early New England the personal conduct of citizens upon the Sabbath was subject to judicial supervision and animadversion, to such a degree that the suggestion of its imitation in our day would be almost universally regarded as impertinence. This was so not only in Connecticut and Massachusetts, but in other New England Provinces and States. In New London, Connecticut, during the latter part of the seventeenth century, we find that a "wicked fisherman" was prosecuted before the Court and fined for catching fish on the "Lord's Day," while another was fined 20 s. for sailing a boat on the same day. In 1670, at the same place, two lovers, John Lewis and Sarah Chapman, were tried for sitting together on the "Lord's Day" under an apple tree in Goodman Chapman's orchard, an act not violently unnatural, and surely, in itself considered, without harm. In Plymouth, Massachusetts, a man was sharply whipped for shooting fowl on Sunday; another man was fined for carrying home a grist of corn on the "Lord's Day," and the miller who allowed him to take it was also fined. Elizabeth

Eddy, of the same town, was fined, in 1652, "ten shillings for wringing and hanging out clothes." A Plymouth, Massachusetts, man, for attending to his tar-pits on the Sabbath, was set in the stocks. James Watt, in 1685, was publicly reproved "for writing a note about common business on the Lord's Day, *at least in the evening somewhat too soon.*" A Plymouth, Massachusetts, man, who drove a yoke of oxen, was "presented" before the Court, as was also another offender who drove some cows a short distance "without need" on the Sabbath.

In Newbury, Massachusetts, in 1646, Aquila Chase and his wife were presented and fined for gathering peas from their garden on the Sabbath, but upon investigation the fines were remitted, and the offenders were only admonished. In Wareham, Massachusetts, in 1772, William Estis acknowledged himself guilty of "raeking hay on the Lord's Day" and was fined ten shillings; and in 1774 another Wareham citizen, "for a breach of the Sabbath in puling apples," was fined five shillings. A Dunstable, Massachusetts, soldier, for "wetting a piece of an old hat to put in his shoe" to protect his foot,—for doing this piece of heavy work on the "Lord's Day" was fined, and paid, forty shillings. And Captain Kemble, of Boston, Massachusetts, was, in 1656, set for two hours in the town stocks, for his "lewd and unseemly behavior," which consisted in kissing his wife, "publicquely," on the Sabbath Day, upon the doorstep of his house, when he had just returned from a voyage and absence of three years. Similar citations might be multiplied, but this topic may be dismissed by a quotation from another author, who says, truly: "The legislation thrown about the Sabbath was in confirmation of the public opinion regarding its sanctity. The harsher aspects of this observance have been sufficiently dwelt on in our histories; the effect upon character has been less considered, but the elevation of one day out of the tyranny of work, the resolute facing of eternal mysteries, and the withdrawal into a half-brooding, half-active state of mind, must have had a powerful effect upon the imagination and conscience. The "meeting-house" was no holy building, but the Sabbath Day was a holy day, and was the most comprehensive symbol of the Puritan faith. It was what the altar is in the Catholic Church, the holy of holies, about which the whole movement of religious worship gathered. Whatever disturbed the profound stillness of the day was seized on by the law as sacrilegious; and never, perhaps, has there been a religion which succeeded so completely in investing time with the sacredness which elsewhere had been appropriated by place. Even the approach to the Sabbath was guarded, and the custom of the observance of Saturday evening appears to have been derived from the backward influence of the day, as the release upon Sunday evening appears to have been a concession to the flesh, which would otherwise have rebelled. Rev. Dr. Horace Bushnell, in his "Age of Homespun," tells of his own experience in boyhood, when he was refused a load of apples which he had gone to buy

on Saturday afternoon, because the farmer, on consulting the sun, decided that he could not measure out the fruit before the strict Sabbath began! *

A strong factor, not only in enforcing this observance of the Sabbath, but in fashioning the whole religious character and life of the New England Colonists, was the Puritan minister.

The reach of his influence, and the extent to which it was employed by the Puritan minister, take on a grotesque air to modern contemplation,—earnest, pure and noble men, as most of the ministers certainly were, zealous for every enterprise that they believed would promote the common weal, however toilsome, or involving whatever degree of self-sacrifice. Thus, one minister felt it necessary to reprove a money-making parishioner who had stored and was holding in reserve (with the hope of higher prices) a large quantity of corn, which was sadly needed for consumption in the town. The parson preached from the appropriate text, *Proverbs xi, 26:* "He that withholdeth his corn, the people shall curse him; but blessings shall be upon the head of him that selleth it." As the minister grew warmer in his explanation and application of the text,

SOME BOSTON SPIRES. 1758.

the money-seeking corn-storer defiantly and unregenerately sat up, stiff and unmoved, until at last, the preacher, provoked out of prudence and patience, roared out, "Colonel Ingraham, Colonel Ingraham! you know I mean you; why don't you hang down your head?" †

That, as a class, the Puritan ministers were autocrats in the community, and that they never hesitated to show their authority, in any manner, in the pulpit, and not seldom elsewhere, is plain from a slight knowledge of facts. If any evil-doer, moreover, incredulous of their position, set himself to try conclusions with them, he came off second best in the encounter. In Sandwich, Mass., a man was publicly whipped for speaking deridingly of God's word and ordinances as taught by the Sandwich minister. Mistress Oliver was forced to stand, in public, with a cleft stick on her tongue, for "reproaching the Elders." At New Haven, Conn., a man was severely whipped and fined for declaring that he

* H. E. Scudder's "Noah Webster," in series "American Men of Letters," pp. 30, 31.

† Cited from "The Sabbath in Puritan New England," by Alice Morse Earle, p. 313.

received no profit from the minister's sermons. A terrible shock was given to the Windham, Conn., Church, in 1729, by the "vile and slanderous expressions" of one unregenerate Windhamite, who said, "I had rather hear my dog bark, than Mr. Bellamy preach." He was warned that he would be "shaken off and given up;" and terrified at the prospect of so dire a fate, he read a confession of his sorrow and repentance, and promised to "keep a guard over his tongue," and also to listen to Mr. Bellamy's preaching, which may have been a still more difficult task. . . . . In 1631, Philip Ratcliffe, for "speaking against the churches" had his ears cut off, was whipped and banished.*

The reverence entertained for the ministers, which gave them their authority, is evidenced by the whimsical epithets and descriptions which were freely applied to the parsons. They were called "holy-heavenly," "sweet-affecting," "soul-ravishing," "heaven-piercing," "angel-rivaling," "subtle," "irrefragible," "angelical," "septemfluous," "holy-savored," "princely," "soul-appetizing," "full of antic tastes" (meaning having the tastes of an antiquary), "God-bearing;" etc.

Withal, however, many of the Puritan clergy were men of cheery dispositions. Nor did they always hold themselves from the humanities, the hilarities, and the sports of their people. The best cider in Massachusetts,—that which brought the highest price,—was known as the Arminian cider, because the minister who furnished it in the market was suspected of having Arminian tendencies. A very telling compliment to the cider of one of the first New England ministers is thus recorded: "Mr. Whiting had a score of apple-trees, from which he made delicious cyder. And it hath been said yt an Indyan once coming to hys house, and Mistress Whiting giving him a drynk of ye cyder, he did sett down ye pot and say yt Adam and Eve were rightly damned for eating ye appills in ye Garden of Eden; they should have made them into cyder." . . . . . Of so much account were the barrels of cider, and so highly prized were they by the ministers, that one honest soul did not hesitate to thank the Lord, in the pulpit, for the "many barrels of cider vouchsafed to us this year."†

The Puritan clergyman ordinarily served his flock for very small pecuniary compensation. In 1630, the First Court of Massachusetts set the amount of the minister's annual stipend to be £20, or £30, according to the wealth of the community, and made it a public charge. A large portion of the salaries in early parishes being paid in corn and labor, the amounts were established by fixed rates upon the inhabitants; and the amount of land owned and cultivated by each church-member was considered in reckoning his assessment. These amounts were called "voluntary contributions." If, however, any citizen refused

* Cited from "The Sabbath in Puritan New England," by Alice Morse Earle, pp. 259, 260.

† *Loc. cit.*, pp. 287, 288.

to contribute, he was taxed; and if he refused to pay his church-tax, he could be fined, imprisoned, or pilloried.

It may be said of the Puritan minister, as we leave him, that with all his traits, he was usually at or near the bottom of every good enterprise where his lot was cast. Patient, self-denying, determined, sincere, he did his work in his day. He has passed from among men, but it is a question worthy of thought,—how many men has he left behind him his equals in the apprehension and discharge of human obligation according to the best standards of duty? One cannot err in distinctly recognizing the influence of his preaching upon the religious life of his time. Alike its matter and style moulded thought and conduct. Biblical, clear, pungent as it certainly was, in by far the greater number of cases, its disproportionate emphasis of the doctrines of Divine Sovereignty and God's Election of Grace, made the piety of its hearers, in multitudes of instances, take on a severity of aspect which it is to be hoped, in greater or in less degree misrepresented the practical Christian faith that was in them. Many citations could be presented to show the quality of the preaching which produced this. We quote two. Rev. Thomas Hooker (1586–1647), pastor of the first church at Hartford, Connecticut, was doubtless one of the wisest and ablest of New England Puritan ministers, but in making the point that the conversion of a human soul to Christ is a great and difficult thing, he averred "it is not a little mercey that will serve the turn. . . . . The Lord will make all crack before thou 'shalt find mercey." So he argued on the necessity of a clear view of his own sinfulness, if a man is to be saved, in the following language: "As suppose any soul here present were to behold the damned in hell, and if the Lord should give thee a little peepe-hole into hell, that thou didst see the horror of those damned souls, and thy heart begins to shake in consideration thereof; then propound this to thy owne heart what pains the damned in hell doe endure for sinne, and thy heart will quake and shake at it; the least sinne that ever thou didst commit, though thou makest a light matter of it, is a greater evill than the paines of the damned in hell, setting aside their sinne; all the torments in

THE FIRST FRIENDS' MEETING HOUSE, BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY.

hell are not so great an evil as the least sinne is; men begin to shrink at this, and loathe to go down to hell and to be in endless torments." And his son-in-law, Rev. Thomas Shepard, of Newtown, Massachusetts, put the matter thus, in his "Sincere Convert:" "Jesus Christ is not got with a wet finger. . . . . It is a tough work, a wonderful hard matter to be saved." And again: "'Tis a thousand to one if ever thou bee one of that small number whom God hath picked out to escape this wrath to come."

Something akin to the unloveliness of spirit which manifested itself as being in part, at least, the result of inordinate preaching on the doctrines which have been named, was reflected, in the earlier colonial days, by their church edifices, or "meeting-houses," as the Puritans preferred to call them. Doubtless they built them in given cases, perhaps in most cases, as well as was possible at the time, and with emphasis, it may be said that the impulse which led to their construction was worthy of all praise, but nothing can be conceived more bald and ugly than many of these structures, of which the earliest and most primitive type was a simple, square log-house, with clay-filled chinks, surmounted by steep roofs, thatched with long straw or grass, and often with only the beaten earth for a floor. The second form or type of New England church architecture was a square wooden building, usually unpainted, covered with a truncated pyramidal roof,—surmounted, if the church could afford that, with a belfry or turret containing a bell. The third form of the meeting-house was that of which the "Old South," at Boston, Massachusetts, was a model. This has too many representatives in the New England States at the present day, to need any description. In the stage of New England life which followed its first phase, these buildings were usually placed upon the hill-tops, and some of the hills were so steep, especially in one Connecticut parish, that church attendants could not ride down on horseback, but were forced to scramble down, leading their horses, and to mount from a horse-block at the foot of the hill. These early churches were destitute of shade; curtains and window-blinds were unknown, and they often had grotesque decorations,—grinning wolves' heads nailed under the windows and by the side of the door, while splashes of blood, which had dripped from the severed necks, reddened the logs beneath,—the meeting-house being the place where these ornaments were to be fastened up to secure the bounty given for hunting and slaying them. Around the meeting-house, upon the "green," stood the stocks, the whipping-post, the pillory and cage, and on the weekly lecture-days, the stocks and pillory were often occupied by convicted wrong-doers. And hard-by were to be seen the "Sabbath-Day Houses," in which small buildings the families of the Puritans took refreshment at noon on the Lord's Day, and in the winters warmed themselves by the fires that had no place in the icy houses of worship;—the boys, in some parishes, the meanwhile, listening to Biblical Expositions, or to the reading of another sermon to keep them quiet during the "nooning."

All this was far away from the Old World surroundings in which many of the settlers had worshiped, and far away, too, from any tendency to æsthetic culture; but let it not be forgotten that in these homely places the men and women met for Christian services, who, with others, laid broad and deep the foundations alike of civil and religious freedom on this continent.

With limitations, a picture somewhat similar to that of the New England Puritan clergyman might truthfully be drawn concerning the clergy of the Reformed Dutch Church in the United States. Although the Dutch came to America for purposes of trade, their West India Company having been chartered

COLONIAL MONASTERY, EPHRATA, LANCASTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.

in Holland in 1621, and although it was the Company itself which formally established the Church of Holland in America, and promised themselves to maintain ministers (no call upon a minister being valid unless endorsed by the Company), the staunch convictions of the Dutch clergy made themselves felt by their people as an element of power for their spiritual development. Thirteen Dutch ministers came out to New Amsterdam (New York) prior to the surrender of that colony to England in 1664, and there were, at that date, eleven Dutch churches in America, served by seven clergymen. If, by reason of the facts already stated, the Dutch minister fell in any measure below his New England

clerical brother in the possession and exercise of personal authority, it was by reason of the same facts, in part, that his remove from the ordinary life of the community was less pronounced, and his familiarity with all classes more intimate. Historically, the flavor of a Dutch "Dominie's" social and ministerial relations to his people has in it something of especial attractiveness to one keen to apprehend, and broad enough to appreciate it, and the churches of that communion, if they do not form in our day one of the largest religious denominations, have, as yet, "kept the 'ancient' faith" in its purity,—always the exponents of soundness in doctrine and in life.

Far different, in the outward conditions of his work, from those which have surrounded nearly all other Protestant clergymen in the United States, was the early experience of the Methodist minister, but the effect of his ministry has not been less potent, and has been more far-reaching than that of many other clergymen, covering with benign results widespread regions of the country. His direct errand, it was long since understood, has been, as the phrase goes, to the masses in the community, and the ecclesiastical system through which its founder in America sought to discharge that errand has been found to be adapted to its end in a remarkable degree. It was Francis Asbury (1745–1816) who brought it to our shores, from England. He had learned it from John Wesley. And one does not go aside from the truth who reckons the "circuit riding" feature of the system to have been the life-blood of its power, for many years at least, after the establishment of Methodism in this country. Its essence lay in the setting apart of definite portions of country for steady visitation by the Rider, who was the preacher for that region, and his constant travel through his circuit, for the purpose of holding preaching services whenever and wherever he could get a hearing. It is a somewhat curious fact that when he came to the colonies from England, in 1771, Asbury found the very few Methodist preachers who were here disinclined to circuit labor. But he knew its working in England and in Wales by far too well to desist from the attempt to establish it. Always making himself a practical circuit-rider, whatever his relations to a given church, he traveled thousands of miles each year after his appointment to the Bishopric, in labors and in exposure a measure of which it is far easier to conceive of than it would be to experience, in the performance of his duties. He succeeded in fastening the circuit system upon the polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, and the records of its working and results in the newer portions of the country, at the hands of Peter Cartwright and his compeers, are among the most alluring and stimulating in all religious history. "Riders" were from the new converts to Christ, thrust at once into circuit work, trained for their careers by assiduous study of the Bible, by the exercise of prayer, and by actual experience of continuous preaching, which was prosecuted, with little or no intermission, from Sunday morning until the next Sunday night, not seldom to the

extent of three sermons each day and evening. The Rider met his Presiding Elder and his fellow-preachers of other circuits, at fixed seasons, to make and to hear reports of work, and, once a year, to receive or hear of new appointments; he left behind him in almost every place where he got a hearing a Methodist "Class,"

ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL.
(*In this view the spires are shown as they will be when complete.*)

which kept the embers of religious faith and service more or less actively in glow until he came again. The matter and the method of his preaching were, for the most part, intended and adapted to move "the unconverted." His speech was utterly without "enticing words of man's wisdom," nor was the "fear of

man" at any time before his eyes in such degree as to rule him. In this last respect, if ever upon earth servants of Christ spoke "not as pleasing men, but God, who trieth the hearts," that was their way of speech. Generally these preachers met their "lions by the way." For the most part, the worldly-wise in society scorned them; "lewd fellows of the baser sort" not only despised, but persecuted them, not infrequently to the extent of personal violence. Forbearing, however, to the verge of unlimited patience, the "Rider" endured their opposition with but little attempt at resistance; although the instances are not wanting in which, if goaded to the quick, he demonstrated his standing in the Church Militant by encountering the adversary upon his own ground and thrashing him by the arm of physical force. More than once in such case the adversary was afterwards found at the Rider's meetings, and was there led to the adoption of his faith and to entry upon his own kindred career.

The work of these circuit preachers, moreover, was successful, tried by the most rigid standards. They did that which was given them to do with effectiveness, bringing men and women, from all classes, into the kingdom of Christ, and planting Methodist churches in every part of the land. That this work was performed with little pecuniary remuneration to the "Riders," * is a matter of secondary moment, save as it witnessed to the fervid zeal of those who wrought it. An American author, Edward Eggleston, in his book, "The Circuit Rider," has painted the facts of this Christian ministry in such guise as not only conserves them, but invests the record of this labor with graphic interest.

In cursorily tracing the more prominent of the influences and agencies that have determined religious spirit and history in this country, inquiry as to individuals who have had especial part in its development, is alike pertinent and rewarding. Among men of the former generations who contributed to this, in the pulpit, and through the press, discriminating judgment long ago fixed upon Jonathan Edwards, the elder (1703–1758), as the greatest of all, in more directions than one. Whether Edwards be viewed as preacher, metaphysician, or theologian, his was a mind the equal of which has not often been given to the world. And this may be said, whether estimate be taken of his mental resources, as they were displayed in the work of his life, or rating be had of the influence his writings now exert in America and elsewhere. Extraordinary indeed must have been the preaching quality of a man about whose sermons it has lately been said,—"the traditions still linger in New England of the effect they produced. One man has recorded that as he listened to him discoursing of the Day of Judgment he fully anticipated that the dreadful day would begin when the sermon should come

* Asbury's salary as Bishop was never more than $64 per annum, and $15 to $20 in cash, for the same period, was a fair stipend for the "Rider."

to an end!" He was the greatest preacher of his age. It is only at rare intervals that a man endowed with such a power appears. His effectiveness did not lie in voice or gesture. He was accustomed to lean, it is said, upon one arm, fastening his eyes upon some distant point in the meeting-house. But beneath the quiet manner were the fires of a volcano. His gravity of character, his profundity of spiritual insight, his intense realism, as if the ideal were the only real, his burning devotion, his vivid imagination, his masterful will, these entered into his sermons. He was like some organ of vast capacity, whose strongest stops or combinations should never have been drawn. The account has been left to us of the impression he produced in the little village of Enfield, in Connecticut, where he went to preach one Sunday morning, in the month of July, 1741. The congregation had assembled in its usual mood, with no special interest or expectation. The effect of the sermon was as if some supernatural apparition had frightened the people beyond control. They were convulsed in tears of agony and distress. Amid the tears and outcries, the preacher pauses, bidding them to be quiet, in order that he may be heard. This was the sermon which, if New England has forgiven, it has never been able to forget. Its title was, "Sinners in the hands of an angry God." The text was a weird passage from the book of Deuteronomy:—"their feet shall slide in due time."*

Of the American ministry of George Whitefield (1714–1770) it is unnecessary to speak in detail. Born in England, he made seven visits to the American colonies, and the results of his Evangelistic tours were shared by the Congregational, the Presbyterian, and the Baptist churches, from Massachusetts to Georgia. He early became Calvinistic in his views, and association with Calvinistic divines in America deepened his convictions. His repute as perhaps the most marvelous and persuasive of modern pulpit orators fixes his place in religious history. His intense energy and devotion to his work were attested by the fact that he preached his last sermon at Exeter, N. H., although then ill, the day before he died. A friend remarked to him that he was more fit to go to bed than to preach. "Yes," said he; then pausing, he added, "Lord, Jesus, I am weary in Thy work, but not of it." An immense audience gathered to hear him. At first he labored; but soon all his faculties responded for a last great effort, and he held the multitude spellbound for two hours. He proceeded to Newburyport the same day. In the evening as he took his candle to go to bed, many who were gathered in the hall tempted him to an exhortation, which continued until the candle burned out in the socket. The next morning he was dead. His latest, and perhaps his best biographer is Tyerman: "Life of George Whitefield," London, 1876, 2 vols.

Nathaniel Emmons, of Massachusetts (1745–1840), was another of the lights

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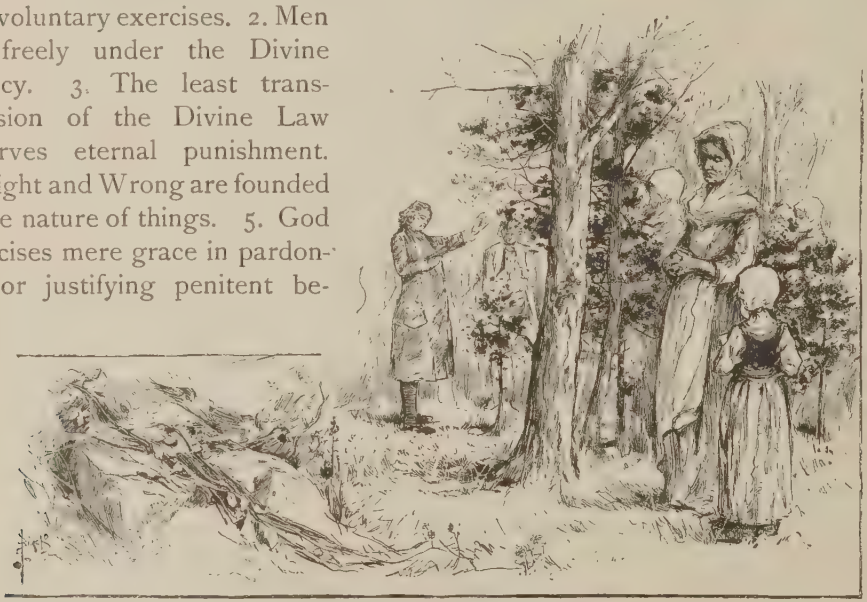
*Jonathan Edwards: By A. V. G. Allen. Boston, 1890, pp. 126, 127.

of the New England Ministry. Both by his preaching and by his writings upon theology, he did much to shape the religious thought of his own and of succeeding time in New England. To these sources of his power is to be added his effective work as a private instructor of men for the ministry. His house at Franklin, in his native State, was a seminary, and the number of clergymen fitted by him for the pulpit is thought to have been nearly one hundred. The strong common-sense points of his system of theological thought have been so long incarnated in the so-called Orthodox preaching of our own day, that it is a strange sensation by virtue of which we may conceive of them as new in his generation. The distinctive Emmonsian points were as follows :— 1. Holiness and sin consist in free voluntary exercises. 2. Men act freely under the Divine agency. 3. The least transgression of the Divine Law deserves eternal punishment. 4. Right and Wrong are founded in the nature of things. 5. God exercises mere grace in pardoning or justifying penitent be-



MORAVIAN EASTER SERVICE, BETHLEHEM, PENNSYLVANIA.

lievers through the atonement of Christ, and mere goodness in rewarding them for their good works. 6. Notwithstanding the total depravity of sinners, God has a right to require them to turn from sin unto holiness. 7. Readers of the Gospel ought to exhort sinners to love God, repent of sin, and believe in Christ immediately. 8. Men are active, not passive in regeneration.

Practically a disciple of Emmons in his theology, Lyman Beecher, of Connecticut (1775–1863), profoundly moved men in his career as minister and educator. Without doubt his most effective work was wrought in his renowned pastorates at Litchfield, Connecticut, and at Boston, Massachusetts. In Boston he encountered and antagonized the prevalent Unitarianism, dealing it heavy

blows by the strength of his intellect, the fervor of his heart, and the eloquence of his lips, in his defense of the "faith once delivered to the saints." His ministration in the same city, as well as at Litchfield, was marked by remarkable revivals of religion. His "Six Sermons on Intemperance," published in 1826, rang out as a trumpet blast, not only over the land, but were reprinted abroad in more languages than one, and have greatly promoted the temperance reform. He was, moreover, a theological student, and for twenty years was President and theological professor at Cincinnati, Ohio. His "Autobiography and Correspondence," edited by his son, Charles, was published in two volumes in 1865.

His son, Henry Ward Beecher (1813–1889), was graduated at Amherst College, in 1834, and at Lane Theological Seminary, in Ohio, under his father's teaching and presidency, in 1837. He was pastor, successively, of the Presbyterian churches at Lawrenceburg and Indianapolis, Ind. (1837–1846), and then of Plymouth Congregational Church in Brooklyn, N. Y.,—his ministry in his last pastorate dating from the founding of the church, in 1847, to his death. For many years he was the most widely known and the most popular preacher in America,—all the more so, it has justly been said, because of his unconventionalities. From the first he used his pulpit, as also his extended personal influence, for the promotion of social reforms,—notably as the center of the sharpest opposition to human slavery in the United States. His wit and humor were integral qualities, and had their pronounced place in his sermons, which were profoundly earnest, eloquent, imaginative, poetical. Rare and attractive personality was largely the source of his power, which was always thrown in the direction of freedom, whether of body or of mind. His influence in the Civil War of 1861–65 may fairly be reckoned as one of the stronger elements in the determination of the contest, Mr. Beecher's work in Great Britain in 1863 contributing largely to the enlightenment of public opinion in that country concerning questions at issue in the struggle. The dissemination of his utterances by the public press added immensely to his repute. In 1848 he shared in establishing the *New York Independent*, of which he was, at the start, an associate editor, and from 1861 to 1863 its responsible editor. From 1870 to 1880 he (nominally) edited *The Christian Union*. His books were numerous, that which manifests serious study being his "Life of Christ," left incomplete by its author. Without doubt the purpose of his ardent and laborious life was to bring men into fealty and attachment to Jesus Christ, and the tendency of his career as a religious teacher was to loosen the hold upon men of the older tenets of theological doctrine.

The work of Charles Grandison Finney (1792-1875), one of the most influential of American ministers, falls under two heads,—that of revival preacher and theological instructor. In each of these relations his power was extraordinary.

His logical force and rhetorical ability were such that it is fairly to be questioned if he have not precedence, among American clergy, as the leader of men of all classes to embrace a religious life. His appeals were taken to their consciences, rather than to their emotions, and made the conscience tremble and quake by the most searching analysis of the motives of the heart. During the last seventeen years of his life he was instructor in theology, pastor, and college president at Oberlin, Ohio. The latest and most compact biography of Mr. Finney is that by Professor G. F. Wright, published in 1891, but his "Autobiography" (New York, 1876) will never be superseded, either as an interesting portraiture of the man, or as an interpretation of his life and work.

It remains to indicate in brief the present standpoints in religious thought and activity of some of the leading Protestant denominations in the country. The Society of Friends, with George Fox, of England (1624-1690), as its founder, with one hundred and twenty thousand members in the United States, was divided in 1827 into two bodies,—the Evangelical or Orthodox, and the Liberal or Hicksite,—the last named now numbering in the United States about 40,000. It has as its most marked peculiarity in doctrine, the belief in the immediate influence of the Holy Spirit of God, and its expectation of the guidance of the Spirit, in worship, and in all religious acts. This might degenerate into mysticism, were it not corrected by the Society's full recognition of the inspiration and authority of the Holy Scriptures. Quakerism, to use its older name, provides that all its members shall receive a good practical education, and cherishes also the higher learning. It has colleges at Haverford, Pa., Richmond, Ind., Wilmington, O., Oskaloosa, Ia., and Swarthmore, Pa. (the last, Hicksite), and one for girls at Bryn Mawr, Pa. There are excellent boarding schools in most of the yearly meetings. The congregations are grouped together to constitute monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings; of the last there are sixteen in America.

OLD DUTCH CHURCH, NEW UTRECHT, LONG ISLAND.

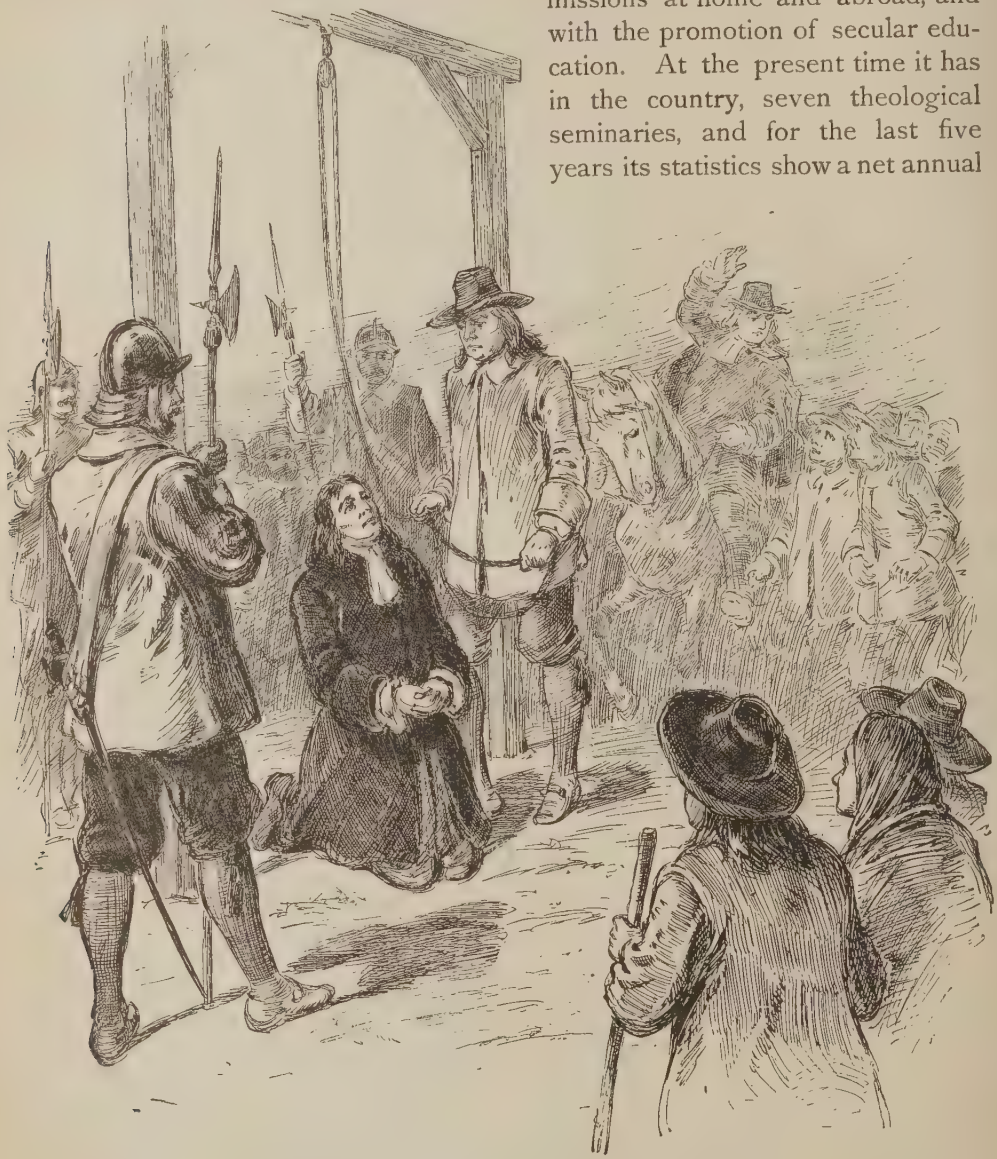
It is estimated that the Regular or Calvinistic Baptists comprise about one-fourth of the Protestants of the United States. These Christians hold that the New Testament furnishes examples of, and enjoins the receipt as candidates for membership in the churches, only from among those who give credible evidence of their faith in Jesus Christ as their Saviour. And they insist, therefore, that only those candidates for baptism are to be accepted who are professed believers in Jesus. They have no authoritative creed,

and no ecclesiastical government beyond that of each church over its own members. The American Baptist Missionary Union (Boston, Mass.) is the Society through which the Baptists of the Northern States carry on their foreign missionary work. The Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptists is also actively at work in Asia, Africa, Italy, South America, and Mexico. Both the Northern and Southern Baptists vigorously sustain home missionary operations. This denomination has also seven theological seminaries, with over four hundred students; thirty-nine colleges, with more than forty-three hundred students, and seventy-five academies, with over ninety-two hundred students.

The Methodist body in this country is at present divided into Methodist Episcopalian (North and South), Methodist Protestant, American Wesleyan, Free Methodist, African Methodist Episcopal, and African M. E. Zion Churches. Its doctrine is Arminian as opposed to Calvinistic, and agrees in all essentials with the Wesleyan theology of Great Britain. There is scarcely anything distinctive in these articles, the design of John Wesley (1703–1791) being to prepare a broad platform upon which a body of Christian believers might stand and work in love. Their tenets may be found in Wesley's doctrinal sermons, his Notes on the New Testament, and in other writings which have come to be recognized as standards. Its Book Concern, started in 1789 on a borrowed capital of $600, for the purpose of supplying its members with religious literature, had in 1890 a net capital of $3,000,000, and during the previous forty years its sales had amounted to more than $45,000,000. Of its gains for 1890, $100,000 went to the support of superannuated preachers, and to the widows and orphans of deceased ministers. Its Missionary Society, domestic and foreign, organized in 1819, besides caring for destitute people within the United States, supported missions, in the year 1890, in South America, Mexico, Africa, China, India, Japan, Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Bulgaria, and Italy. The fact that the Methodist Church in the United States is preëminently the Church of the common people, has been noted, although this merit is shared by the Baptist churches of the country.

The Congregational form of church life in the United States, in its latest development, takes its name from the prominence which it gives to the congregation of believers, holding that any local company of Christian people confederated by mutual agreement and by covenant with God, is a Christian church; which, through such organization, enters a great sisterhood of equal churches of like faith and order,—and every such church governs itself, under the guidance of God's Holy Spirit, according to its understanding of the Holy Scriptures. "As a church polity the system has two fundamental principles; on the one hand the independence of every such local church of all outward control, save that of its Great Head; and on the other hand its obligation to live in sisterly relation with every other, taking and giving counsel and friendly aid as need requires,

and working with all others for the glory of God in the redemption of men. By its spirit and its history it is closely associated with the prosecution of missions at home and abroad, and with the promotion of secular education. At the present time it has in the country, seven theological seminaries, and for the last five years its statistics show a net annual



EXECUTION OF REV. STEPHEN BURROUGHS.

gain of nearly 112 churches, with almost 16,000 members, *per annum*.

All the Presbyterian churches of the country are understood to hold, in doctrine, to the supreme headship of Jesus Christ; involving submission to His

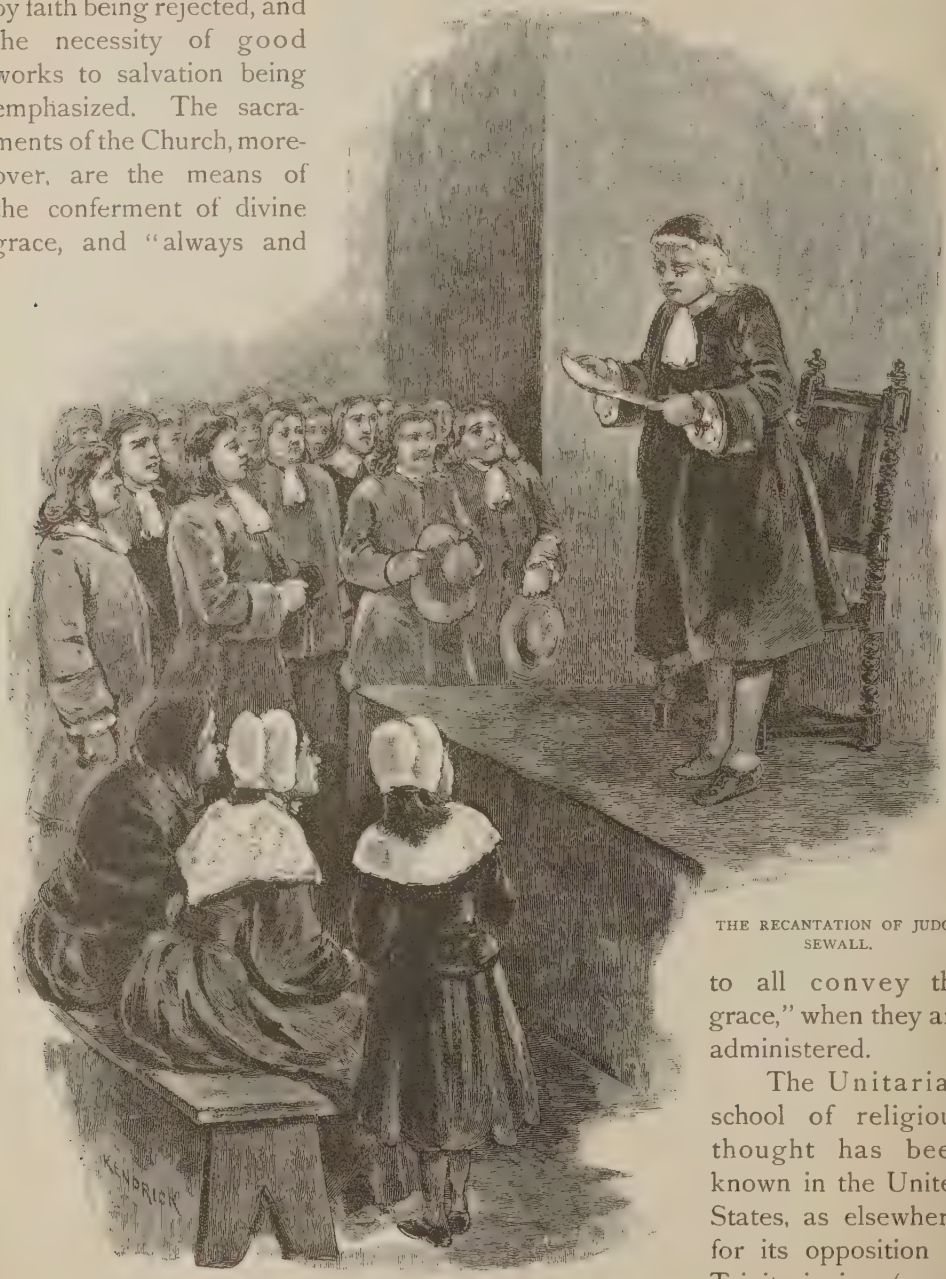
law contained in the Christian Scriptures as the only rule of practice; the parity of the ministry, as ambassadors of the Supreme Head of the Church; participation of the people in the government of the Church through officers chosen by them; the unity of the Church involving an authoritative control, not by individual, but by representative courts. In its General Assembly (Northern) of 1890, a movement was inaugurated for the revision of its doctrinal standards, looking toward softening some of their more rigid Calvinistic features, but the polity and the spirit of this body of Christian believers is strongly adverse to haste in changes that have any bearing upon fundamentals in faith and practice.

This Church has been, and is to-day, the consistent and persistent advocate and promoter of Christian Missions in America and over the world, and the body of its membership has always been found, as it may be found to-day, among the most intelligent and influential men and women in the land. Their zeal and effort for the public welfare is always awake, and is always put forth alike for the establishment and the upholding of piety, righteousness, and good order in the State.

Outward development in the Protestant Episcopal churches of the United States has gone forward, of late years, in a swift ratio of increase, which promises well for the future of this, the oldest of the Protestant bodies in America. The new era in its growth and extension dates from 1835, when it awoke to the importance of domestic missions, enlarging and reconstituting its Missionary Board. In the light of recent occurrences it may be questioned whether loyalty to its doctrinal system be as emphatically insisted upon, as at some periods in the past, but the doctrinal flux and reflux which appears in some dioceses may be observed in other communions of Christians, and has ordinarily been a feature of general ecclesiastical development throughout the world's history. Its Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society was founded in 1820, and missions are now sustained by it in Mexico, Africa, China, and Japan. There are some twenty-five colleges and theological seminaries.

Of the Roman Catholic organization in this country,—with this peculiarity, that, among all bodies of American Christians, it alone acknowledges the spiritual headship of an official not only a foreigner by birth, but permanently resident abroad,—it is correct to say that the fundamental doctrine of its system is the Church, so defined as to identify it with the visible church, distinguished by the government of the hierarchy or priesthood, and the administration of the sacraments. The Church, moreover is infallible. Therefore, Holy Scripture and tradition are put by it upon the same level. Through the Church, among true Catholics, men gain a "sense" for truth, and hence in the Church men understand the Scriptures and the truth, as is impossible without. The Bible thus becomes but a portion of the complex of Church teaching, which bears with it the authority of God. In doctrine, the Roman Church teaches that justification of

sinners is the *making* men righteous, not *declaring* them to be so; justification by faith being rejected, and the necessity of good works to salvation being emphasized. The sacraments of the Church, moreover, are the means of the conferment of divine grace, and "always and



THE RECANTATION OF JUDGE SEWALL.

to all convey the grace," when they are administered.

The Unitarian school of religious thought has been known in the United States, as elsewhere, for its opposition to Trinitarianism (popularly known as the doctrine of three persons in one God) in the steady assertion

and maintenance of the unity of the Divine existence. Rev. Dr. Joseph Priestley (1773–1804), one of its earlier and abler advocates, came to Philadelphia from England in 1792. The general form of doctrine which he preached, rested, in his contention, upon the basis of the Holy Scriptures as an inspired and final authority, but its interpretations of religion were greatly influenced by the philosophy of John Locke (1632–1704). Before Priestley reached this country, however, the first Episcopal church in New England (at Boston, Mass.), had become the first distinctively Unitarian church in America—Rev. James Freeman (1759–1835), the first minister in the United States who assumed the Unitarian name, being ordained their Rector in November, 1787. Under him all reference to the Trinity was struck out from the book of Common Prayer. When Rev. Henry Ware, of Hingham, Mass., a decided Arminian and Unitarian, was elected (1805) to the Hollis Professorship of Divinity at Harvard College, Mass., controversy broke out in New England, which was prosecuted with vigor for many years. Rev. Dr. William Ellery Channing (1780–1842) was the most distinguished leader and representative of Unitarianism in this discussion. Under his guidance the rational and ethical movement which he urged had a theology based upon a free interpretation of the New Testament, accepting the Bible as inspired in a special sense, and appealing to miracles in attestation of the claims of Christianity. Semi-Arian views of the nature and rank of Jesus prevailed. The doctrine of the Trinity was treated as metaphysical speculation. The Evangelical theory of the Atonement was exchanged for one exhibiting the moral example of Jesus. Later on, the dogma of everlasting punishment was abandoned. Under the diffusion of German thought, the rise of transcendentalism and the influence of Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882) and Theodore Parker (1810–1860), Unitarianism has passed through important transitions, having ceased to appeal primarily to the Scripture text, and recognizing the Bible rather as a body of sacred literature. "It turns less to tradition and more to the individual reason and conscience; it has ceased to refer to miracles for the evidence of Christianity. Truth, it affirms, furnishes its own verification. Arian views of Jesus have gradually given place to those distinctly humanitarian. Sympathetic in its attitude toward science, Unitarianism was among the first forms of Christianity to welcome the philosophy of evolution. It has been hospitable to studies in comparative mythology and comparative religion. Under these influences there is perhaps more uniformity of doctrine and belief among Unitarians to-day than ever before. Christianity is regarded less as a special revelation from God and more as a manifestation of the one great religion."* The American Unitarian Association was organized at Boston, Mass., in 1825. The next, bearing distinctively the Unitarian name, was the Western Unitarian Conference, organized at Cincinnati, O., in 1852. The

* S. J. Barrows in "Concise Dictionary of Religious Knowledge," p. 934.

National Conference of Unitarian and other Christian churches was formed in New York city in 1865. Since the close of the Civil War (1861–65) no less than thirty conferences of churches of this denomination have been established in the country, and fifteen other organizations—educational, philanthropic, or missionary in character,—making nearly fifty associations which have sprung from the coöperative work of Unitarian churches (of which there are now about four hundred in the United States) in the last twenty-five years. There is a denominational theological school at Meadville, Pa.

It is confidently asserted that the "Book of Mormon," the basis of "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints," in the Territory of Utah, where the Mormons settled in 1847, is, in its authorship, the production of some divine of the "Disciple" persuasion—an adherent of Mr. Alexander Campbell, founder of the "Campbellites," who was born in Ireland in 1778 and died in West Virginia (U. S. A.) in 1866. But all authorities agree that Joseph Smith, of New York (1805–1844), Mormon founder and prophet, obtained possession of the book, September 22, 1827. The doctrine and covenants of this organization are to be found in the third Sacred Book of the Mormon Church. The marvels of its propagandism in various parts of the world have never been surpassed. Their results have demonstrated, among other things, however, that little can be accomplished by Mormon missionaries except in Protestant countries. England, Wales, Scotland, British India, Ceylon, British Guiana, the Cape of Good Hope, the West Indies, Canada, Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, Malta, Gibraltar, France, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Scandinavia, Ireland, Italy, Switzerland, Mexico, Chili, China and Siam, the Sandwich Islands, the Society Islands, and Jerusalem have all been the theatres for the labors of the courageous preachers of this sect. Its comparatively recent dismissal of the doctrine of polygamy from its revelations of the Divine Will, be it reality or pretense, strengthens the hope that this Protestant cancer is to be eliminated from the American body politic at no distant day. The population of the Territory, in 1890, was 207,905, and the Governor of Utah is authority for the statement that the proportion between Mormon and Gentile voters in the Territory was seven to five. This Gentile preponderance is another element which goes toward the solution of the Mormon problem. The "Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints," which had its first conference in 1852, and now has headquarters, with a large publishing house, at Lamoni, Ia., which at that conference disowned the leadership of the Mormon officials in Utah, must also help toward this issue. In 1890 it had a total membership in the United States of 21,773, in thirty-six States and three Territories, including that of Utah. It accepts three books as of divine origin: "First, the Bible; second, the Book of Mormon; third, the Book of Covenants. The latter consists of the revelations given to the Church in the present century as a guide in church government. The Book of Mormon is

accepted as a history of the ancient inhabitants of America and the revelation given them by God, beginning at a period 2000 years before Christ and continuing until 400 years after Christ. In doctrine they adhere to the Trinity, to the atonement by Jesus Christ, to the resurrection of the dead, to the second coming of Christ, and to the Eternal Judgment, believing that each individual will receive reward or punishment, in strict measure, according to the good or evil deeds done in life. They hold that men are to be saved by faith in God and Christ, by forsaking sin, by immersion for the remission of sin, and by the laying on of hands. They believe that revelations of God are still given by the Holy Spirit for the guidance of the Church, and that the gifts, blessings, and powers of the Holy Spirit in Bible times are continual. Their order of church government is such as they find authority for in the New Testament, and such as they understand that the apostolic Church observed. It includes the presidency, consisting, when full, of three persons, which is given jurisdiction over the whole Church as its chief presiding authority; twelve apostles, whose special duty is to take charge of all missionary work abroad; one or more quorums of seventy, who are set apart from the body of elders and assist the apostles; high priests who have charge over States and districts; priests or pastors, teachers and deacons and bishops, of whom three are set at the head of the business affairs of the Church. Other bishops and agents assist in collecting the tithes. As to marriage, they believe that it is ordained of God, and that there should be but one companion for man or woman in wedlock, until the contract is broken by death or transgression. They characterize the doctrine of polygamy, or plural wives, as an abomination." *

The reader who has carefully weighed the statements of this chapter must conclude that the growth of religious life which has marked the first two and a half centuries of history in the United States compels its own recognition by the student of that history, as imperatively as does the advancement of the country in any feature of its development. If, in the nature of the case, its successive phases have had less instant, and at times less startling impressiveness, they have not been the less real, less influential, or less susceptible of estimate. Religious sentiment, not to say religious principle, has a deeper hold upon the American people, to-day, than it has ever had. The Churches that are its exponents hold still more and wider power, and are always to be reckoned with in the administration of public affairs. The time has passed, if it ever existed, when public men in the United States venture, by policy or by measure, to affront, for long, this religious sense of their constituents. It is in place to add that, besides the growing persuasion of that absolute equality of

* From the Bulletin of Church Statistics, U. S. Census of 1890.

religious relations among individuals in the nation which was a principle in the genius of the old Hebrew Commonwealth, the three most significant aspects of American religious development, in 1892, are the accelerating progress of our Christian Churches toward catholicity of spirit,—their steadily awakening zeal in effort for the welfare of the poorer classes in society,—and the organized agency of woman in the religious and benevolent activities which are the charm and glory of our civilization.

PASSOVER SUPPER, AS OBSERVED BY THE JEWS IN NEW YORK IN 1892.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE PEOPLE UNDER NEW CONDITIONS.

ODERN democracy is often looked upon as something peculiarly secular, unreligious, or even irreligious in its origin. In truth, however, it has its origin in religious aspirations quite as much as modern art, or architecture, or literature. To the theology of Calvin, the founder of the Republic of Geneva, grafted upon the sturdy independence of English and Scotch middle classes, our American democracy owes its birth. James I well appreciated that the principles of uncompromising Protestantism were as incompatible with monarchy as with the hierarchy which they swept aside. Each man by this theology was brought into direct personal responsibility to his God, without the intervention of priest, bishop, or Pope, and without any allegiance to his king except so far as it agreed with his allegiance to the King of kings. Macaulay has struck this note of Puritan republicanism when he says that the Puritans regarded themselves as "Kings by the right of an earlier creation; priests by the interposition of an Almighty hand." As John Fiske says, James Stuart always treasured up in his memory the day when a Puritan preacher caught him by the sleeve and called him "God's silly vassal." "A Scotch Presbytery," he cried, "agreed as well with monarchy as God and the Devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure me and my council and all our proceedings!"

But the democracy which was founded in New England as the logical outcome of the religious principles for which the Puritans left Old England was not democracy as we know it to-day. The Puritans for the most part believed in divinely appointed rulers as much as the monarchs against whom they rebelled; but the divinely appointed rulers were the "elect of God"—those who believed as they did, and joined with their organizations to establish His kingdom on earth. For this reason we find the Massachusetts Colony as early as 1631 decided that "No man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." The government, in short, was simply a democratic theocracy, and

as the colony grew in numbers, the power came to be lodged in the hands of the minority. There were, however, among the clergy of Massachusetts men who believed in democracy as we understand it to-day. Alexander Johnson in his history of Connecticut says with truth that Thomas Hooker, who led from Massachusetts into Connecticut the colony which established itself at Hartford, laid down the principle upon which the American nation long generations after was to be established. When Governor Winthrop, in a letter to Hooker, defended the restriction of the suffrage on the ground that "the best part is always the least, and of that best part the wiser part is always the lesser," the learned and generous-hearted pastor replied: "In matters which concern the common good, a general council, chosen by all to transact business which concerns all, I conceive most suitable to rule, and most safe for relief of the whole." The principles of our republicanism were never better stated until Lincoln in his oration at Gettysburg made his appeal that this nation might be consecrated anew in the fulfillment of its mission, and that government "from the people, for the people, by the people," might not perish from the earth. Both Hooker and Lincoln had a supreme belief in the wisdom of the plain people in much of the matters which affect their own lives. The rank and file of the people have the surest instinct as to what will benefit or injure the rank and file of the people, and when upon them is placed the responsibility of determining what their government shall be, they are educated for self-government. In the colony which Thomas Hooker founded upon these principles there was found at the time of the Revolution more political wisdom, more genius for self-government, and more devotion to the patriotic cause than in any other of the thirteen colonies.

At the time of the Revolution, however, there was another democracy besides that of New England, which enabled the colonies successfully to resist the Government of George III. It was the democracy of the planters of the South. The democracy of the Southern colonies was not like that in New England, the democracy of collective self-government, but the democracy of individual self-government, or, rather, of individual self-assertion. In fact, it would hardly be too much to say that many of the Virginia planters who espoused so warmly and fought so bravely in the cause of liberty were not inspired by the spirit of democracy at all, but rather by the spirit of an aristocracy which could brook no control. These Southern planters were the aristocrats of the American Revolution. In New York city, and even in Boston and Philadelphia, the wealthiest merchants were strongly Tory in their sympathies. In New York it was affirmed by General Greene that two-thirds of the land belonged to men in sympathy with the English and out of sympathy with their fellow countrymen. In these cities it was the plain people and the poorer classes who furnished most of the uncompromising patriots, but in the South men of fortune risked

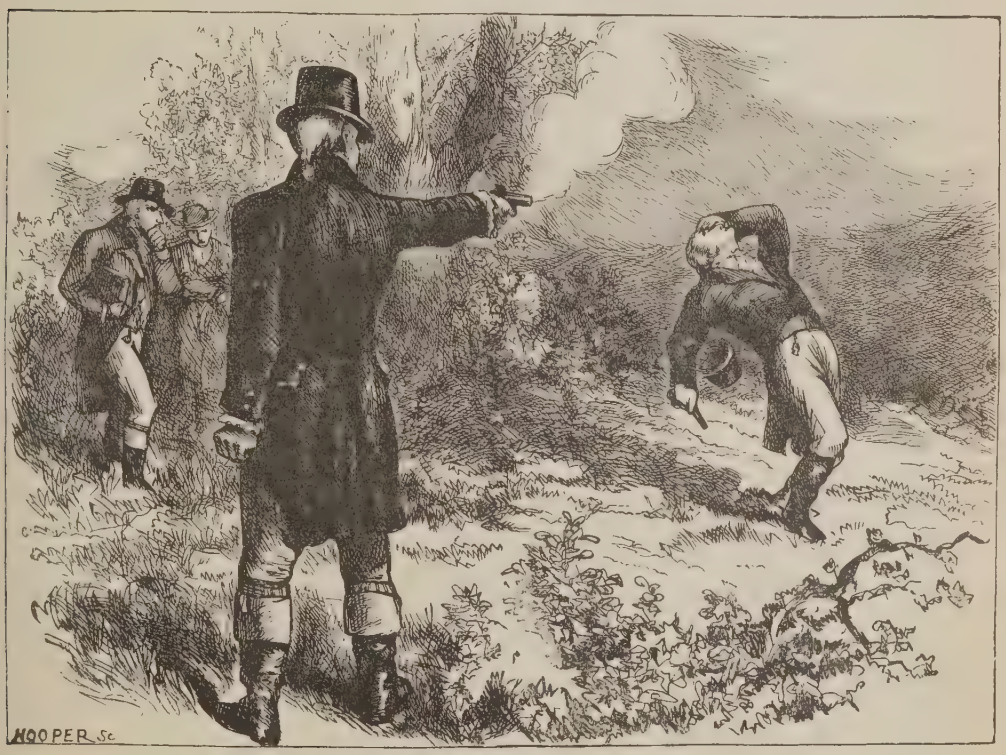
Remington
'87

their fortunes in the cause of independence. These men were slave owners, and the habit of mastery made them fiercely rebellious when George III attempted in any way to tyrannize over them. Many of them were the descendants of the English nobility, and as such they acknowledged no superiors. Naturally, then, in the struggle for liberty they furnished the leaders of the colonists, both North and South, and the agricultural classes, whether rich or poor, were naturally on the side of self-government, for their isolation had from the first compelled them to be self-governing.

Such, then, was American democracy at the outbreak of the Revolution. It had but one fundamental weakness—there was no external bond of union between the colonies to enable them to act in concert and vigorously. This was the point at which the democracies of ancient Greece had broken down, and the democracies of America seemed for a time in peril of sharing their fate. Each colony had been independent of its neighbors, and united with them only through their common allegiance to Great Britain. It must be remembered that in those days it was a seven days' journey from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, within the same Commonwealth, so that parts of a single colony were more widely separated than Massachusetts and California are to-day. There was but little commerce between them, and not for half a century were the iron ties of the railroads to begin to join them together. That colonies thus separated should have been able to join together and act as unitedly as they did, brings out better than anything else in history the superiority of the political genius of the Anglo-Saxon race to that of the ancient Greeks. Our colonists were able to look beyond their own neighborhoods, their own colonies, and see the common tie of common liberty and common interests which bound them together from Maine to Georgia. It was this tie of federation, which centuries of experience had ingrained upon the English-speaking peoples, which enabled the American colonists to win against a power far greater in comparison with their own than that with which Philip of Macedon destroyed the republics of Southern Greece.

Even during the War, however, the National spirit was not strongly enough developed to compel the individual colonies to bear the taxation necessary for the support of our armies. It was for this reason that the issuing of paper money was almost the one resource of the Continental Congress. When the War was over and the sense of common danger no longer held the colonies together, the American Nation seemed almost to have ceased to exist. The enactments of the Federal Congress were simply recommendations which each colony could accept or not as it pleased, and it rarely pleased. The evils due to this disintegration have generally been exaggerated in our popular histories, for the reason that our greatest weakness was at the point at which all other nations concentrated their greatest strength. The National army was reduced

to a corporal's guard, the National navy to nothing. Foreign powers refused to enter into treaties with us, because there was no central authority to which all of the States were bound to be subservient. When, however, we turn to the condition of the people in the various States, the prosperity of agriculture, and the growth of cities, there was no such National decay as the outer emblems of National power seemed to indicate. It was for this reason that when the Federal Constitution was proposed so large a part of the people in most of the States were slow to accept it. Its acceptance, however, was inevitable. With-



DUEL BETWEEN BURR AND HAMILTON.

out it we would not only have failed to preserve a solid front toward other nations, but were in danger of internal complications and even wars among ourselves. The different States had begun to enact legislation antagonistic to each other, and this of course always called forth prompt retaliation. The City of New York had already enacted that the farmers of Connecticut and New Jersey could not bring supplies into the New York market without the payment of a tax upon them, and the market boats from what is now Jersey City had to pay entrance fees and obtain clearances at the Custom House, just like ships

from London and Hamburg. Connecticut firewood could not be delivered to the householder in New York without the payment of a heavy duty. New Jersey and Connecticut were quick to resent the injustice and the injury, and the business men of New London agreed, under penalty of $250 for the first offence, not to send any goods whatever into New York for a period of one year; while New Jersey gave vent to its indignation by levying a tax of $1800 upon a small patch of ground on Sandy Hook on which the City of New York had built a light-house. Such bickerings as these were certain soon to have destroyed National spirit and to have resulted in giving us thirteen nations instead of one, and thirteen more or less hostile to each other and helpless in the presence of a foreign enemy. There was again danger that the democracies of this country would fall as did the democracies of Greece, but finally, through the sense of unity which came from a common mother country, common environment, common institutions, and now a common history, aided by the Anglo-Saxon genius for co-operation, a union was established under the Federal Constitution.

The first half century of our political history consisted rather in the development of the political rights of the individual citizen than of the loyalty which all owed to the American nation. Nothing is so difficult as to keep in mind that the government of the colonies at the close of the Revolution was not what it is to-day, and that democracy as we know it was regarded as the dream of theorists. Some of the members of the Federal Convention deeply distrusted the common people. Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, declared that "The people do not want suffrage, but are the dupes of pretended patriots," and those who were at all in sympathy with him prevented, as they imagined, the election of the President by the people themselves, and did prevent the election of the United States Senators by the people. Some of them were even opposed to the election of the House of Representatives directly by the people, but fortunately, even Hamilton sided with Madison and Mason, when they urged that our House of Commons ought to have at heart the rights and interests of every class of people, and be bound, by the manner of their election, to be the representatives of every class of people. But by "every class of people" the framers of the Constitution from the more conservative of the States meant simply every class of freeholders.

In Virginia none could vote except those who owned fifty acres of land. In New York, to vote for Governor or State Senator, a freehold worth $250 clear of mortgage was necessary, and to vote for Assemblymen a freehold of $50 or the payment of a yearly rent of $10 was necessary. Even Thomas Jefferson, who was the democratic philosopher of the Revolutionary period, did not strenuously insist that the suffrage must be universal, and it was not for a half century that it became universal, even among the whites. In the State of New York these restrictions existed until the adoption of the Constitution of 1821,

and even this Constitution merely reduced the privileges of land owners. Old Chancellor Kent, the author of "Kent's Commentaries," declared in this Convention that he would not "bow before the idol of universal suffrage," the theory which he said had "been regarded with terror by the wise men of every age," and whenever tried had brought "corruption, injustice, violence, and tyranny." "If universal suffrage were adopted," he declared, "posterity would deplore in sackcloth and ashes the delusion of the day." The horrors of the French Revolution were always held up by conservatives to show that the

EXECUTION OF HETHERINGTON AND BRACE AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE COMMITTEE, CALLED "FORT VIGILANCE."

[This building was also called "Fort Gunnybags," from the material of the breastworks in front of it. On the roof were cannon and sentinels, and the alarm bell of the committee.]

people could not be trusted, and the learned author of the "Commentaries," which every lawyer has pored over, saw in prophetic vision that, if universal suffrage should be adopted, "The radicals of England, with the force of that mighty engine, would sweep away the property, the laws, and the people of that island like a deluge." Not until between 1840 and 1850 did universal suffrage among the whites come to be accepted in the older States.

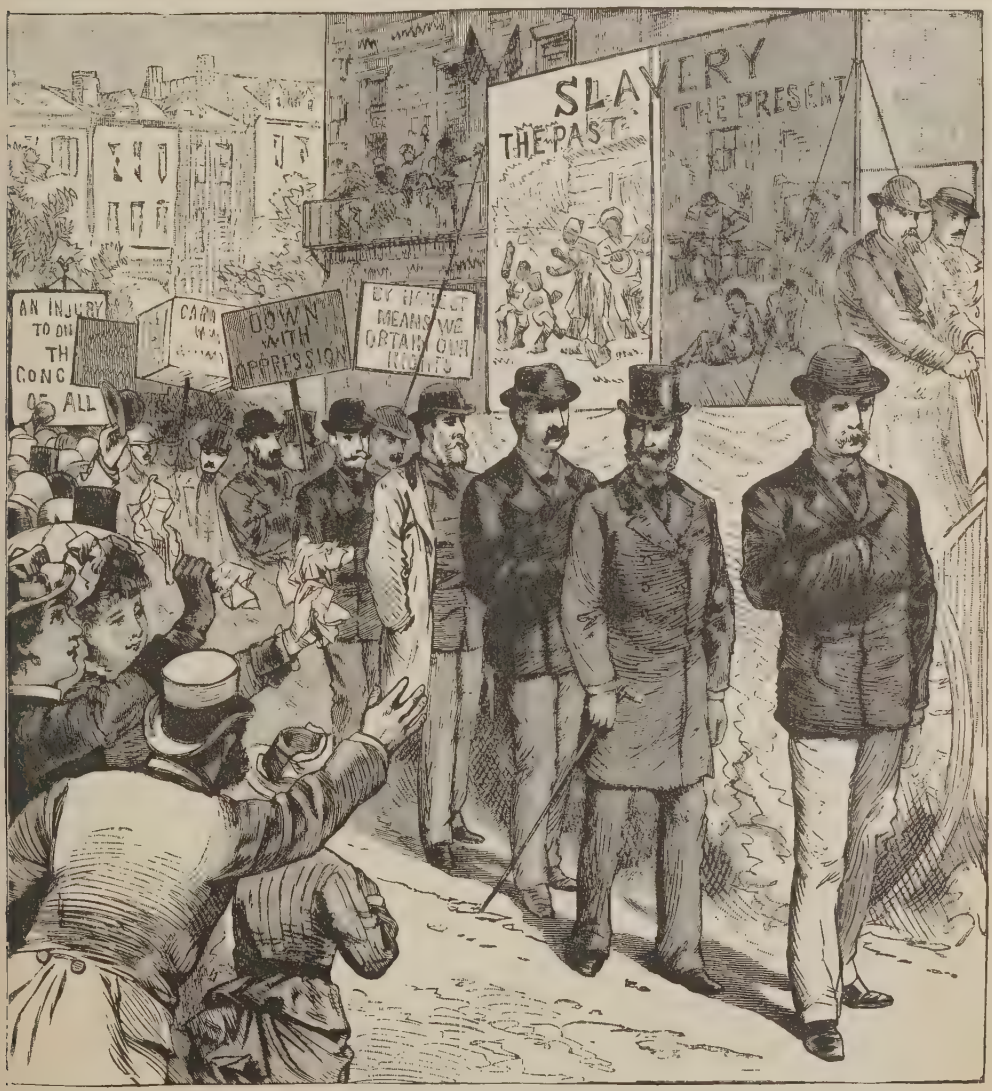
During the first half century of our history it was the Democratic party, the party of Jefferson, which was on the side of these extensions of popular rights.

The principle of this party was that each State ought to legislate for itself, with the least possible control from the central government; that each locality ought to have its freedom of local government extended; and that each individual should be self-governing, with the same rights and privileges for all. As regards foreign affairs, it was characterized by a "passion for peace," and an abiding hostility toward a costly army and navy. Jefferson believed that the way to avoid wars, and the way to be strong, should war become inevitable, was by the devotion of the people to productive industry, and not by burdening them to rival the powers of Europe in the strength of their armaments. In the year 1800, the party which rallied to his support—then called the Republican party, but generally spoken of as the Democratic party—triumphed over the Federalists.

In New England alone did Federalism remain strong at the close of Jefferson's first administration. In that section the calvinistic clergy, who had done so much for the establishment of American democracy, fought fiercely against its extension. Jefferson's followers demanded the separation of Church and State and the abolition of the religious qualifications for office-holding, which were then almost as general as property qualifications. He was known to be in sympathy with the French revolution, and was therefore denounced as a Jacobin, both in religion and in politics. We cannot wonder, therefore, that in the section in which the clergy were the real rulers, Jeffersonian democracy was regarded with hatred and contempt. Vermont alone, among the New England States, was from the first thoroughly democratic, and this was because in Vermont there was no established aristocracy, either of education or wealth. In Connecticut, which under clerical leadership had once been the stronghold of advanced democracy, we find President Dwight expressing a common sentiment, not only of the clergy but of the educated classes generally, when he declared that "the great object of Jacobinism, both in its political and moral revolution, is to destroy every trace of civilization in the world." "In the triumph of Jeffersonianism," he said, "we have now reached a consummation of democratic blessings; we have a country governed by blockheads and knaves."

But the ideas which in New England were at first received only by the poor and the ignorant, were in the very air which Americans breathed. The new States which were organized at the West were aggressively democratic from the outset. In the Northwest Territory the inequalities against which Jeffersonian democracy protested never gained a foothold. In this, which was made a State during Jefferson's first administration, the union of Church and State was not thought of, and no religious qualification whatever for the office of Governor was exacted. Property qualifications were almost as completely set aside. While in some of the older States the Governor had to possess £5000, and even £10,000, Ohio's Governor was simply required to be a resident and an

owner of land. As regards inheritances, the English law of primogeniture, which remained unaltered in some of the older States, and in New England generally took the form of a double portion to the oldest son, was completely



A LABOR STRIKE.

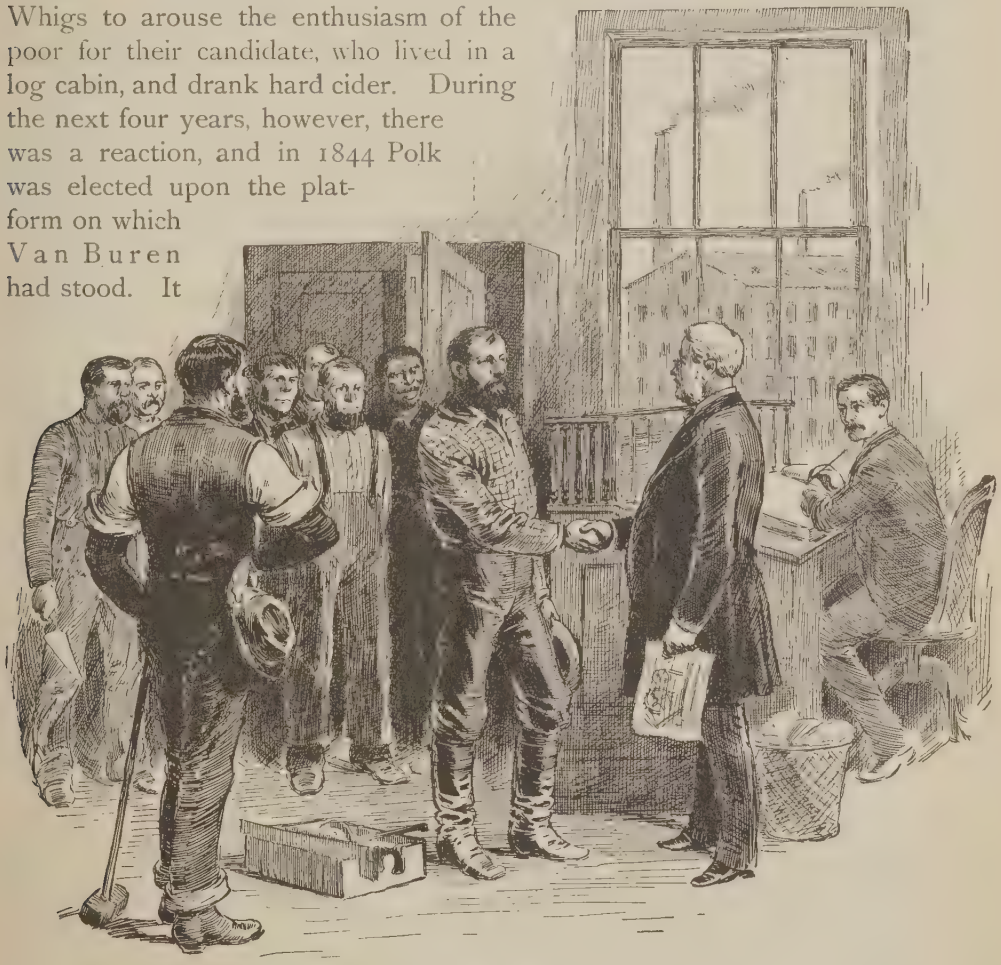
set aside, and all children of the same parents became entitled to the same rights. That Ohio thus led the way in the democratic advance was due to the fact that its constitution was framed when these ideas had already become

ascendant in the hearts of the people, and the failure of the clergy of New England was due to their trying to keep alive institutions which were the offspring of another age, and could not long survive it.

For its distrust of the new democracy New England Federalism paid heavily in the isolation, defeat, and destruction which shortly awaited it. When the new democratic administration had fully reduced Federal taxation and shown its capacity for government, the more liberal-minded of the Federalists went over to the Democrats. Even Massachusetts gave a majority for Jefferson in 1804, and when the extreme Federalists became more extreme through the loss of their Liberal contingent, and called the Hartford Convention, in 1808, Federalism died of its own excesses. The policy of the Democratic Administration toward England may not have been wise, but the proposal of secession in order to resist it made Federalism almost synonymous with toryism and disloyalty.

For a number of years after the war of 1812, there was really only one political party in the United States. In 1824, when the contest was so close between Jackson, Adams and Clay, each of these contestants was a "Democratic Republican," and it would have been hard to tell what questions of policy divided their followers, though Jackson's followers, as a rule, cared most for the extension of the political rights of the poorer classes, and cared least for the policy of protection which the war had made an important issue by cutting off commerce, and thus calling into being extensive manufacturing interests. That the followers of Clay finally voted for Adams may have been due to sympathy upon this question of the tariff. In 1828 something akin to party lines were drawn upon the question of the National Bank, and the victory of Jackson provoked the hostility of the masses toward that institution, which certainly enriched its stockholders to such an extent as to make them a favored class. The Tariff Act, passed in 1828, made the tariff question henceforth the dividing question in our national politics until slavery took its place. Most of the absolute free-traders were supporters of Jackson, but when South Carolina passed its Nullification Act as a protest against the "tariff of abominations," as it was called, President Jackson promptly declared that "the Union must and shall be preserved," and forced the recalcitrant State to renew its allegiance to the National Government. By the end of Jackson's administration there were again two distinct parties in the United States—the one advocating a high tariff and extensive National improvements by the Federal Government, and the other advocating a low tariff and the restriction of National expenditures to the lowest possible limit. The former party—the Whig—was, of course, in favor of a literal construction of the Constitution and the extension of powers to the National Government, while the latter advocated "strict construction" and "State rights."

Jackson belonged to the latter party, and in 1836 was able to transfer the succession to Van Buren. But in 1840 the Whigs swept the country, electing Harrison and Tyler, after the most picturesque campaign ever fought in America. All the financial ills from which the country was suffering were for the time attributed to Van Buren's economic policy, and his alleged extravagance at the White House enabled the Whigs to arouse the enthusiasm of the poor for their candidate, who lived in a log cabin, and drank hard cider. During the next four years, however, there was a reaction, and in 1844 Polk was elected upon the platform on which Van Buren had stood. It



ARBITRATION.

is true that in Pennsylvania the Democratic campaign cry was, "Polk, Dallas and the tariff of '42," which was a high tariff, but in most of the country Democracy meant "Free trade and Sailors' rights."

From this time on, the Whig party grew weaker and the Democratic party stronger. It is true that the Whigs elected General Taylor in 1848. The

revenue tariff law passed by the Democrats in 1846 was not changed until the still lower tariff of 1857 was enacted. In 1852 the Whig party was hardly stronger than the old Federalist party at the close of Jefferson's first term. But just as the Democratic party, became able to boast of its strength a new party came into being which adopted the principles of the free-soil wing of the old Democratic party, and in its second national campaign elected Abraham Lincoln to the presidency. In this readjustment of parties the pro-slavery Whigs went over to the Democrats and the anti-slavery Democrats went over to the Republicans. The bolting Democrats claimed, with truth, to follow the principles of their party from the time of Jefferson down, but the party as a whole followed the interests of its most powerful element instead of the principles of its founder. In the States from Ohio west, where upon economic questions the Democratic party had swept everything by increasing majorities since 1840, the bolting element was so great that all of these States were landed in the Republican column. One great Church—the Methodist—which before had been, as a rule, Democratic in politics now became solidly Republican.

As the war went on the Republican party became more and more loyally attached to the principles of liberty. It is events which educate, and the hard fight the slave owners made for the perpetuation of their institution educated the north to desire its abolition. The victory of the Secessionists at Bull Run turned out to be their greatest calamity. Had they been defeated there the Union would have been restored and slavery maintained.

In emancipating the slaves, Lincoln, as he himself said, did not "claim to have controlled events, but to have been controlled by them." It was impossible to put down the rebellion without emancipating the slaves, and therefore they were emancipated. When the slaves had been given liberty, they were given the ballot with which to maintain it. The immediate results of this are still the subject of hot contention, but no one who has watched the eagerness of the southern negro for education, nor the liberality with which the southern whites are now furnishing it, can fail to recognize that the possession of the ballot has been a protection to the negroes, and a source of advancement in all things which fit men for citizenship.

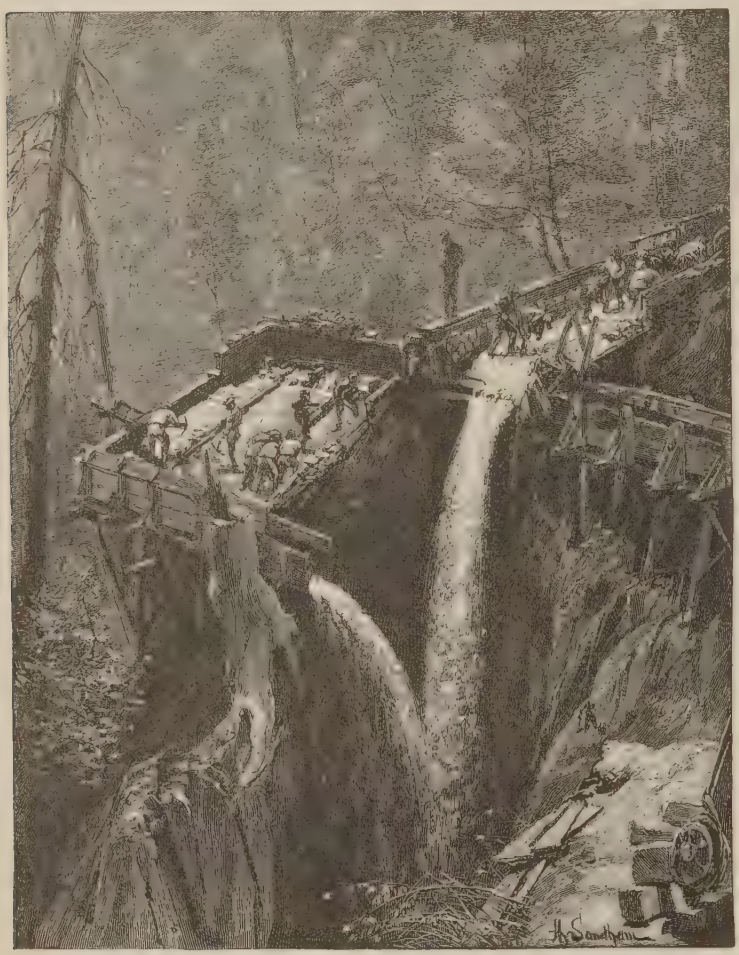
The history of American politics up to the time of the introduction of the new economic questions by the labor unions in the East, and the farmer's unions in the West and South, has been the history of the gradual extension of political rights. The Federalist party gave us the Constitution ; the old Democratic party gave us white manhood suffrage ; the Republican party gave us universal suffrage. The glory of America's past is that she has been continually progressing ; that she has proven to the world the capacity of the whole people for self-government.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GOLD AND SILVER MINING.

HE epoch of adventure which Bret Harte has exhibited through the stained glass of his romances, is not less full of color when seen through the clear air of history. In fact, it has more color, for there is less monotony of hue. California was the scene of daring and often grotesque adventure even before the discovery of gold. The explorations of Lieutenant Fremont, described by him in a vividly truthful report which called the attention of the nation to this new land, will do as much for the enduring fame of "The Pathfinder" as his leadership of the Republican party in its first great national campaign. These explorations made the possession of California a point most worth fighting for in the war with Mexico. The methods by which we obtained it were not entirely consistent with our boasted character as the most just and peace-loving nation of the world; but the part played in it by the American pioneers who settled in California exhibits our strongest national traits, both good and bad, in a scene half heroic, half comic, which will never be forgotten. The American pioneers though far outnumbered by the Spaniards, found not the slightest difficulty in overthrowing their rulers and establishing the Bear-flag Republic. In the words of Dr. Semple, one of their leaders, they "borrowed" supplies on the faith of the Bear-flag Government, assured that "their children in generations yet to come will look back with pleasure upon the commencement of a revolution carried on by their fathers upon principles high and holy as the laws of eternal justice." Another of the leaders of the revolutionists crowded the citizens of the captured town of Sonora between the four walls of their "calaboose," and there read to them a proclamation explaining that "though he had for the moment deprived them of the liberty which is the right and privilege of all good and just men, it was only that they might become acquainted with his unalterable purpose to establish a government based upon the common rights of all men." All their proceedings, however, were brimful of the American spirit, and showed how the pioneers were inspired by a purpose which made a handful of them more than a match for the organized forces in guard of the Mexican province. The conquest of

California in this war simply prevented the peaceful annexation of the territory to our nation a year or so later. The American pioneers who poured in and developed the country had the might and the right to govern it, and the nation gained nothing which its children prize by violating its best instincts in acting the part of a bully toward our weaker Southern neighbor.



CLEARING UP UNDER-CURRENTS.

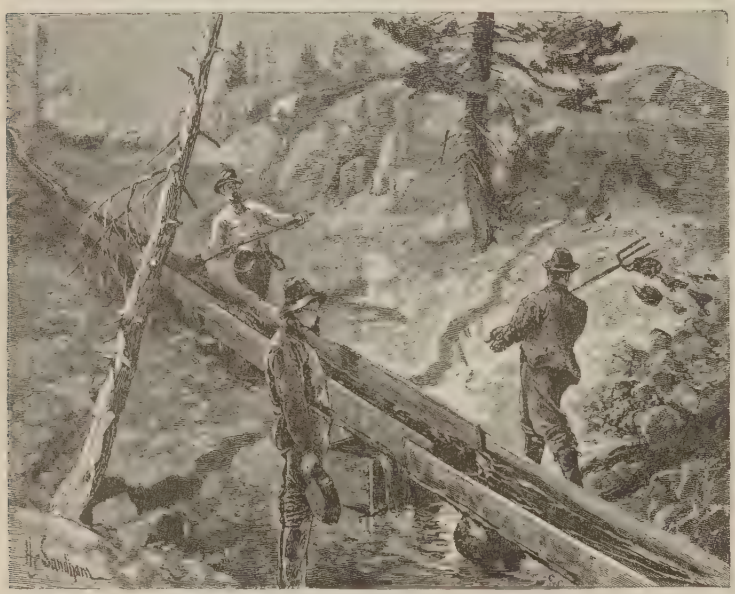
With the discovery of gold, however, California suddenly became a theatre toward which the eyes of the whole world were turned. The discovery was made by James Wilson Marshal, in January, 1848. Marshal had been employed to construct a mill on the estate of a hundred square miles which General John A. Sutter had received as a grant from the Spanish Government. Sutter's demesne had been the centre of the American colonies in California. General Sutter himself, a Swiss by birth, was a generous-minded visionary, who had shown himself so hospitable to all American immigrants, that he had attained to a certain pre-eminence in the affairs of the Territory, and was looked upon by many as a great and heroic figure. Up to the time of the discovery of gold upon his land, his fortunes had steadily mounted upward; from that time they went down, down. Marshal was an American by birth, born in a country town

in New Jersey. He, too, was a courageous and kindly visionary, though sometimes he was aroused from his accustomed dreaminess into fierce action. His fortunes also became worse after his great discovery, and during his later life he was somewhat embittered by what he believed to be the injustice and neglect of his countrymen. "The enterprising energy of which the orators and editors of California's early golden days boasted so much, as belonging to Yankeedom," he wrote in 1857, "was not national but individual. Of the profits derived from the enterprise, it stands thus: Yankeedom, $600,000,000; myself, individually, $000,000,000. Ask the records of the country for the reason why. They will answer; I need not. Were I an Englishman, and had made my discovery on English soil, the case would have been different." For this last statement Marshal had some reason, for the discoverer of gold in Australia, whom Marshal claimed to have directed thither, received from the British Government, $25,000, and from the Australian Government, $50,000, while Marshal received nothing.

So much for the discoverer. Now for the discovery. It took place on the afternoon of the 24th of January, just after Sutter's mill had been completed, and Marshal and his men had made a perilous fight for two weeks to keep the dam from being destroyed by the heavy rains which had set in. In this contest with the water Marshal had exhibited a courage which made him half deserve the accidental fame that came through the finding of the gold. When his men were exhibiting to some amazed Indians the workings of their new saw-mill, Marshal was inspecting the lower end of the mill-race. He came back with the quiet remark, "Boys, I believe I have found a gold mine." He moved off to his cabin, went back to the race, and then again returned to his men, directing them early in the morning to shut down the head-gate and see what would come of it. The next morning the men did as they were told, and presently Marshal came back looking wonderfully pleased, carrying in his arms his old white hat, in the top of whose crown, sure enough, lay flakes and grains of the precious metal. Comparing these pieces with a gold coin one of the men happened to have in his pocket, they saw that the coin was a little lighter in color, and rightly attributed this to the presence of the alloy. Then all the men hurried down the race, and were soon engrossed in picking gold from the seams and crevices laid bare by the shutting down of the head-gate. In the midst of their excitement doubts would sometimes arise, and some of the metal was thrown into vinegar and some boiled in the soap-kettle, to see if it stood these tests. Then Marshal went off to General Sutter, and feverish with excitement, told him of what had come to light. When he returned to the men he said, "O boys, it's the pure stuff! I and the old Cap went into a room and locked ourselves up, and we were half a day trying it, and the regulars there wondered what the devil was up. They thought perhaps I had found quicksilver, as the woman did down toward Monterey. Well, we compared it with the encyclopedia, and it

agreed with it; we tried aqua fortis, but it would have nothing to do with it. Then we weighed it in water; we took scales with silver coins in one side, balanced with the dust in the other, and gently let them down into a basin of water; and the gold went down, and the silver came up. That told the story, what it was."

That did tell the story, and though Sutter tried to keep the story a secret until all the work in connection with the mills had been finished, the story would not keep. A Swiss teamster learned it from a woman who did some of the cooking about the mill, received a little of the gold, spent it for liquor at the nearest store, and then the fame of the discovery swiftly flew to the ends of the earth. General Sutter had been right in his endeavor to keep the discovery secret as long as was within his power, for no sooner did the gold hunters' invasion set in than it became impossible for him to get men to work the mill which he had constructed. The invaders carried things with a high hand, and ended by setting aside his title to his land and establishing the claims which they had made upon it. Never was money made with anything like such rapidity. Nearly every ravine contained gold in some quantity or other. Nobody waited to get machinery to begin work. Knives, picks, shovels, sticks, tin pans, wooden bowls, wicker baskets, were the only implements needed for scraping the rocky beds, sifting the sand, or washing the dirt for the gold. A letter in the New York *Journal of Commerce*, toward the end of August, says of the hunt for gold: "At present the people are running over the country and picking it out of the earth here and there, just as dogs and hogs let loose in the forest would root up ground-nuts. Some get even ten ounces a day, and the least active one or two. They make most who employ the wild Indians to hunt it for them. There is one man who has sixty



THE SLUICE.

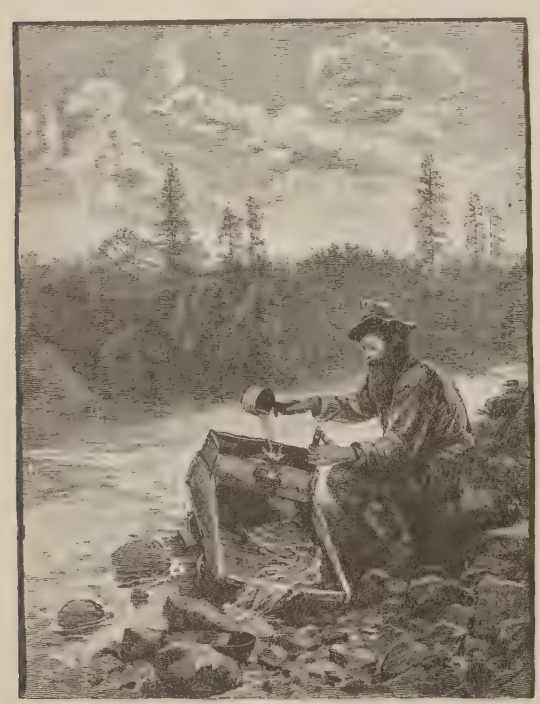
Indians under his employ. His profits are a dollar a minute. The wild Indians know nothing of its value, and wonder what the pale-faces want to do with it, and they will give an ounce of it for the same weight of coin silver or a thimbleful of glass beads or a glass of grog, and white men, themselves, often give an ounce of it, which is worth in our mint $18 or more, for a bottle of brandy, a bottle of soda powders, or a plug of tobacco."

This newspaper writer had indeed some of the Munchausen qualities that his fellow craftsmen have nowadays, and his opportunities for exaggeration were increased by the remoteness of the scene and the inaccessibility of accurate information. California in those days was another part of the world. The journey to it overland took weeks, and even months, and was full of perils of starvation in case of storm and drought, and perils of slaughter if camps of hostile Indians were encountered. When things went well the life was pleasant enough, and is still most picturesque to look back upon. The buffalo hunts, the meetings with Indians, the kindling of the camp-fires at the centre of the great circle of wagons drawn up so as to form a bulwark against attack and a corral for the cattle, the story-telling in the light of these camp-fires—all present a picture which men will love to dwell upon so long as the memory of the Argonauts survives. But there were many times when the scenes were those of heart-sickening desolation. The attacks of the Indians were less horrible than attacks of hunger and disease which set in when the emigrant train reached a territory where the grass had been consumed, or lost their cattle in the terrible snow storms of the Sierras.

The journey by sea was hardly safer and was far less glorious. Every ship for California was loaded down with emigrants packed together as closely as so much baggage. Ships with a capacity for five hundred would crowd in fifteen hundred. The passage money was from $300 to $600. Often the ships were unseaworthy, often packed with coal in such a way that fires broke out. Against these dangers the passengers could not provide themselves and could not fight. The companies that were able to get their ships back again simply coined money, but it was no easy matter in those days to get a ship out of San Francisco harbor. The crews would instantly desert for the mines, and the wharves were lined with rotting vessels. The vessels which did make the return voyage were compelled to pay the California rate of wages. One ship in which the commander, engaged at New York, received $250 a month, had to pay on return $500 a month to the negro cook.

San Francisco in these days was the strangest place in the world. In February, 1848, it had hardly more than fifty houses; in August it contained five hundred, and had a large population that was not housed. A pamphlet written in the fall of that year says: "From eight to ten thousand inhabitants may be afloat in the streets of San Francisco; many live in shanties, many in

tents, and many the best way they can." The best building in the town was the Parker House, an ordinary frame structure, a part of which was rented to gamblers for $60,000 a year. Even a higher sum than this was said, by Bayard Taylor, to have been paid. The accommodation was fearful. The worst that can be said of bad hotels may here be imagined. The pasteboard houses, hastily put up, were rented at far more than the cost of their construction, for every one figured that the land was as valuable as if it had been solid gold. A correspondent of the New York *Evening Post*, in November, 1849, pictures in this way the land owners in San Francisco: "The people of San Francisco are mad, stark mad. A dozen times, in my work of the last four weeks, have I been taken by the arm by some of the millionaires—so they call themselves, I call them madmen—of San Francisco, looking wondrously dirty and out-at-elbows for men of such magnificent pretensions. They have dragged me about through the mud and filth almost up to my middle, from one pine-box to another, called mansions, hotels, banks, and stores, as it may please the imagination, and have told me, with a sincerity that would have done credit to a Bedlamite, that these splendid structures were theirs, and they, the fortunate proprietors, were worth from three to four hundred thousand dollars a year each. . . . There must be nearly two thousand houses besides the tents, which are still spread in numbers. . . . And what do you suppose to be the value, the yearly rental, of this card-house city? Not less, it is said, than twelve millions of dollars, and this with a population of about twelve thousand. New York, with its five hundred thousand inhabitants, does not give a rental of much more than this, if as much."



THE CRADLE.

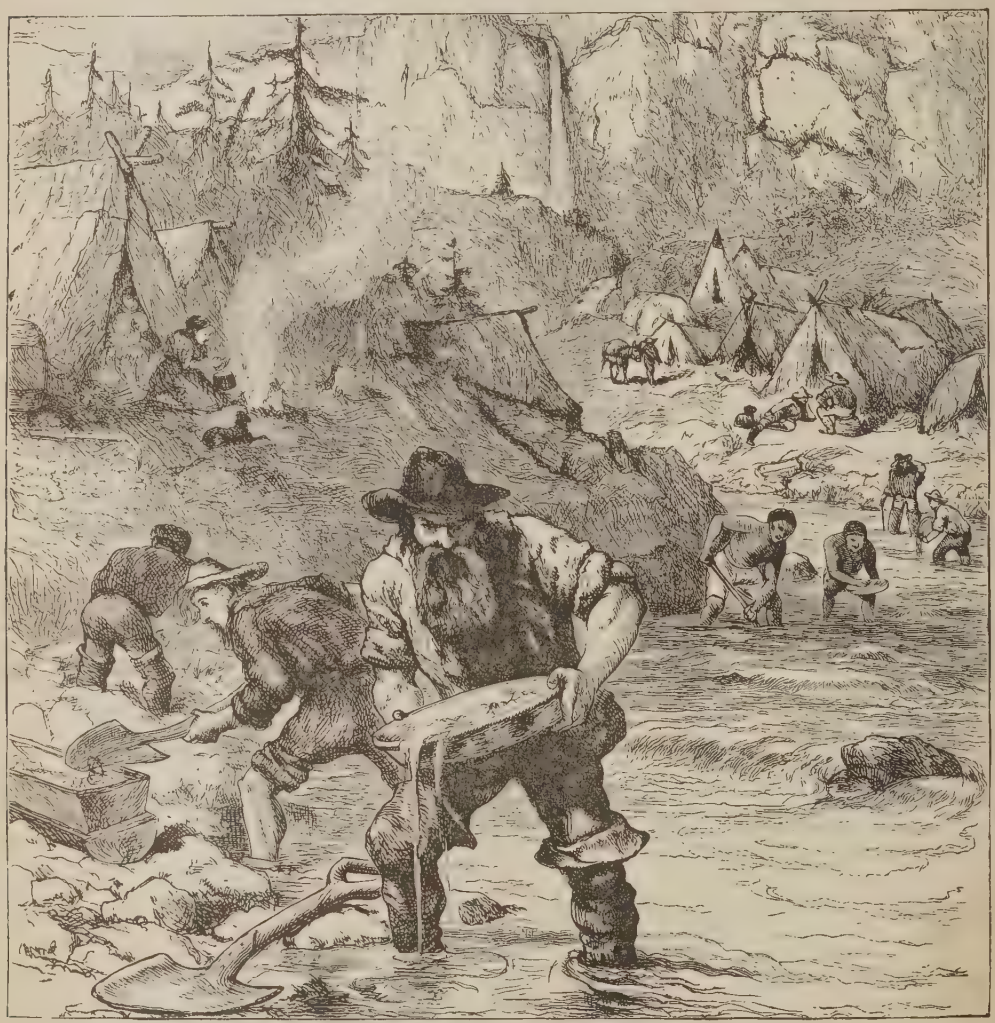
The greater part of this city was five times destroyed by fire in the first three years of its existence, but the people, with a hopefulness and energy which nothing could put down or burn up, would set to work and rebuild it, almost as quickly as the flames had swept it away. Everybody worked. The poorest

man received unheard-of wages, and the richest man was obliged to do most things for himself.

When business of every sort was speculative to a degree so close akin to gambling, it is not strange that gambling itself took possession of the people and half frenzied them with its excitements. Physical insanity was a frequent result of the moral insanity of the community. There were few women in California, and most of these were of the worst sort. As a consequence, the men with no homes to go to in the evenings went into the gambling saloons, where they stayed till late at night. According to some descriptions, everybody gambled, but, as Royce points out in his admirable "History of California," the same men who talk half-boastfully of the recklessness and universality of the gambling, within the next breath speak with great fervor of the strength and genuineness of the religious life which soon showed itself in the community. There is no doubt that the forces for good as well as for evil were strong from the outset, and as the community grew older the forces for good kept growing stronger. More and more wives from the East had joined their husbands, and the young women who came from the East among the emigrants were married almost immediately on their arrival. Many a hotel keeper who engaged a servant girl at $200 a month, was disgusted to find that she married and left him before the month was over. With the introduction of family life came a return to saner moral conditions, and by 1853 the old distempered social order began to be spoken of as a thing of the past.

The great discovery of silver took place about ten years after the discovery of gold. In 1857 Allen and Hosea Grosch, two educated and serious-minded young men, from Reading, Pennsylvania, came upon the rich vein of silver afterward famous as "The Great Bonanza." These discoverers were even less fortunate than those who found gold in California. Before they could get together the capital necessary for the development of this mine, one of them struck a pick into his foot and died from blood-poisoning, while the other was caught in a terrible snow storm, and died as the result of the freezing of his legs, which he would not have amputated. These young men left papers describing their discovery in their cabin, which was placed in the charge of Henry C. T. Comstock. The descriptions were not explicit enough to determine the exact location, but Comstock remained in the cañon keeping watch upon the prospectors. During this time, by his constant watchfulness for a great discovery, he obtained the title of "Old Pancake" among the miners, because, as Wright narrates in his "Great Bonanza," "Even as he stirred his pancake batter it is said he kept one eye on the head of some distant peak, and was lost in speculation in regard to the wealth of gold and silver that might rest somewhere beneath its rocky crest." At last on the 10th of June, 1859, two prospectors named McLaughlin and O'Riley came upon a stratum of

strange-looking earth, the nature of which they did not understand. Comstock, who was immediately on the spot, exclaimed, "You've struck it, boys!" An arrangement was at once made to buy off the owners of the claims on which the vein was located. Three of the four owners were bought off for fifty dollars



GOLD-WASHING IN CALIFORNIA.

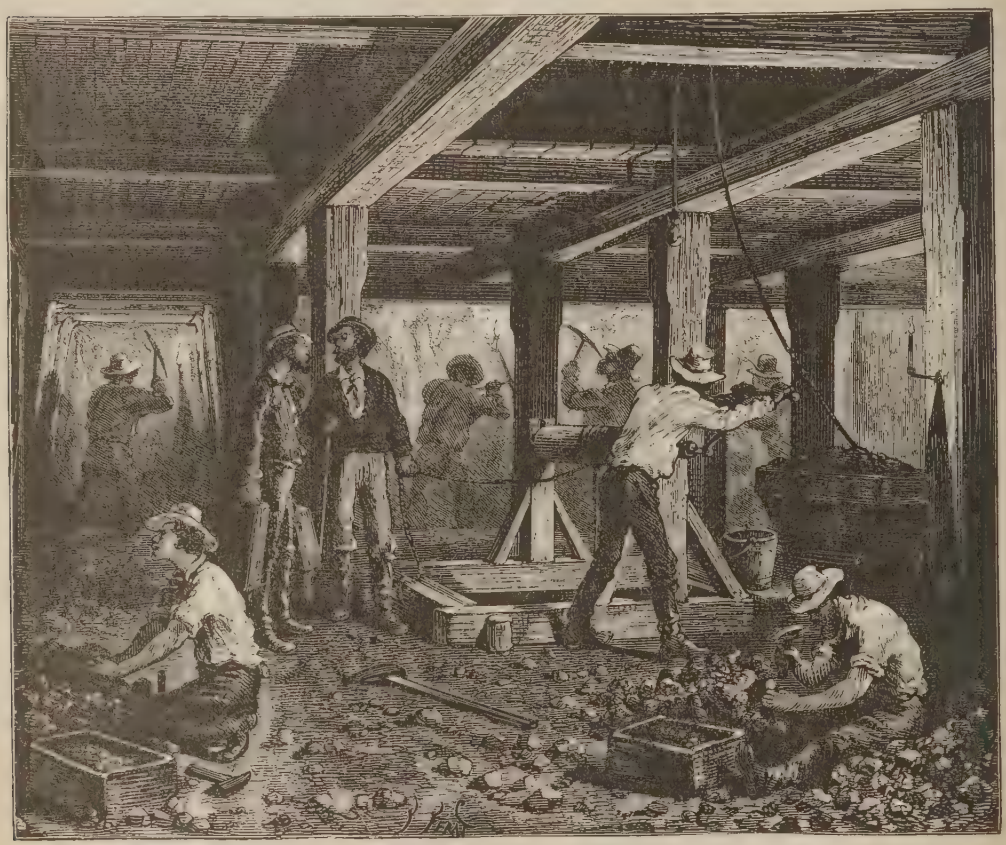
apiece; the fourth sold at some higher figure to another miner named Winters, who obtained some inkling of the value of the claim.

A firm was formed, consisting of Comstock, McLaughlin, O'Riley, Winters, and a man named Penrod, who had been one of Comstock's two partners in

the ownership of a spring necessary to the working of a mine. A third owner of this spring, called "Old Virginia," for whom Virginia City was named, was persuaded to sell his interest for an old blind horse. The new firm began the mining of silver on what came to be called the "Comstock lode." Very soon, however, they sold out to men of larger capital, who in turn sold to Mackay and Fair, famous the world over among America's millionaires. The subsequent fortunes of the firm which Comstock formed are interesting to follow, as they again illustrate the fate which came upon most of the men who brought to light the hidden mineral treasures of the Western territory. Comstock sold his interest for $11,000, became a merchant in Carson City, married the deserting wife of a Mormon, was soon in his turn deserted by her, failed in his business adventure, and ended his life by suicide. McLaughlin sold his interest at $3500, soon spent what he received, and afterward became a cook in a mine in California. Penrod and Winters were also soon poor men, while O'Riley, the last to sell, engaged in stock gambling with the $40,000 he received, was soon forced to resort to pick and pan for a living, and ended his life in a private asylum. The great fortunes, as has been said, were made by the later comers. Those who bought the mine from the original firm lost most that they made in litigation. Senator Stewart used to receive annually as much as $200,000 in fees as the principal attorney of some of the Comstock companies. He estimated the cost of litigation up to January, 1866, at $10,000,000. When the Comstock mines finally came into the hands of Fair, Mackay, and O'Brien, scientific methods were introduced, and the stock of the "Consolidated Virginia" rapidly rose from $85 a share in January, 1874, to $700 a share in January, 1875. The shares in another mine in the same lode rose to a like figure, and the two together had a market value of $160,000,000. During five years these mines produced over $100,000,000 worth of silver. After 1878 their product fell gradually, and the price of the stock went down. Bancroft, in his "History of Nevada," says that down to January 1, 1881, $306,000,000 worth of silver bullion was extracted from the Comstock lode. Yet he doubts whether that mountain of silver has proven a permanent advantage to Nevada. The wealth which came from her mines, he says, was to a large degree squandered by gamblers in New York and Paris, and used for purposes of political bribery and social corruption in Virginia City and San Francisco. The wealth that exists in Nevada to-day has come from improvements made by the people who came and developed the farms, made the roads, established the systems of irrigation, and built the stores, the factories, and the homes.

With the introduction of scientific mining, requiring mills and machinery costing vast sums of money, the wage system took the place of the free and independent mining of the earlier days. It is true that the mine laborers still remained their own masters, by organizing as workmen were never organized

before, and compelling mine owners, for years, to pay four dollars a day as the minimum day's wages. But the mining life which came in with the wage system is the orderly life of to-day, not essentially different from that of Eastern communities. The life in the mining camps, to which all romances go back, was the life that prevailed when every laborer was his own capitalist, and every capitalist his own laborer. Never were so many men from so many places suddenly



AT WORK IN THE SILVER MINES OF NEVADA.

thrown together, as in California in '48 and '49. What came afterward in Nevada, and later still in Colorado, was like it in kind but not in degree. The Californians of the early days were without law, and thousands of miles away from established tribunals. Every man was a law unto himself, except when the community, as a whole, became aroused, and constituted itself a tribunal. The Territory was indeed nominally organized, but to wait for the regular process of law was to grant immunity to crime. The character of "miners'

justice" may be illustrated by some of the scenes at Sonora, where gold was first discovered. Here there had been law and order previous to the miners' invasion, but with the invasion demoralization set in. In the fall of '48 the newcomers, following the Mexican fashion, elected two Alcaldes, but when one of the storekeepers at the settlement killed a man in a fight, both the officers promptly resigned rather than run the risk of arresting the homicide. Another storekeeper, however, called the people together to take action. This storekeeper was promptly elected Alcalde, and it was decided that one Alcalde was enough. A Prosecuting Attorney was likewise required, but no one was ready to take the office, and each person nominated promptly declined and nominated some one else. Finally the energetic storekeeper was obliged to accept this office also. The meeting succeeded in finding a second man to take the office of Sheriff. The offender was arrested, a jury impaneled, and the trial begun. The prisoner, on being brought in court, was requested to lay his arms on the table, and did so. On this table stood a plentiful supply of brandy and water, to which everybody in the court-room helped himself at pleasure. The trial, however, proceeded with much attempt at legal form, and presently the Judge arose and began a plea for the prosecution. "Hold on, Brannan," said the prisoner, "you are the Judge." "I know it," replied that official, "and I am Prosecuting Attorney, too." He went on with his speech, and ended it by an appeal to himself as Judge in connection with the jury. When he had finished, the prisoner, after helping himself to a glass of brandy, made an able speech in his own defense. Night came on and the jury scattered without bringing in a verdict. The prisoner was admitted to bail, because there was no prison to put him in. The next day the jury met, but disagreed about the verdict. A new trial was held and the prisoner acquitted.

In most of the mining camps the administration of justice fell into the hands of the Vigilance Committees. A great many wild stories have been written about the trials they held, and story writers have been fond of depicting scenes where a higher form of justice was carried out than the conventional trials in older communities permit. There were, indeed, occasions when sudden and powerful appeals to the emotions of the Committee produced sudden and good effects, but as a rule the hearts of the Committee were no more open than their reasons. That they had assembled at all usually meant that there had been an accumulation of wrongs unpunished, and the gathered indignation of the community vented itself upon the single individual who happened to be brought to trial. Miners' justice was indeed far better than lynch law. As Shinn has pointed out in his book on "Mining Camps": "Lynch law is carried out at night by a transient mob, which keeps no records, conceals the names of its ministers, and is in its essence disorderly. Miners' justice, on the other hand, was executed in broad daylight, by men well known, who gave the prisoner a hearing, and kept a careful record

of their doings." Yet, in spite of this, the assembling of the Committee was so irregular, its constituency so doubtful, its verdicts either so ferocious or so inadequate, or both—as when the favorite penalty of flogging and banishment was imposed—that the establishment of regular tribunals was in every respect an important gain to the mining communities. This change took place about the time that scientific mining was introduced, with regular pay for regular work. Before that time California, both as regards the rewards of labor and the punishment of crime, had seemed a world ruled by chance.

WASHINGTON'S GRAVE.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Problem of Our National Currency.

BY HON. JOHN SHERMAN,
Ex-Secretary of the Treasury.

Its History and Evolution.

BY HON. J. K. UPTON,
First Assistant Secretary of Treasury under Sherman, Windom, and Folger.

Money, as used to effect the exchange of commodities, is the greatest labor-saving machine ever invented by man. Without money wealth might exist, but it would bring to the possessor but few comforts. This commercial contrivance is, however, of no recent origin, for we read that in the days of the Patriarchs Abraham used money to pay for the cave of Machpelah, in which to bury his dead. The story of that transaction is a significant one, showing at what an early date mankind adopted the use of money. Abraham was at the head of a nomadic tribe encamped among the simple people of Hebron, who looked upon him as a mighty prince. Upon the death of his wife he naturally desired to give her a sepulture worthy of his rank and position. Word was therefore sent out that he wished to purchase a lot of ground for such a purpose, preferring the cave of Machpelah, for which he would pay a proper amount of money. Ephron, the owner of the cave, declared that it was worth four hundred shekels of silver, and Abraham therefore weighed them out to him, as "current money among the merchants," and in return received his title to the cave, the boundaries and transfer duly witnessed.

HON. JOHN SHERMAN.

In this transaction are found in effect all the form and methods employed for a like transaction to-day, except that the weighing of the money at the time of the transfer is obviated by the metal having been previously converted into disks of known and uniform weight.

But for the general use of money to effect such changes of property Ephron could hardly have found terms in which to express the value of his cave, and Abraham could hardly have paid for it, unless Ephron would have accepted therefor a portion of his flocks, which, though valuable to Abraham, might not have been needed by Ephron, and he might have found trouble in exchanging them for what he did need, as only for "current money" would the merchants surely part with their goods.

That silver, out of all the products of the earth and sea, had already been selected for use as money, is especially creditable to the commercial acuteness of these ancient people. A search of three thousand years since made has found no better commodity for that purpose. In recent years it has been supplemented by the use of gold, a metal possessing for money most of the qualities of silver, and its higher value in relation to its weight renders it more serviceable, perhaps, in transactions involving large amounts. Upon one or the other of these metals the commercial exchanges of the world have been effected for centuries, and in the terms of their weight all values of property have come to be expressed. When we say an article is worth so many dollars, pounds, or francs, we only mean that it can be exchanged for so many pieces of gold or silver, the weight of the pieces being known, fixed, and uniform.

The experiment of using other commodities for money has, however, often been tried. At different times and in various places, hand-made nails, the shells of clams, tail feathers of birds, skins of animals, cattle, corn and tobacco, and nearly all the products of the field and the chase have been used as money, but their tendency to decay or their inability to withstand the attrition of circulation have soon rendered them worthless, though in some cases they served well the exigencies which brought them into such use.

Promises to pay certain specified amounts of money on demand have also been issued in recent years for money, both by the State and by private corporations, and though only of paper, have served a valuable auxiliary as long as the promises were promptly redeemed in money. The ancients had none of this so-called paper money, perhaps because they had no paper, but they closely approximated the use of representative money when they cut out from the skin of an animal an irregularly outlined piece and paid it out at the value of the skin itself, with the understanding that the holder could at any time obtain the skin therefor, provided that upon presentation for that purpose the piece was found to fit the hole from which it was taken.

The use of checks in business, the offsetting of credits against each other

through the agency of banks and clearing-houses in the centres of trade, have, to a certain extent, relieved money from a portion of its duties; but financial transactions of every kind are based upon a money standard, and resulting balances paid only by money itself.

The natural functions of money, of whatever character it consists, are, therefore, to aid in the transfer of property from one party to another, and to furnish a common standard in which all values may be expressed.

The State, however, not content with using money for the simple purposes mentioned, has brought it into politics and clothed it with a new function by which it can satisfy a contract with less than the amount called for, or with a new kind of money not contemplated in the contract. This extraordinary endowment is known as the legal tender quality, and it is only effective when backed by the power of the State. Under this illogical and unnatural acquisition forced upon it by law, money springs into prominence as a political factor, and begins to have a history, or rather to create one.

From this new legal-tender function three projects have sprung by which money, heretofore an impartial factor in the transfer of property, becomes an aggressive agent by which the most sacred rights of a man to his own accumulations have been destroyed.

These projects may be classified as follows:—

1st. To retain the name of the coin, but to take from it a portion of its value, the reduced piece to be equally available in payment of a debt, known as debasing the coinage.

2d. To issue paper promises-to-pay, of certain amounts, the issue to be a full satisfaction for all debts to the amount of its face, known as inflation.

3d. To substitute, at a rate fixed by law, one metal for another, and to give the creditor the option of paying his debts in either, known as bi-metalism.

A monetary history of any country is mainly but a recount of the operations of money as a legal tender, for money left to natural laws has no history, no more than has the ceaseless flow of a river or the rise and fall of the tide.

In the days of Abraham, with no legal-tender quality, money did its work silently and faithfully, unrestricted by legislation, and we know of its existence only incidentally. To the laws of this country that have intervened to check and misdirect its operations is due the history which this article will relate.

Debasing the Coinage.—The early settlers of this country, coming from England, were accustomed to reckon values in pounds, shillings, and pence, and to use the shillings of that country as current money. These pieces have a history worthy to be related: William I, the Norman King, placed in the Tower a bar of silver $\frac{11}{12}$ fine, containing $\frac{3}{4}$ of an ounce troy more than the troy pound of 5760 grains, and declared it to be the standard, both of weights and

values, for his newly acquired realm. As a standard of value, this Tower pound was divided into 240 parts, each part to be known as a penny, and for many years only pennies were coined; but as trade increased, out of the pound were coined twenty pieces known as shillings, each necessarily containing twelve pence. As a standard of weight, the same pound was also divided into 240 parts, each part to be known as a pennyweight, being of the same weight as a penny; but for some reason the relation of weight and value was then abandoned, and the pound was divided into twelve parts, to be known as ounces, each part, of course, containing twenty pennyweights.

This ingenious and admirable combination of the two standards was not permitted to continue long, for Edward III, finding his crown debts pressing, directed that twenty-two shillings be coined from a pound instead of twenty, and by making the new pieces a legal tender for the same purposes as those previously issued he cheated his creditors out of two shillings on every pound of debt, as the new pieces had no value in the market except what their weight for bullion gave them.

The successors of this monarch repeatedly worked this silent and sleek scheme for replenishing their depleted coffers at the expense of their debtors, until Queen Elizabeth by royal proclamation declared that out of the troy pound, which Henry VIII had substituted for the Tower pound, there should be coined sixty-two of these pieces. By this time the shilling contained only about one-third of its original amount of silver, and even the dunderheaded Englishmen began to see there was cheating somewhere around the board, and that royalty alone was winning the stakes. So a great clamor was raised, and since then no debasement of the full legal-tender coins has taken place in Merrie England.

The colonists, who brought these pieces with them to this country, were doubtless familiar with this process of debasing coins and the gain that would come therefrom to the State, for as early as 1652 the Massachusetts Colony set up a mint and commenced the coinage of shilling pieces avowedly containing but ten pence worth of silver. The mint master, however, took fifteen pence out of every twenty shillings coined, and then the English Mint declared the silver in the coins was not of an even weight or fineness, and so the pieces circulated at twenty-five per cent. discount, though, being a legal tender at their face value, they were worth par in payment of debt. These shillings, however, became the standard by which values were reckoned from that time on, though but few were coined, and those were hoarded or shipped abroad, notwithstanding such shipment was forbidden by severe penalties, for there existed in the colonies a cheaper way of paying debts than that afforded even by debased coins. Clam shells, cattle, corn, and beaver had been made legal tender, and the principle laid down by Sir Thomas Gresham, of Queen Elizabeth's time, that no two currencies of unequal value would circulate together—the poorer driving out

the better—was the secret of the deportation of the coin. To protect the Treasury against the operations of this law, in 1658 it was ordered that taxes should not be paid in "lank cattle." Of clam shells, also, it was found that only the broken and lustreless ones remained in circulation—the poorer currency driving out the better, whether of cattle or of clam shells. At this opportune moment the Spanish pillar silver dollar, brought to this country mainly by buccaneers, began to circulate throughout the colonies, with its "pieces of eight," or reals. This dollar was a stranger in a strange land, and had nothing to recommend it to favor except that it bore the device of a nation whose commercial integrity had never been questioned. But the colonists reckoned

THE UNITED STATES MINT, NEW ORLEANS.

in shillings and pence, and the relation in value between the strange piece and a shilling must necessarily be fixed in some way. The English Mint declared the piece contained four shillings and six pence of sterling silver, and this became the established rate in South Carolina, but the Massachusetts Colony declared it contained six shillings, and of the shillings of that colony this was about right. Virginia adopted the same rating. New York declared that the piece contained eight shillings, though that colony never had a shilling piece of any kind, and nowhere in the world was there one of that value. Pennsylvania, for no reason stated, said it contained seven shillings and six pence, while Maryland adopted the rating of New York. Thus in New England and Virginia the real became a "nine pence," in New York and Maryland a shilling, and in Pennsylvania it

was called eleven pence, or "levy;" and by these names it was known for nearly two centuries. The dollar having taken the place of the pound in reckonings, to a certain extent, it was subdivided into shillings and pence for purposes of accounts, those being the lower denominations in use, and accordingly in Virginia and New England accounts were kept frequently in dollars and 72ds; in New York and Maryland in dollars and 96ths; in Pennsylvania in dollars and 90ths, as seen in the Treasury books of the Confederation, while in South Carolina they were kept in dollars and 54ths, for in every case a shilling still contained twelve pence, and these fractional divisions of the dollar represented the number of pence the several colonies alleged this piece contained.

The accounts of Washington as he traveled from Mount Vernon to Boston, filed in the Treasury, show the changes rendered necessary in the reckonings as he passed through the several States, sometimes the local pound, sometimes the dollar, being the unit, but in the end the distinguished traveler reduced the currencies to one standard and determined how much was due him in Spanish dollars and reals, a feat in computation for which the Father of his Country has never received due credit.

Of course, these diverse valuations of the shilling gave to the pounds corresponding variations in values, and as trade was mainly with the mother country, exchanges were conducted with endless confusions in the reckonings. Had the colonists kept the pound sterling for their unit, used the English shillings and pence for their coins, as they were accustomed, all these complications would have been avoided. But contracts were out calling for shillings, and the finding of more shillings in a dollar by law than existed in fact defrauded the creditor to that extent of his just dues, the result if not the purpose of the legal-tender quality given these coins, whose existence even was to a certain extent fictitious. The use of silver as a circulating medium was, however, soon abandoned for paper issues.

Paper Money.—The Massachusetts Colony was the first to issue paper money. In 1690, to satisfy the claims of her soldiers who had been on an expedition to Canada and came back without booty, 7000 pounds were issued, but being made receivable in payment of taxes, did not suffer great depreciation, though according to Sumner the soldiers disposed of it at 33 per cent. discount. Other limited issues followed in anticipation of taxes, but in 1709, to pay for another expedition against Canada, 50,000 pounds were issued. Other colonies joined in the expedition and all issued paper to pay expenses. The issues were made a legal tender and the acceptance of the notes enforced from time to time by stringent enactments. Notwithstanding this, they continued to depreciate. Industries at first stimulated lagged, and a great demand arising for additional issues to make business brisk, the colonial governments or their chartered banks issued bills upon almost any pretext,—as in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island,

upon real estate mortgages, family silver, and other securities. In the latter State interest was made payable in flax and hemp, to encourage those industries, but very few of its loans were ever paid, and the titles to lands fell into inextricable confusion. New loans were issued by the colonies with which to pay off the old ones, until the issues of the Massachusetts Colony were depreciated to 11 for 1, at which rate the notes were redeemed. The notes of other colonies were also retired upon various scales until 1751, when Parliament prohibited, in most of the colonies, the further issue of legal-tender notes. The depreciated bills out of the way, silver returned, and even some gold appeared in circulation, also brought in by buccaneers.

Bi-Metalism.—The colonists tried a great many commodities for a standard of value, but only twice did they undertake to have two standards in circulation at once, their values to be kept equal by the force of law.

Exploring parties of the Massachusetts Colony found on the shores of Long Island a partially civilized community of Indians. Some of them living along the shores were engaged in polishing the shell of the clam and of the periwinkle, which they traded off for ornaments at a pretty well established rate. The shells were called Peag, and they served every purpose of money among the simple natives. One black shell was about equal to two white ones, but in the absence of any law fixing a parity of value both shells circulated, each for what it was worth, the white at about six, the black about three for a penny. The colonists, however, made Peag a legal tender for twelve pence, and immediately their deterioration commenced—lusterless and half polished shells being as good as any in payment of debt. Again the law came to its rescue, and, in 1648, provided that only such Peag as was unbroken and of good color should pass as money. A little later it provided that Peag should be a legal tender for forty shillings, the white at eight, the black at six for a penny. Peag was now not only a legal tender in payment of debt in a modest way, but a fixed relation was established between the value of the white and the black shells. The law did all it could to extend the circulation of these shells, but Peag was perverse, and, just as great results were expected from it, it wholly disappeared from circulation, having become so utterly worthless nobody would accept it, doubtless somewhat to the surprise of the "Bi-Shellists," whose faith in the efficacy of a double standard seemed unbounded.

The next colonial experiment of the kind was in 1762. The gold which followed in the channels of the depreciated paper, as above mentioned, circulated at its own value and was very useful, but it soon attracted the attention of the General Court of Massachusetts, and with the declared purpose to facilitate trade, this court, in that year, made gold a legal tender at two and a half pence silver per grain. At this rating gold was the cheaper metal for paying debts, and, in conformity with the Gresham law, silver promptly dis-

appeared from circulation, leaving gold to circulate alone. The colonists were surprised at the result and were at a loss to know what caused it, but silver would not return to associate with gold on the terms fixed by law, and the colonists had to get along as best they could for a few years, when the necessities of war brought about other forms of currency.

In September, 1774, the first Congress of the colonies assembled in Philadelphia with a view to obtain a redress of grievances, not a separation from the mother country. It was composed of delegates from every colony, and had no clearly defined powers. The conflict at Lexington, in April, 1775, while this Congress was holding its second session, dispelled all hopes of a pacific settlement of the difficulties, and preparations for war were promptly begun. To meet expenses money was necessary, but this body had no power to levy a tax. The members, however, were accustomed to the issue of bills as a substitute for money, and to such issue they naturally turned. On the 10th of May, 1775, an act was passed authorizing the issue of $3,000,000 on the faith of the "Continent," by which the bills became known as Continental money. They were in form as follows:—

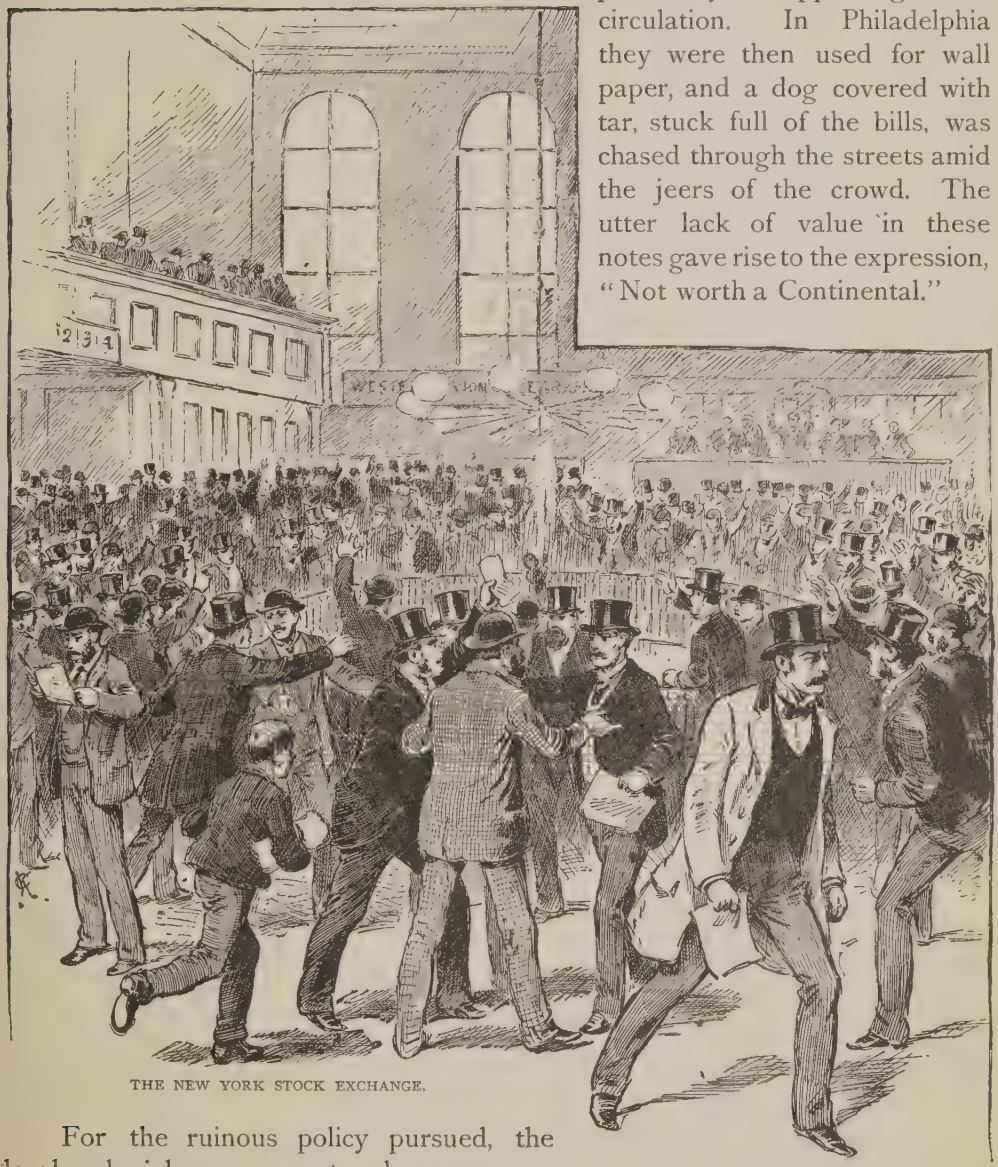
CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.

No. . . . . . Dollars.

This bill entitles the bearer to receive . . . . . Spanish milled dollars, or the value thereof in gold or silver, according to the resolutions of the Congress held at Philadelphia, on the 10th day of May, A. D. 1775.

Nothing appears on the face of the bill as to its redemption, but the law imposed upon the several colonies the duty to redeem the issue within three years, at a stated amount for each, based upon its population. This was probably as far as this Congress had power to go, but the several colonies, instead of levying a tax to meet the redemption of the notes, set up their own printing presses and entered into competition with each other and Congress in the issue of additional notes of their own. Within a year Congress, having issued $9,000,000 of its notes, and their value depreciating, took prompt and harsh measures to force their circulation and maintain their value, imposing severe penalties upon any one refusing to accept them at par in exchange for commodities. In 1777 the colonies, at the urgent request of Congress, stopped their issues, but not until they had put into circulation about $210,000,000. The exact amount was never known, the issue having been so hurried that no count of it was made. How far they ever went in contracting or redeeming their issues it is impossible to discover. Of the Continental issues the limit of $200,000,000 was reached in 1779, of which $65,500,000 were issued the year

previous. This was the good-sized straw which broke the back of the patient camel. The next year the notes were worth only two cents on the dollar, practically disappearing from circulation. In Philadelphia they were then used for wall paper, and a dog covered with tar, stuck full of the bills, was chased through the streets amid the jeers of the crowd. The utter lack of value in these notes gave rise to the expression, "Not worth a Continental."



THE NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE.

For the ruinous policy pursued, the local colonial governments alone were responsible. To meet the expenses of the war they would neither levy a tax themselves nor authorize their Congress to do so. That in the end the bills were repudiated does not signify that the war to that extent cost the

colonies nothing. The amount of the depreciation was only a form of a tax paid by every one in proportion to the amount of money he held and the time he held it, thus imposing upon the officers and soldiers who fought the battles, and upon their families, the patriotic and the helpless, the main cost of the war, leaving to the Tories, and those who stayed at home, comparative exemption from its burdens. But the forced issue of such legal-tender bills worked more than pecuniary hardship. Says a prominent writer of the period: "We have suffered more from this cause (paper money) than from any other cause or calamity. It has killed more men, pervaded and corrupted the choicest interests of our country more, and done more injustice than even the arms and artifices of our enemy."

This paper being out of the way, specie flowed in to take its place, and there was soon no stringency in the circulation. But the itching for paper money was not cured, and in 1781 the Bank of North America was chartered in Philadelphia, with authority to issue notes with which to purchase rations for the army. The notes were redeemable at sight in the Spanish dollars, and though their redemption was maintained, the people were cautious and slow in taking them. In Rhode Island 100,000 pounds legal tenders were issued on land mortgages. The notes immediately depreciated, endless litigation ensued, and in October, 1789, the depreciation was fixed by law at eighteen for one, but at that rate the debtors were allowed to pay in produce.

This ended paper money schemes under the Confederation. Initiatory steps were meanwhile taken toward the establishment of a Mint, that the country might have a distinctive coinage of its own. In 1785 Congress adopted the Spanish dollar as the unit of value, a function it was then performing in many cases by common consent, and the following year declared that it contained of pure silver 375.64 grains. The decimal system was also required in accounts. At the same time the coinage of a ten dollar gold piece, containing 246.268 grains, was authorized—making in law one of weight in gold equal in value to 15.253 of silver, while in the market the ratio was one to 14.89. Why silver should thus have been undervalued when its use was so generally popular and universal does not appear, but the adoption of the Constitution prevented further steps from being taken under this law.

Bi-Metalism.—The new Constitution was adopted March 4, 1789. One of its provisions gave Congress the power to coin money and regulate its value. Alexander Hamilton was called to the Treasury, and to him Congress referred the subject for investigation and report. In response he urged that both silver and gold be coined for depositors in unlimited amounts, one pound in weight in gold to be equal to fifteen pounds in silver for coins. He urged a dollar for the unit to contain either 371¼ grains of pure silver or 24¾ grains of pure gold, the introduction of the decimal system in accounts, and the coinage of halves,

quarters, and dimes in silver of proportionate weight. Hamilton believed, or at least hoped, that with the relation established both metals would circulate together, though he admitted that if the relation should not prove to be the market one, only the cheaper metal would remain in circulation.

Jefferson believed the ratio of one to fifteen to be the proper one, and urged its adoption. The recommendations of Hamilton were soon incorporated into a law, a Mint was established, and coins struck as contemplated. In the market one of gold proved worth nearer 15¼ of silver, and, following Gresham's law, only silver coins remained in circulation. Gold coins were hoarded or shipped abroad.

But the new silver dollars soon met with competition. The clipped and worn Spanish pieces, having been made a legal tender, entered into circulation and in turn drove out the new silver coins, so that all the output of the Mint was mainly for exportation. To prevent the shipment of silver the Mint gave preference to coining fractional pieces, thus exhausting its capacity upon as little silver in value as possible.

In 1805 only 321 dollar pieces were coined, and on May 1, 1806, President Jefferson, through James Madison, Secretary of State, sent an order to Robert Patterson, Director of the Mint, "That all the silver to be coined at the Mint shall be of small denomination, so that the value of the largest pieces shall not exceed one-half dollar." The coinage thus entirely suspended was not resumed for thirty years.

As a result the country had only bank issues and the light-weight foreign coins, and could not understand why it had to put up with such a poor currency. The Mints were open for the coinage of gold and for the fractional silver, and a large number of pieces were being struck, but none of them found their way into circulation.

The Democratic party, headed by Mr. Benton, then a Senator from Missouri, determined to increase the ratio between the two metals with the hope of retaining gold. So an act was passed in 1834 reducing the weight of the gold coins about seven per cent. The gold dollar now contained 23.22 grains, making the ratio between the two metals about one to sixteen. It now turned out that silver was the undervalued metal, and even had there been no cheaper foreign coins in existence, it would have fled the country, leaving the gold alone for circulation. But the light-weight foreign coins and depreciated bank-bills circulated freely, and little was seen of either silver or gold coins of this country.

The Réal pieces became so worn that in every transaction a dispute arose as to whether the pillars could be seen, until somebody scratched an X on the piece, when it passed as a dime, and was over-valued at that. To correct this evil, in 1853 Congress directed a reduction in the weight of the fractional silver pieces, forbade the Mint to coin them for depositors, and directed their

coinage to be made only on Government account, and to be issued at their face value only in exchange for gold coins or silver dollars. In 1857 the Spanish and Mexican dollars and the Real pieces were authorized to be redeemed at the Mint at a little above their bullion value,—they no longer to be legal tender. These latter pieces immediately disappeared, and the bright, new dimes, quarters, and halves, fresh from the Mint, took their places.

The bank issues being now well under control, gold coin also began to circulate. Gold pieces for larger transactions, silver pieces for smaller ones, made a very satisfactory currency. The Government received and paid out no other money on public account until 1862, when coin was again largely forced out of circulation by the legal-tender greenbacks. The opening up of new silver mines in the West, however, brought considerable silver to the Mints for coinage into dollars, but not for circulation,—the bullion in a dollar being worth about $1.05,—but for exportation at its bullion value.

About this time a revision of the mint laws was made by officials of the Treasury Department, and a bill prepared at the Treasury, after several years of delay, passed Congress and received the approval of the President, February 12, 1873. To aid the producers of silver bullion in finding a market for their product, authority was given to the mint for the manufacture of silver disks or bars, to bear the stamp of the government as a guaranty of their weight and fineness, the depositor to pay the expense of their manufacture; and the coinage of the former silver dollars was no longer authorized. Under this authority coins were manufactured, known as trade dollars, each one seven and one-half grains greater in weight than the other silver dollars. The scheme proved a success, and a large number were manufactured and sent abroad. In China they were used as a circulating medium, creating a special market in which there was little or no competition.

Germany, however, having determined to adopt the gold standard, redeemed its enormous issues of silver pieces, melted them down, and thus brought into the market, at once, over 7,000,000 pounds of silver. Large discoveries of the metal were also made in Nevada, and silver became greatly depreciated in the markets of the world. Had not the coinage of the silver dollars been prohibited by the Act of 1873, the silver dollar would again, under the Gresham law, have taken its place as the unit in our currency, driving gold from circulation, and, regardless of its depreciation, would have been a legal tender for even pre-existing contracts.

An outcry therefore arose, that in the prohibition of the silver dollar the debtor class had been greatly wronged, although very few of that class, or of any other, had ever seen or expected to see a silver dollar in circulation.

Upon the assembling of Congress in 1877, a determined effort was made to restore the silver dollar to free circulation, and a bill to that effect, known as

the Bland bill, passed the House, but was so changed in the Senate that the Treasury was authorized to purchase not less than $2,000,000 nor more than $4,000,000 worth of silver bullion monthly, at the best rate obtainable, and to coin it into dollars for which certificates might be issued, the dollars to remain in the Treasury untouched to meet their redemption upon presentation; and thus amended the bill became a law, February 28, 1878. The provisions of this act, however, did not prove satisfactory, and in 1890 another concession was made to the advocates of the unlimited coinage of the silver dollar by authorizing the Government to purchase, at the best rates obtainable, 4,500,000 ounces of silver every month and to issue silver certificates thereon for the amount of the purchase, the metal to be coined into silver dollars only as needed for the redemption of the certificates issued.

Under these two acts there have been issued about $400,000,000 of silver dollars, of which about $60,000,000 are in circulation, the remainder are in the Treasury, held to meet the certificates which have been issued thereon, and purchases of bullion are being made every month as required. The price of silver bullion has, however, constantly depreciated until the metal in a silver dollar can be purchased in the market for 70 cents in gold, and the prospect of a parity of value between the two metals, at the present ratio of 1 to 16, seems as far off as ever.

The enforced purchase of such an enormous amount of silver every month, and the issue of certificates thereon for circulation, must cease some day. The amount of money needed for circulation must be left to the necessity of business, not to an act of Congress. Until that time monetary questions, in one form or another, will continue to vex the halls of legislation and to needlessly disturb the prosperity of the country.

Paper Money.—The Constitution of 1789 provided that no State should emit bills of credit, make anything legal tender but gold and silver, or change the terms of a pre-existing contract. Consequently, the power to issue paper money, if existing anywhere in the country, was lodged in the general government.

As a result, in 1790, Hamilton recommended to Congress the establishment of a National Bank, with authority to issue $10,000,000 of bills legally receivable in payment of public dues, and an act for that purpose was promptly approved, but not without grave doubts of the power of the government to grant such a charter. The bank, gaining public confidence, its notes circulated at par and were accepted as readily in private transactions as though made a legal tender for that purpose.

The States, stripped of their power to emit bills directly, also resorted to issues of banks organized under their charters. These bills were always redeemable at sight by the bank issuing them. Not being a legal tender,

the notes had only a commercial value, but a bank in good standing was enabled to keep more or less of them in circulation in its immediate vicinity, and usually maintaining but small reserve, reaped much profit from this use of its credit. Away from their home, however, the bills were subjected to varying rates of discount, sometimes as high as fifty per cent., and speculation in them kept business feverish and unsettled.

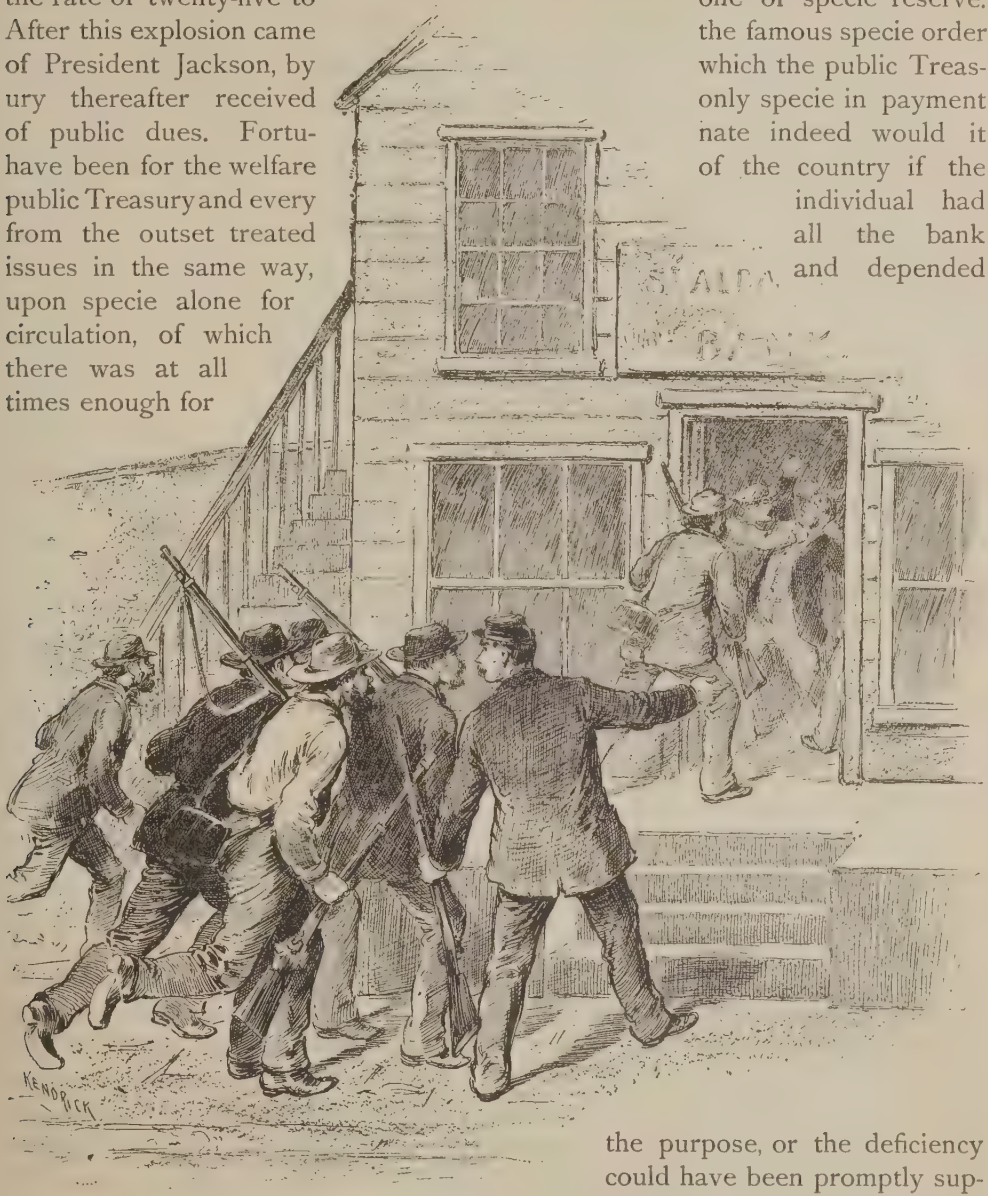
The temptation to profit by such issues led to endless schemes to impose upon the public worthless bills, and these issues became known, in time, as wild-cat currency. In 1809 a crash came, and none too soon, for even in New England, where such issues were best guarded, one bank had out more than $500,000 in bills with only $84 in specie to meet their redemption, and others were about as weak. Great loss ensued from the panic, and more rigorous restrictive legislation for future issues was enacted, at least in that section.

The issues of the National Bank were kept at par, but its charter expiring in 1811, the bank was unable to obtain a renewal; the influence of the bank in restricting the depreciated issues of the state banks had been too salutary to suit the demands of those who wanted money plenty, regardless of its value. The National Bank out of the way, the mania for bank issues began to develop in the Middle and Western States. In 1814 all the banks outside of New England suspended paying specie for bills. No excuse for the suspension is apparent, except the war then going on with England. With the return of peace, however, came additional issues of bank paper, and for a while apparent prosperity prevailed.

The unequal value of the notes in different sections of the country somewhat embarrassed exchanges, but it was thought that in time, when the people were accustomed to such conditions, the difficulties would vanish. In 1814 Pennsylvania chartered 41 banks, and in the year following, Kentucky 40 more, their capital aggregating $27,000,000 with little or no restriction as to the issue of notes. This period was considered by many as the golden age of the West, but most of the banks failed within a year or two, and their enormous issues became worthless. In 1818 twenty thousand persons in Philadelphia were begging employment. Business was at a stand-still and property was unsalable at any price. The National Bank, which had obtained a renewal of its charter in 1816, for twenty years, suspended specie payments with other banks.

The depreciated issues drove all the coin from the West into New England, which, having a comparatively stable standard and circulation, soon absorbed pretty much all the trade of the country, for even clipped and light-weight foreign coins, were infinitely preferable to such bank issues. But the demand for bank issues was renewed throughout the country, and again there could be but one result. In 1837 another crash came. Even the New York and

Massachusetts country banks, comparatively conservative, were issuing notes at the rate of twenty-five to one of specie reserve. After this explosion came the famous specie order of President Jackson, by which the public Treasury thereafter received only specie in payment of public dues. Fortunate indeed would it have been for the welfare of the country if the public Treasury and every individual had from the outset treated all the bank issues in the same way, and depended upon specie alone for circulation, of which there was at all times enough for the purpose, or the deficiency could have been promptly supplied by the Mint, which was coining silver for exportation.



A RAID ON A BANK.

Bank notes, generally at par, continued to furnish the circulation of the country, however, till the outbreak of the Rebellion, with only a brief disturbance

in 1857, but it must be remembered they were at par only in the vicinity of their issue.

In 1861 Congress met in special session to find the Capitol a military camp. An army had been called to the field to suppress the uprising of the South, threatening the very existence of the Government. To meet pressing needs the Treasury was authorized to issue $60,000,000 of notes payable on demand and receivable for public dues. They circulated at par but were looked upon with suspicion. However, they tided over the financial difficulties of the summer, but upon the assembling of Congress in regular session, in the December following, it was evident that measures more efficient must be taken to meet the rapidly increasing expenses of the Government. A bill was, therefore, presented in the House authorizing the issue of $150,000,000 of notes for circulation, to be a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, except for customs dues and interest on public debt. The measure was received with consternation and alarm even by the best friends of the new Republican administration, but it became a law February 25, 1862, notwithstanding the opposition of such Republicans as Justin S. Morrill, Roscoe Conkling and William Pitt Fessenden, and of the entire Democratic party. The notes became known as legal tenders or greenbacks. No time for their redemption was fixed, but they were convertible at par into six per cent. gold-bearing interest bonds, authorized by the same act. Before their issue the banks had suspended payment of specie for notes and the new bills soon became the standard of values as well as the unit of accounts. The courts held their issue constitutional and their tender sufficient for the payment of even a pre-existing obligation calling for dollars, though only specie dollars existed when the contract was made. Their convertibility into bonds, as stated, checked somewhat their immediate depreciation, but new issues followed, and when in 1863 the right to convert them into interest-bearing bonds ceased, the notes were worth in coin only sixty-five. Their limit of issue was fixed at $450,000,000; that of fractional pieces convertible into legal tenders at $50,000,000.

Another new form of paper issues was also authorized. In 1863 an act was passed by the central government, supplemented by another act in 1864, under which banks might be organized, and upon furnishing the Treasurer of the United States with bonds of the Government to a limited extent they would be entitled to receive therefor circulating notes equal in amount to ninety per cent. of the bonds furnished. A tax of ten per cent. per annum was subsequently imposed upon the issues of the State banks, to take effect July 1, 1865, avowedly for the purpose of driving them from circulation.

These notes were receivable for government dues to the same extent as the legal tenders, into which they were convertible at par. Consequently these two classes of notes maintained a uniformity of value, though much below that

of specie, and fluctuating daily in comparison with that standard, destroyed all stability in values, stimulating speculation, not only in gold itself, but in stocks, cotton, grain, and other farm products, until the machinery of exchange was little better than a wheel of fortune.

Certain interest-bearing obligations of the Government were also made legal tender, and their use as a bank reserve liberated to that extent an equal amount of the legal tenders for circulation, thus further inflating the already excessive issues.

In 1865, at the close of the rebellion, there were outstanding, of all paper issues, $983,000,000, having a coin value of $692,000,000, gold being worth in paper about 141. At the instance of Hon. Hugh McCulloch, then Secretary of the Treasury, Congress, in April, 1866, authorized the retirement of $10,000,000 of legal tenders within six months, and thereafter not more than $4,000,000 per month. By force of taxation the State issues disappeared, and the interest-bearing obligations as they matured were converted into long-time bonds.

These steps tended to reduce the volume of paper circulation, notwithstanding the increase of national bank issues, but on June 30, 1866, gold was quoted at 150. The aggregate circulation, however, continued to gradually diminish in amount, and in March, 1869, the question having arisen as to the currency in which the bonds and notes were payable, the faith of the Nation was pledged to pay all interest-bearing obligations in coin, unless by the terms of their issue it had been expressly provided that they might be paid in lawful money, and also that at the earliest practicable date the legal tender notes should be paid in coin. Still, on June 30, 1869, there was outstanding of paper issues $756,000,000, the authority for further retirement of the legal tenders having been suspended in 1868, leaving these notes in circulation, $356,000,000. Gold was then quoted at 137. In the fall of 1874 a stringency in the money market, caused by the financial panic of the previous year, led to the reissue of these notes to $383,000,000, which amount was fixed by law as their limit. To Congress the country now turned for relief from the long unsettled value of its currency. An act, therefore, prepared by a caucus of Republican Senators, of which Hon. John Sherman was Chairman, passed both Houses as a strictly party measure, and was approved January 14, 1875.

It provided for the coinage of fractional silver coins and the redemption therein of the fractional notes, for the unlimited circulation of National Bank notes, and for the retirement of legal tenders to the extent of eighty per cent. of any such increase, until only $300,000,000 should remain in circulation, and for the redemption of the notes in coin at the Sub-Treasury in New York, on and after January 1, 1879.

To carry into effect these provisions, the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to use any available cash in the Treasury and to issue at par any of

the bonds authorized by the refunding acts of 1870 and 1871, and to apply the proceeds to the purpose of such redemption.

For several years the expediency of retaining these notes as part of the permanent circulation of the country had been much discussed, and upon the question as to their disposition after redemption no unanimity of views was reached in the caucus framing the measure, so the matter was purposely left open for future legislation.

In March, 1877, Mr. Sherman, to whom had been intrusted the explanation and advocacy of the bill in the Senate, was called to the Treasury. He found the fractional notes had been largely redeemed in silver, and that the retirement of the legal tenders consequent upon the increase of the bank circulation was in satisfactory progress, but that no coin had been accumulated with which to redeem the notes on January 1, 1879. Gold was quoted at 106.

Through an arrangement with certain bankers who were then purchasing the Government bonds for refunding, the Secretary promptly sold for resumption $15,000,000 of four and one-half per cent. bonds at par, and later in the summer $25,000,000 additional of four per cents. at par, the first issue of bonds since the war bearing so low a rate of interest. But a series of adverse circumstances operated against additional sales of these bonds, and all further steps toward securing a fund for resumption were suspended. Gold was now at 103. The continual advance in the value of the money standard had embarrassed to a certain extent the debtor class, and an outcry against a further enhancement of its value was very pronounced. Upon the assembling of Congress in December, thirteen bills were introduced the first day for the repeal of the resumption act, and one of them passed the House and lacked but two votes of passing the Senate. In every direction the outlook was discouraging for the friends of the measure, but the Secretary announced to Congress and the country that unless the law was repealed he should certainly comply with its provisions and redeem the notes as required by law, on and after January 1, 1879. The law was not repealed, but an act was passed forbidding the retirement of the notes beyond the existing amount, $346,681,016, and requiring their reissue after redemption, thus settling a much debated policy.

In April, 1878, the Secretary went to New York and sold $50,000,000 of four and one-half per cents. at 101 net, thus securing in all $90,500,000 in gold coin for redemption. With this, and an estimated amount of about $40,000,000 surplus cash in the Treasury, he believed he could easily redeem all the notes presented for that purpose. Notwithstanding the ample preparations, the premium on gold did not disappear until December 15th. The 1st day of January was Sunday, and no business was transacted. On the following day no little anxiety was felt at the Treasury, but in the evening came a dispatch showing more gold for notes than notes for gold had been presented. The

crisis had passed and resumption was accomplished. An era of enterprise and prosperity set in, unparalleled in modern history. Within the next ten years following the taxable wealth of the country increased about $780,000,000, an amount considerably greater than the total of such wealth in 1850, as shown by the returns of the Seventh Census.

The issue limit of these notes still remains unchanged, the redeemability of them in coin unquestioned, and the resumption fund untouched. Meanwhile the issues of the national banks have been greatly reduced, the high price of the collateral bonds rendering their continuance unprofitable to the banks.

The experiment of maintaining at par an issue of Government notes, based upon a reasonable reserve in specie and further secured by a pledge of the faith of the Nation, has proved a success in furnishing a part of the currency of the country. The plan will likely attract attention throughout the civilized world, for the circulation of no country is upon an entirely satisfactory basis. At present a no more economical or satisfactory form of currency exists than these notes of the United States. Deprived of their legal-tender quality when not redeemable at par with coin, as are the bank notes of England, which quality alone can ever make them harmful, but which may prove useful as long as their redeemability is maintained, the notes which have already survived the exigencies that brought them into existence may prove the money of the future.

HON. JOHN SHERMAN ON THE CURRENCY OF THE FUTURE.

The above article was prepared by Mr. Upton upon the recommendation of Senator John Sherman, whose hand has shaped the financial legislation of the country for the last quarter of a century, and upon its being submitted to him he stated that he found it very interesting and deserving of wide circulation, as no other measure before Congress could compare with that of the currency in its effects upon the business interests of the country; that it affected every man, woman, and child in our broad land, the rich with his investments, the poor with his labor.

At the same time he made the following statement of his views as to the future currency of the country.

The employment of either silver or gold for general purposes of circulation is growing relatively less every year, in all civilized nations. The use of checks in transferring credits from one party to another, the employment of clearing-houses in commercial centres to offset the checks against each other, to save the labor and risk of individual collections, and lastly, the employment of paper notes payable on demand in specie, in lieu of actual

specie itself, are modern inventions for facilitating exchanges, and they are the greatest labor-saving machines ever brought to human aid. Their use is not yet fully understood or appreciated, but they are rapidly revolutionizing all methods of exchanges, and this country cannot refuse to recognize their superiority over the clumsy machinery of the last century. The expansion of the use of checks and clearing-houses may be left to the education which our rapidly increasing commerce affords. As to the issue of paper notes, it is generally admitted that the metals should be supplemented by some kind of credit money, to avoid absorbing too much of the actual wealth of the country in the machinery of circulation, and the question arises, under what authority, in what manner, and to what extent these issues shall be made.

The commerce between the several States is of enormous and unrestricted amount, and demands the issue to be uniform in value throughout the country. The policy of removing the tax upon the issue of State banks, and allowing variegated bills of that character, at best never at par, except in the immediate vicinity of their issue, to again flood the country, meets with little favor in any section. There is, also, a general feeling that when the option on the four per cent. bonds expires, the Government should not issue in their place bonds of a lower rate on which national banks may continue their circulation.

If there is any gain in issuing notes, there is a demand, not without justice, that it should be shared in by all the citizens of the Republic, not exclusively by the holders of State or National bank stocks.

To purchase gold or silver bullion and to issue certificates thereon, dollar for dollar, would not obviate the great objection to a large part of the present circulation, viz.: the useless storing away of too much of the wealth of the country in the vaults of the Treasury, a policy, however safe it may be, which is expensive, as taking out of productive enterprises a needless amount of capital.

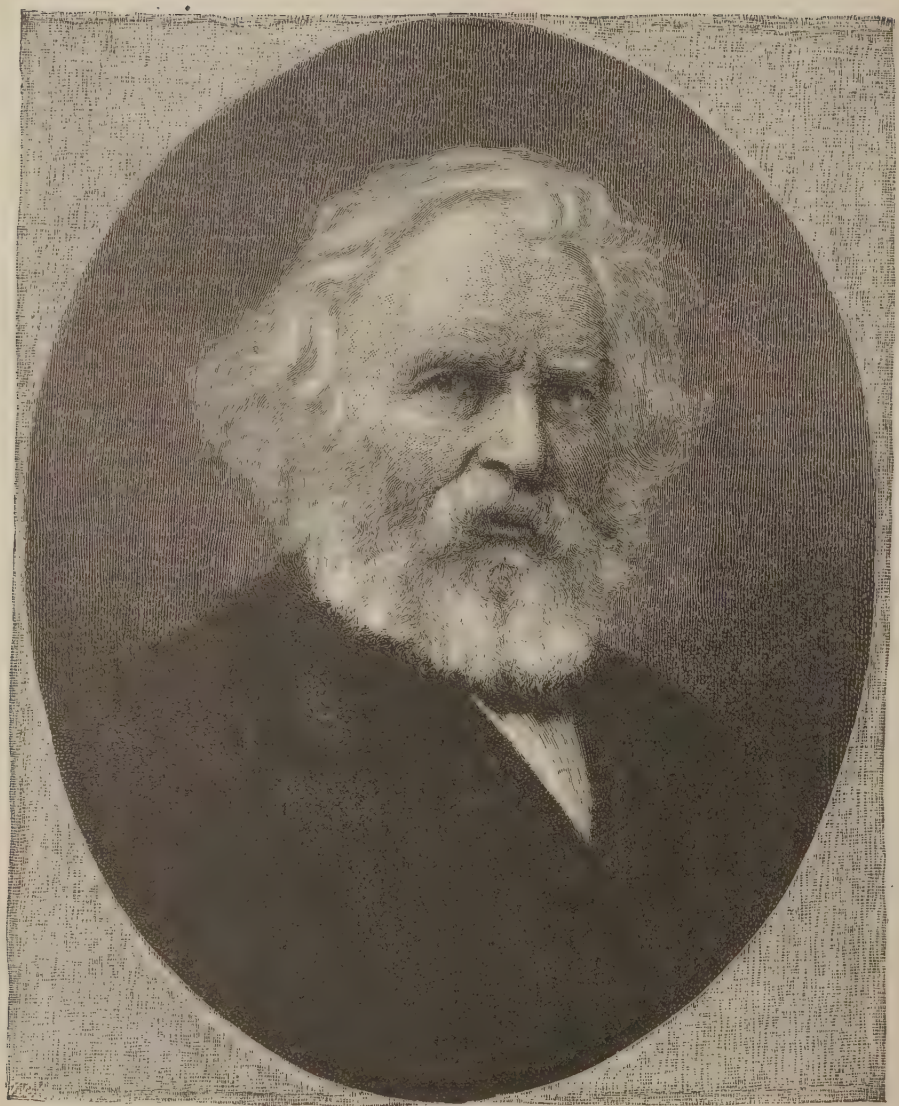
The employment of the greenback currency as part of the paper currency since 1879, based upon about thirty per cent. of gold coin or bullion, and the pledge of the faith of the nation to its maintenance at par, has proved satisfactory and economical. By its issue the Government has had the use of $246,000,000, the excess of the issue over the reserve, for thirteen years, with no charge except the insignificant appropriation for the manufacture of new notes to take the place of those worn or mutilated. Had the greenbacks been converted at that time into four per cent. bonds and other forms of currency substituted as demanded by many high in authority, the Government would already have paid on such bonds to date about $125,000,000 in interest. At present there is outstanding of silver certificates, Treasury notes, gold certificates, and national bank notes $770,000,000, and the query arises, why cannot the issue of the greenbacks be gradually extended so as to take the place of these issues, a reserve

in specie to be maintained equal to ⅔ of the entire paper circulation, and the faith of the nation to be pledged to keep the notes at par by the sale of bonds, the proceeds to be applied to such maintenance whenever necessary. For thirteen years greenbacks have maintained a specie value, nobody desiring coin for the notes as soon as it was known it could be had upon demand, and there is no reason to suppose that a parity of value cannot be maintained for all the paper circulation, though sustained in part only by the pledged faith of the nation. The amount of circulation needed can be determined only by the necessities of business, but with the privileges of redemption at sight an over issue of paper would not long remain.

The metallic reserve might with safety consist of one-half of gold and one-half of silver, the latter at its market value, and the notes be redeemed either in gold or its equivalent in silver, under such regulations as may be deemed necessary to keep them at par and to give no advantage to either metal.

Any loss the Government might sustain therefrom by a depreciation in the value of either metal would probably be made more than good from the profit in issuing the remaining one-third part of the notes upon the credit of the country as represented by bonds, of which the Secretary should have unquestioned power to sell a sufficient amount at his discretion.

A circulation issued by the General Government and thus secured would be uniform in value throughout the country; its notes, alike in design, would soon become well known and much preferred to the many kinds now in circulation, of which each has a different appearance, a different basis of redemption, and of debt-paying power. Such a policy is nothing new. It is only the extension of one already tried and which has proved successful, and which can be easily expanded to afford all the circulation which the rapidly growing needs of the country may require.



HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

CHAPTER XXV.

SCHOOL, COLLEGE, AND UNIVERSITY.

BY PROFESSOR T. S. DOOLITTLE, D.D., LL.D.,
Vice-President Rutgers College.

The early settlers of America marched toward progress and prosperity through the avenues of political independence, obedience to religion, and the diffusion of education. Along with the minister for the church they brought the master for the school. The school-room, not less than the sanctuary, was to be the fortress of the new civilization. But the educational impulse, according to Motley, came, even among the colonists of New England, more from the Netherlands than from old England. The inhabitants of the Low Countries were the most enlightened people of Christendom. It was difficult in the middle of the sixteenth century to find, for example, in Antwerp, says an eminent historian, "a child of sufficient age who could not read, write, and speak at least two languages;" and another historian says that in all the Low Countries "there was scarcely a peasant who could not read." This general diffusion of knowledge was the result of a school system such as England knew nothing of. And hence the conclusions expressed by Dr. T. W. Chambers seem to be quite just. Here are his words: "It is not an unreasonable supposition that THE SCHOOL SYSTEM FOUNDED IN THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES at an early period was suggested by what the Puritan exiles had seen during their twenty years' stay in Holland. It is very certain that nothing of the kind was known in their mother country.

PROFESSOR T. S. DOOLITTLE, D.D., LL.D.

"But the scholars and gentlemen who came over in the Mayflower had had abundant opportunity to see in the Dutch Republic how closely knowledge and religion were bound together, and how firm a foundation was laid for the maintenance of liberty and religion when the elements of education were made common to all classes." Nor is this all. Education owes a larger debt to the colonies constituting the New Netherlands than has usually been acknowledged. Professor Herbert B. Adams declares that "our free public-school system, of which we are justly so proud, seems to have its beginnings distinctly traceable to the earliest life of the Dutch colonies here in America, and to have had its prototype in the free schools, in which Holland has led the van of the world." It was a part of the charter of the Dutch West India Company that they should maintain in their colonies "good and fit preachers, schoolmasters, and comforters of the sick." Sometimes, indeed, the same individual filled all three offices, from which it may be inferred that the work of education began among the Dutch of Manhattan as early as 1626. The Dutch patroons bound themselves to provide instruction not only for their own children, but for those of the neighboring Indians.

THE OLDEST SCHOOL IN AMERICA.

With Wouter Van Twiller, the second Director General of the New Netherlands, came, in 1633, Rev. Everardus Bogardus, for the church, and Adam Roelanstan, the first schoolmaster; and the parochial school over which he presided, and which is still carried on by the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church in New York, is now the oldest existing school in America. Moreover, it was our first free public school, for it was supported in part by a school-tax of four pounds. It was the duty of the teacher not only to instruct in the ordinary branches, but especially to train the children in the catechism and religious doctrines. Nor was this all. He acted as grave-digger, court-bell ringer, and precentor, setting and leading the tunes in the Sabbath worship.

The Colony of Virginia made preparations as early as 1619 for the diffusion of education, but its Parliamentary grant of 15,000 acres of land and private subscriptions, though resulting in the erection of buildings for both a school and a college, were, alas! rendered for a time fruitless by the horrible Indian massacre of 1622. In the Bermuda Islands, however, where the population had at this date reached the goodly number of 5000, a school had been kept by Richard Norwood since 1615, and it was here that Bishop Berkeley intended to found and endow a college.

The town of Boston had not been settled a year when its people, in 1635, appointed "Brother Philemon Purmont to become school-master for the teaching and nourteuring of children."* And ten years later, John Winthrop wrote thus:

* The Boston Latin School, established that year, is still alive and flourishing.

"Divers free schools were erected at Roxbury (for the maintenance whereof every inhabitant bound some house or land for a yearly allowance forever), and at Boston, where they made an order to allow forever fifty pounds to the master, and a house, and thirty pounds to an usher, who should also teach to read, write and, cypher. Indian children were to be taught freely. The charge to be by yearly contribution, either by voluntary allowance, or by rate of such as refused, the order being confirmed by the General Court."

Schools rapidly followed in the other towns. Indeed, the Colonial Court compelled parents and masters to see that their children and apprentices respectively were taught a knowledge of reading English, of the laws, and of religion, under penalty of fines; and in the case of obdurate neglect, of having their children and apprentices taken from them and bound out to others who would be responsible for their instruction.

INTERIOR OF THE MEMORIAL HALL, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

Nor was Connecticut behind in her appreciation of the advantages conferred by the pedagogue. During the first year of her existence, in 1638, one of her original settlers from Boston, Ezekiel Cheever, opened a school at New Haven. Other schools soon multiplied; but with the exception of one grammar school supplying instruction in Latin, rhetoric, and grammar, etc., they all confined their teaching to reading and cyphering. The earliest schools in Rhode Island were one in Newport in 1640, and another in Providence in 1660. The fact that this colony and also that some of the Southern colonies did not hasten to adopt a public school system is due to the conviction among their people that the task of imparting education and religion to the young was a duty resting not upon the community at all, but upon parents and guardians. Throughout the other colonies the schools were supported by appropriations of land, by bequests, rents, donations and taxation. They were not, however, free. Tuition was exacted for every pupil.

It is interesting to note the varied and useful duties, at this period, of the New England schoolmaster. Besides inspiring his pupils to the practice of reading, cyphering, and in some instances, of writing, he acted as court-messenger, served summonses, conducted certain ceremonial services of the church, led the Sunday school choir, rang the bell for public worship, digged graves, and performed other occasional duties.

Massachusetts has the distinguished honor of being the first colony to elaborate a common school system enforced by law upon all her towns, supported largely by taxation, and offering free tuition to the necessitous. Moreover, she raised the standard of scholarship, by ordaining that towns having one hundred or more families should provide grammar schools for such instruction in Latin, Greek, and mathematics as would enable the pupils to enter Harvard University. Idleness and ignorance were regarded as public evils, dangerous alike to the Church and the State. This wholesome example was soon imitated by Connecticut, which enacted a law making it compulsory, under penalty of a fine of twenty shillings for each neglect, upon parents and masters "to teach, by themselves or others, their children and apprentices a knowledge of English, of the capital laws, and of the principles of religion. Nor was this all. Every child was to be brought up to some honest calling, unless it were fit for one of the professions. In the colony of New Haven, parents and masters, after a third warning and fine for neglect, were liable to have their children taken from them and bound out to some one who would both school them and train them to a trade. New Hampshire, after becoming independent of Massachusetts, in 1693, began at once to support schools "by equal rate and assessment on all the inhabitants." Maine, also, on becoming a separate State, in 1820, naturally undertook the same fostering care of common and grammar schools which she had learned whilst being a part of Massachusetts.

Nor was the teacher's office without high honor in New England. The choicest men, often graduates of Harvard, were selected to fill it. "In the churches they had special pews provided for their use beside those of magistrates' and the deacon's family." They ranked with the clergyman and the physician; but women were, we are sorry to add, excluded, as a rule, from this highly respected and useful profession. The pedagogue was, however, well worked in those days. He knew nothing of vacations, long or short, for he taught twelve months in a year. Nor was his pay large. Previous to 1800 it varied from four to ten dollars per month with board thrown in. Mistresses, when so fortunate as to obtain a situation, were cut down often to fifty cents per week; though sometimes they received one dollar and a half a week. Almost the only text-books used before 1665 were Richard Mather's Catechism, the New Testament, and the Psalter containing the Psalms, Proverbs, the Sermon on the Mount, and the Nicene Creed.

But New York was the peer of New England in her ideas of the utility and glory of education. At her surrender to the English, in 1664, she possessed "a regular school in every town, with more or less permanent teachers." The new English rulers allowed these Dutch schools to languish, because they exerted their influence in favor of a non-conforming church. The Dutch congregation in the city of New York, managed, however, to keep their parochial school running, and it flourishes, as already noted, until this day. About twenty years after the English occupation, "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel"

MEMORIAL HALL, HARVARD COLLEGE.

founded the Trinity School in the city, and subsequently more than twenty others in the colony. One of these was finally developed into King's College, now known as Columbia University.

NOR WERE THE FRIENDS OF PENNSYLVANIA

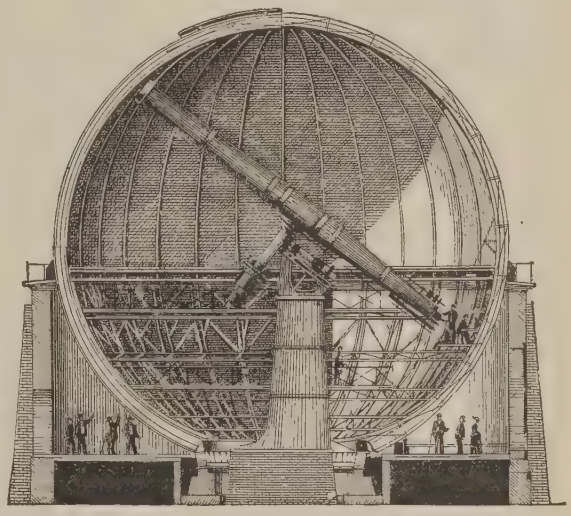
without the impulse for the intellectual enlightenment that always accompanies morality. The Penn Charter School, established in 1698, in Philadelphia, was notable for its ample provisions for all. Girls as well as boys, nay, even servants, were admitted, and though a moderate tuition was exacted from the rich, yet the children of the poor were instructed gratis. Moreover, no applicant was excluded because of denominational differences. Under the guidance of Dr.

Franklin and others, constituting the "German Society," schools were organized which performed immense service for the children of German settlers. Owing to the fact that the population of Pennsylvania embraced Hollanders and English, Catholics and Protestants, Churchmen and Quakers, and Swedes, the schools of this province were neither so numerous nor so well sustained as in the other colonies; and yet there were private and denominational schools, as, for example, among the Moravians and Friends. A remarkable teacher of this period was Christopher Dock, of Germantown. His devotion to his pupils, as well as wisdom, had won for him the reputation of being a "veritable Pestalozzi." He taught music, used the blackboard, and devised a method of numbers quite his own.

In New Jersey, too, the people sought to perpetuate free institutions by providing for the mental and moral growth of the young. Newark in 1683 was the happy possessor of schools, whilst the town of Burlington rejoiced in a permanent school fund obtained by selling or renting the land of an island in the Delaware River. In 1693 a general law authorized the majority of any town to maintain a school, "even to the distress of the goods and chattels" of all the citizens. Inasmuch, however, as the vote of the majority was uncertain, the results of this law, which certainly contained the germ of our entire free-school system, were not for a century so great or satisfactory as might have been expected. The educational services of Rev. William Tennent merit the most grateful and distinguished commemoration. He was an eminent scholar who, besides being proficient in several languages, spoke Latin with accurate fluency and delight. His "Log College" at Nehaminy, where for twenty years he inspired young men with a noble ambition for the higher life of letters and of a sanctified heart, was the germ out of which grew the College of New Jersey at Princeton. Such a benefactor leaves his impress on generations.

The idea of diffusing intelligence through the common school was not popular in the Southern Colonies. Governor Berkeley, of Virginia, in 1671 informed the English Commissioners of Foreign Plantations that every man according to his ability instructed his children, but added: "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing presses, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best of governments. God keep us from both!" That these words reflected the general sentiment seems evident from the circumstance that only isolated and transient schools existed throughout the South before the Revolution. Such young people as were educated at all were trained under parents or tutors at home until prepared to be sent to some institution abroad. A notable exception, however, to this rule is found in the Dorchester Seminary of South Carolina. This excellent grammar school, with four others of like character, was

the offspring of a colony of Congregationalists from Massachusetts. And it is claimed that they afforded "the best classical instruction," as they were assuredly bulwarks of piety and good citizenship. Maryland could boast of a similar institution at Battle Creek. And hence it would appear the South was not antagonistic to the academy, but rather to free common schools. Nor, in justice to Governor Berkeley, must it be forgotten that he gave generously to the support of private academies. Indeed, the idea of a free school was too often, in our early history, and not only in the South, but also in the North, associated with the odium of a pauper school, to meet with general favor. Many well-meant endeavors to extend the privileges of ordinary education to poor children were frustrated because their parents were too proud to profit by them.



THE GREAT DOME AND TELESCOPE OF LICK OBSERVATORY, CALIFORNIA.

With noble exceptions the teachers of the last century were of a low grade. Many of them were foreign adventurers, intemperate, and sometimes guilty of worse vices. In Maryland it was said that two-thirds of them were immigrants that came over either as "indentured servants, or as transported felons"! Neither were the text-books of a high order, the Bible and catechism always excepted. The New England Primer was a catechism and spelling-book combined. The New England Psalm Book was also used. Here are some that followed, mostly after the Revolution: the Dilworth Spelling Book, John Woolman's First Book for Children, Daniel Fleming's Universal Spelling Book, A Speller and Brief Grammar, by one Pierce, and, above all, Webster's Spelling Book, published in 1783. Two years later came his Third Reader—"An American Selection in Reading and Speaking; calculated to Improve the Mind and Refine the Taste of Youth; and also to Instruct them in the Geography, History, and Politics of the United States. To which are prefixed Rules in Elocution and Directions for Giving Expression to the Principal Passions of the Mind." Near the opening of the present century appeared Bingham's "American Preceptor," "The Columbian Orator," "Murray's English Reader," Chipman's "American Moralist," Stanford's "The Art of Reading," Goldsmith's "Roman History," and

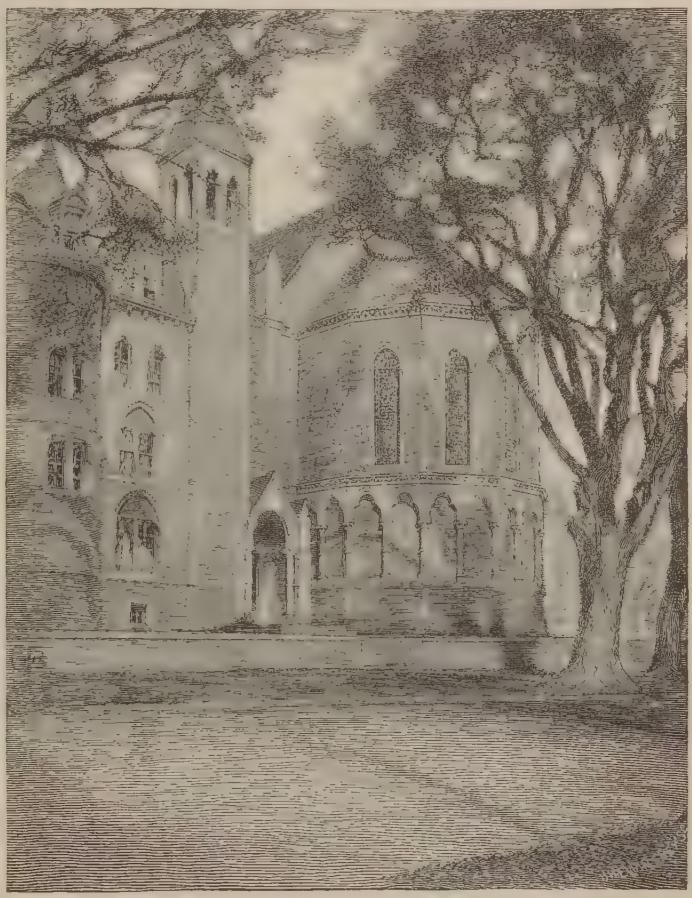
Webster's "Account of the Historical Transactions of the United States after the Revolution." Hodder's "Arithmetic, or that Necessary Art Made Easy; being Explained in a Way Familiar to the Capacity of any that Desire to Learn it in a Little Time," was in use from 1719 until supplanted by Pike's "Arithmetic," with its forty pages of algebra for academies, in 1785. Not long after came Daboll's "Arithmetic" and Dilworth's "School-Master's Assistant." Latin was taught by Bailey's "English and Latin Grammar" and by Cheeven's "Latin Accidence." The first English Grammar ever used in the Boston schools was "The Young Lady's Accidence," by Caleb Bingham. This was followed by South's "Short Introduction to English" and Lindley Murray's famous "Grammar." It is amusing to reflect that "Universal Geography" was presented by Jedediah Morse in a little 18mo book containing just four maps, whilst Dwight's "Catechetical System of Geography" had a limited circulation.

It is certainly as discreditable as it was anomalous, that in the new life and civilization inaugurated by our fathers on this continent the education of their daughters should have been so sadly neglected. Although girls were admitted to the Penn Charter School at Philadelphia and to the Moravian school at Bethlehem, Pa., yet as a rule they were remorselessly excluded from almost all others. Sometimes this deficiency was sought to be remedied by affording them a little instruction during short summer terms or at noon hours between the regular sessions. Afterwards a double-headed system was devised in Boston to instruct both sexes, but to keep them entirely separate. In the morning the girls would learn writing in one building and the boys in another, while in the afternoon they would exchange places or buildings in order to take their lessons in reading, grammar, and arithmetic. But even with this extraordinary caution against social dissipation between the brothers and somebody else's sisters, the latter were not allowed to attend school more than six months of the year, whilst the former were under the master for twelve months.

Thus far only elementary schools, with here and there an academy, have been under review; but our fathers were, in many sections of the land, profoundly solicitous to provide the higher learning belonging to the college and university. To enable their sons to become fitted for the professions of medicine, law, and especially of theology, was their hearts' desire. And to accomplish this they displayed rare generosity and often heroic self-sacrifice. Not six years after the settlement of Boston her representatives voted to tax the people 400 pounds for the foundation of a high school, which became subsequently Harvard College—an instance of enlightened public spirit without a parallel, unless it be in the petition by the citizens of Leyden to William of Orange for a university instead of for the pecuniary profits of an annual fair. The noble motive under-

lying this act was expressed in the words that "the light of learning might not go out, nor the study of God's Word perish."

The inspiration of this godly motive was so commanding as to lead John Harvard, after whom the college was named, to contribute to it one-half of his estate of 1700 pounds and all of his library. Certain magistrates subscribed in the aggregate 200 pounds. Others gave of their necessities. One brought a number of sheep; another nine shillings' worth of cloth; another a ten shilling pewter flagon; others, a fruit dish, a sugar spoon, a silver-tipped jug, one great salt, one small trencher salt, etc. Such gifts carry their own lesson of ardent and disinterested love. The course of study was shaped mainly to prepare students for the orthodox ministry of the time. It included logic, ethics, politics, a little of physics and botany, arithmetic and geometry, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, and the Bible. Latin was not pursued, but was spoken under compulsion in place of English. Prayers were attended at six in the morning and at five in the afternoon, when students were required "to read some portion of the Old Testament out of Hebrew into Greek, and the New Testament of English into Greek, after which one of the Bachelors or Sophisters logically analyzed what was read." Lectures were given on history, but mental philosophy was excluded. The College often experienced financial depression and hard struggles, until gradually new friends and larger gifts lifted it into the first place among American universities.



YALE COLLEGE CHAPEL.

The second college—that of William and Mary—grew out of a zeal to supply a ministry for the Episcopal Church, as Harvard had to supply clergymen for the Congregational Church. A similar aim and similar experiences, too, of difficulties marked most of our collegiate institutions prior to 1800. The following table shows the order of their origin, location, and affiliations :—

Institutions.	State.	Date.	Character.
1. Harvard,	Massachusetts,	1637	Congregational.
2. William and Mary,	Virginia,	1693	Episcopal.
3. Yale,	Connecticut,	1701	Congregational.
4. Princeton,	New Jersey,	1746	Presbyterian.
5. University of Pennsylvania,*	Pennsylvania,	1749	Non-sectarian.
6. Columbia,	New York,	1754	Episcopal.
7. Brown,	Rhode Island,	1764	Baptist.
8. Queen's (Rutgers),	New Jersey,	1766	Reformed (Dutch).
9. Dartmouth,	New Hampshire,	1769	Congregational.
10. Hampden-Sydney,	Virginia,	1776	Presbyterian.
11. Washington and Lee,	Virginia,	1782	Non-sectarian.
12. Washington University,	Maryland,	1782	Non-sectarian.
13. Dickinson,	Pennsylvania,	1783	Methodist Episcopal.
14. St. John's,	Maryland,	1784	Non-sectarian.
15. Nashville,*	Tennessee,	1785	Non-sectarian.
16. Georgetown,	District of Columbia,	1789	Roman Catholic.
17. University of North Carolina,*	North Carolina,	1789	Non-sectarian.
18. University of Vermont,*	Vermont,	1791	Non-sectarian.
19. University of East Tennessee,	Tennessee,	1792	Non-sectarian.
20. Williams,	Massachusetts,	1793	Congregational.
21. Bowdoin,	Maine,	1794	Non-sectarian.
22. Union,	New York,	1795	Non-sectarian.
23. Middlebury,	Vermont,	1795	Congregational.
24. Frederic College,	Maryland,	1796	Non-sectarian.

* State.

In the early part of this century public sentiment sprang forward with a new and decided impulse toward education. The thought of the communities crystallized itself in the noble words of Jefferson : "The diffusion of light and education is the resource most to be relied on for ameliorating the condition, promoting the virtue, and advancing the happiness of mankind." Many new colleges were founded, whilst new subjects of study, necessitating new professorships, were introduced into the old ones. In some of the States, as in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Kentucky, Louisiana, permanent school funds were created by the sale of public lands. In others, as Rhode Island, Vermont, Pennsylvania, annual legislative appropriations were made for schools. The proceeds of legalized lotteries were in many places devoted to the same object, including academies and colleges. Bank tax, surplus revenues, excise tax, and venders' license, Congressional land gifts, and many other means have contributed to education. Up to 1876 the educational land-grants of the

United States amounted to nearly eighty millions of acres, equal to more than the land of Great Britain and Ireland! The sums now expended from these resources and from taxation range in the different States from three to thirteen million dollars annually.

Three great ideas were gradually developed, viz.: that some education should be provided for every child; that the State must support the schools, and that the schools must be brought under intelligent and systematic supervision. In some places attendance upon the public school by children not already in a private school has been made compulsory. State, county, and city

COLLEGE FOOT-BALL, A TOUCH-DOWN.

superintendents have extended their inspection beyond financial measures and buildings to the subjects and methods of study, the art of discipline and instruction, as well as to the intellectual qualifications and moral character of teachers. The number and variety of the subjects taught have been immensely extended. The elementary instruction in cities now embraces reading, spelling, writing, drawing, music, language lessons, English grammar, United States history, geography, arithmetic, physical culture, natural science, including physiology, morals and manners, civil government; whilst the high schools provide full classical courses in Latin, Greek, algebra, geometry, etc., preparatory to entrance into college, besides commercial and scientific courses, German, etc.

The multiplication, too, of public schools has been enormous. It requires 216,330 houses to accommodate them, and 124,929 male teachers and 227,302 female teachers to instruct them. There are over twelve millions of pupils on their rolls, whilst over eight millions are in daily average attendance. The value of their property amounts to over $323,000,000, and their total annual revenue, from taxes, permanent funds, and other sources swells to over $132,000,000. There are also many excellent private schools with over one million scholars. Such figures are full of richest promise for the future stability and happiness of the Republic.

Nor is this all. Various associations and institutes have been organized to secure proper educational legislation and to enlighten the teachers themselves on many vital points connected with their work.

Normal and other schools have sprung into existence whose object it is to prepare young men and women for the profession of teachers. In 129 schools having normal classes there are no less than 22,618 persons pursuing the science and art of teaching, of whom 71 per cent. are women.

There have been organized within recent years some 233 business colleges, which afford from four to six months' courses in penmanship, book-keeping, arithmetic, banking, letter-writing, stenography, telegraphy, etc., to 64,858 attendants. A new departure has also been taken by the establishment of eighteen manual training schools, having over 3000 students, who are learning, along with primary studies, drawing, wood-turning, designing, clay modeling, carpentry, and the use of tools, preparatory to self-support in one of the trades. Moreover, some 1248 persons are in thirty-three nurses' training schools, acquiring the skill to enable them, at good wages, to care for the sick and helpless.

THE FIRST WOMEN

to receive a college degree in this country were three graduates of Oberlin in 1841; but now there are 198 institutions for the higher instruction of women, having 26,915 students.* The reproach that our fathers did not desire the mental improvement of their daughters is not likely to fall upon this generation.

Academies have risen all over the land until, if secondary schools be ranked with them, they number 1324, and have 146,521 pupils, of whom over 37,000 are preparing for admission to our colleges, either classical or scientific. In many instances the academy has advanced to a level of the former college, whilst the college has pushed on to the introduction of a wide variety of subjects seldom or never heard of in our earlier history. The colleges of liberal arts have reached the great number of 384, having 5422 professors and instructors and

* Among these institutions are such admirable colleges as Mt. Holyoke, Vassar, Smith, Wellesley, and Packer.

86,996 students, of whom 1358 are resident graduates. Many of these are young women, since nearly two-thirds of all the colleges now admit girls as well as boys. Besides the regular curriculum—generally comprising Latin, Greek, German, French, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, practical surveying, draughting, differential and integral calculus, chemistry, botany, electricity, physics, natural history, astronomy, physiology, zoölogy, biology, English language and literature, rhetoric, logic, mental and moral philosophy, history, political economy, constitutional law, the English Bible, civics, etc.—there are in many

THE LIBRARY, VASSAR (INSIDE).

of these institutions extensive elective courses for the further pursuit of several of the branches above-named and many more beyond them. Indeed, the elective system often begins with the junior year and allows great freedom of choice during the last two years of undergraduate life. Among these electives are Hebrew, Syriac, Sanscrit, and even Chinese, as at Harvard. Cornell University was founded with the expressed intention of furnishing instruction in any field which any youth may desire to cultivate. For the encouragement of original investigation eighteen of the universities and colleges offer to their first

scholars the benefits of 152 Fellowships. Harvard, for example, has 22, and Johns Hopkins and Clark universities 20 each, and Princeton 10.

Nor are our young men limited any longer to the old-fashioned classical college. Congress, by a princely appropriation from the public domain, has enabled each of the States to establish one or more Agricultural Colleges, whose curricula are adapted especially to develop ability for the pursuit of the industrial and mechanic arts, as well as for the enrichment of the soil, the production of crops, and the proper care of flocks and herds. At the same time the liberal culture derived from an acquaintance with rhetoric, logic, mental and moral philosophy, mathematics, modern languages, and various departments of natural science, is united with the four years' agricultural course. To meet, however, the demand of those not able to spend so long a time, shorter courses, and systems of popular lectures in chemistry as applied in agriculture, in entomology, in biology, and the like, have been adopted. In the 48 Agricultural Colleges there 9621 students.

AGRICULTURAL SCHOOLS.

In addition to the above, Agricultural Experiment Stations, sustained by both the General Government and the States, are earnestly engaged in investigating the causes of insect ravages, of potato rot, of cereal and fruit blights, and their remedies, of the nature of soils and fertilizers, the elements of milk, and the food best adapted to increase its quantity and quality, and the like. The results of these deeply interesting scientific and economic discoveries are widely distributed in reports and by the press, with the effect of making our rural population far more discerning and fertile of resources than formerly. To redeem the plow and the hoe from the hand of ignorance, will be to augment vastly the wealth of our farms.

Another notable advance in the intellectual life of the country is evinced in the creation and ample success of our theological seminaries. Before the Revolution certain studies as a preparation for the ministry formed a subordinate part of the literary college. These studies, with many and broad additions, comprising, altogether, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic, Greek, church history, didactic, polemic, and pastoral theology, hermeneutics, Biblical criticism, and preaching exercises, have been exalted into the basis for 141 independent theological seminaries, each one under the patronage and care of some particular denomination. They have 6989 candidates for the pulpit, and are expressive of the doctrines and life of the various sects.

Nor are the other professions without their own distinctive methods. The Law is represented by 52 colleges, with 3906 students; Medicine, of the regular order, by 92 colleges, with 12,238 students; and Homœopathy by 14 colleges, with 1159 students. There are 33 institutions for the blind, with 3134

pupils; and 72 institutions for deaf mutes, with 8156 pupils; and 26 Dental colleges, with 1835 students; and 30 Pharmaceutical schools, with 2812 students; and 7 Veterinary schools, with 345 students; and 9 Eclectic schools of Medicine, with 669 students; and 50 Reform schools, with 19,790 inmates; and colored public schools in the former slave States, having 1,213,092 pupils.

Evening schools and summer schools, of which the notable one at Chautauqua is the finest, and the introduction quite recently of university extension lectures in cities and smaller towns, are wise and useful agencies for the diffusion of knowledge. In short, public sentiment bristles with interest in all affairs

THE DREXEL INSTITUTE, PHILADELPHIA.

connected with the minds and hearts of the young. Numerous journals and magazines of education have been organized, and in many instances have obtained wide circulation. National meetings of the leading masters in school, academy, and college are annually held for discussions on the aims, duties, privileges and tremendous influence of the guides of youth. The perpetuity and prosperity of the Great Republic are clearly recognized as bound up with the intelligence and morality of its citizens.

An exceedingly popular and effective educational movement, known as The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, grew, in 1878, out of the "Chautauqua Assembly" which had been originated in 1874 by Dr. J. H.

Vincent and Lewis Miller for the purpose of conveying systematic instruction to Sunday-school teachers. Along the shore of Chautauqua Lake, in the southwestern part of New York, this organization holds its annual summer sessions in the midst of beautiful grounds comprising 165 acres, and adorned with over 500 picturesque cottages, halls, and an amphitheatre with seats for 5000 hearers. Besides the summer sessions, which are thronged with many thousands, there are local circles scattered all over the Union whose members carry on various courses of reading or study, requiring four years for completion, superintended by regular officers and rewarded by suitable diplomas. Between two and three hundred thousand persons are thus annually stimulated to make up the lack of collegiate training, or, having had that to pursue post-graduate branches. Another department of this institution rises to the dignity of a "College of Liberal Arts," with an able faculty which, after affording instruction by correspondence and requiring rigid examinations, confers, by the legislative authority of the State, the regular collegiate degrees. It is needless to say that vast multitudes are thus induced by this beneficent and helpful agency to make a good use of their time in seeking knowledge, who otherwise would be left in idleness.

Another agency for the dissemination of knowledge, from which large results are expected, has recently been begun under the name of University Extension. The professors of our colleges are endeavoring to reach the masses by giving lectures in the cities and villages within reaching distance of their respective institutions. The lectures embrace such subjects as astronomy, chemistry, botany, agricultural processes, political and social science, architecture, language, etc. Any one is at liberty to attend the lectures at a trifling cost. Indeed, they are substantially free. But in addition, regular classes are formed for the systematic prosecution of certain departments, and certificates are issued, after due examinations, stating the degree of proficiency attained as well as the subjects mastered. The legislature of New York appropriated $10,000 last year to be expended in this way under the direction of the regents of the University. Harvard, Johns Hopkins, the University of Pennsylvania, Columbia, Rutgers, Princeton and other colleges have already entered upon this fruit-bearing work.

The University of the State of New York, composed of all the incorporated colleges and academies and academical departments of public schools, was instituted May 1, 1784. It is governed by a Board of twenty-three Regents, of whom the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, the Secretary of State, and Superintendent of Public Instruction are ex-officio members, whilst the remaining nineteen are chosen by the legislature in the same manner as United States Senators. Its object is the promotion of higher education by establishing colleges and academies and by disbursing annually $106,000 appropriated by the State to those institutions which are found, after due inspection and an examination of their pupils, to be worthy of aid.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE FARMS OF THE NATION.

A PLANTATION GATEWAY.
(*Entrance to the Estate of William Byrd, at Westover, Va.*)

FROM the time when the first free home was builded on Plymouth Rock, and no king, no tax, no petty tyrant, nor grasping landlord met the venturesome home-seeker, America has offered, from the length and breadth and fullness of her possessions, the land upon which all wanderers on this shifting desert of circumstance may erect their altars and worship their God according to the dictates of their own consciences. No other country in the world offers such inducements as America. Its great home privileges extend from the ocean of storms to the ocean of peace, from the land of snows to the land of the orange.

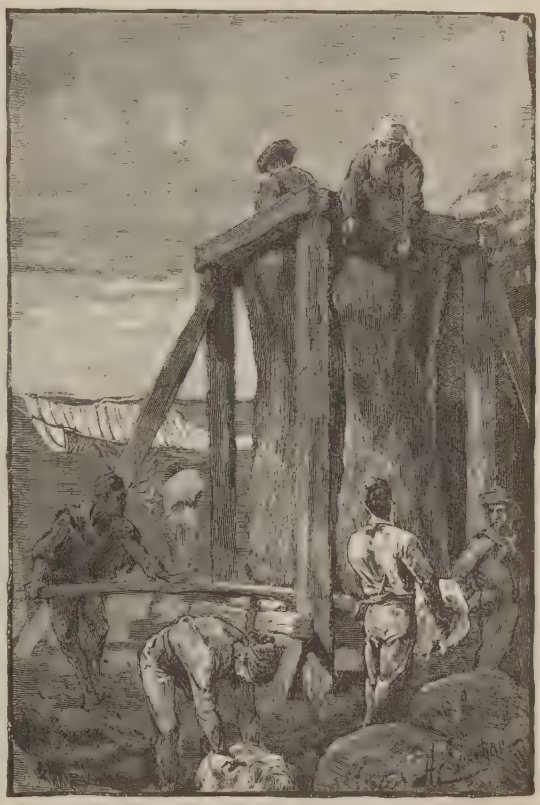
There are two instincts which impel the foreigner to cast his lot with that of a new country. The love of home, the desire to have his own fireside where he may set up his own household gods, will always be the strongest feeling among civilized people. But there is another feeling that is stronger often than patriotism—the desire of possession, which may take the form of greed for land. Those vast territories of unoccupied land which the country continues to offer to the resident of the New World will probably all be dealt out in less than half a century, so mighty has become the tide of immigration. The qualifications for ownership are that the applicant must be twenty-one years of age, or at the head of a family, and a citizen, or one who has signified his inten-

tion of becoming such. Land to the amount of 160 acres, a quarter-section, may be had by the payment of $1.20 per acre, or if 80 acres or less, at $2.50 per acre. After five years' cultivation, conditioned by a residency during six months of the year, the holder or his family is entitled to a patent conferring full ownership upon the holder. If the homesteader has served as a soldier or sailor during the war, for a period of ninety days or longer, the time of actual service is deducted from the full time required for preëmption, and is equivalent to settlement. He is further allowed six months' time after filing his declaration and locating his homestead before beginning settlement. The soldier's family are entitled to the benefits given soldiers. Every advantage is given to the homesteader. If one-sixteenth of the land is under good timber cultivation, and certain requirements in the way of planting have been met, the holder is entitled to receive patent for his land upon application after three years' occupancy. The homesteader is further protected by the law which forbids the seizures of homestead lands for prior debt. The objects of the Government in thus allotting public lands are to make her citizens contented by giving them the opportunity of establishing homes and to encourage agriculture, which must be every nation's chief resource. No one can complain that he does not find in America abundant opportunity to collect the living which the world owes him.

Less than two-fifths of the land in the United States is under cultivation, the improved land being about 365,300,000 acres, and the vacant public lands amounting to 579,664,683 acres. Aside from other natural resources, the wealth of timber and mineral lands extending over thousands of square miles, there are fully fifteen hundred thousand square miles of arable land in the United States, and her agricultural resources, if fully developed, would support a billion people. Japan, with her 48,000,000 acres, supports a population of 41,000,000 on a soil whose limit of cultivation was reached 2000 years ago. In that country of fully developed resources there is an average of one acre to four persons, while in the United States there is an average of eight acres to one person. With a land rich in resource, with the advantages of modern machinery, and the benefits of increasing knowledge in the science of farming, our agricultural possibilities are almost limitless. There are 2,115,135 square miles west of the Mississippi and 854,865 east. The greater portion of the former belonged to the American desert, which is receding rapidly before the advance of civilization and will soon become mythical. Even that extensive territory in Nebraska and Dakota known as the Bad Lands, in distinction from the adjoining fertile regions, and the Staked Plain of Texas, form a grazing country abounding in valleys and fertile districts. Cultivation of the soil increases rainfall, and artesian wells that overflow help to make the lands arable. But without irrigation and

artificial moisture there are vast tracts that would produce from 40 to 50 bushels of wheat and 70 to 80 bushels of corn per acre.

It may not be true that a nation's history can be read in her agricultural machines, but they show in a great measure the development made in agriculture, both as an industry and as a science. The modern farmer, particularly if he is progressive and has a commercial instinct, is ready to make use of all the scientific methods that are offered if he sees a possible chance of improving his land, his crops, and his income. He is not slow to learn that irrigation warms and lightens cold and heavy soils, and that the utilization of the sub-soil hastens the harvest by several weeks. The increase in crops every year is due to intelligent farming as well as to an increasing number of improved acres for farm lands.



BAGGING WOOL FOR TRANSPORTATION.

The most important of our American crops are corn and wheat. The great bulk of corn is used at home, and the shipments vary according to the home demand. The foreign demand for the past twenty years has not exceeded 3.9 per cent. of the production. The largest rate of production is in the Ohio and Missouri River valleys, but it is grown successfully in every part of the country except at high elevations. The highest value per acre is in New Hampshire and the lowest in South Carolina, where the yield is low, although prices are high. No product has a greater local variation than corn, for while it is one of the simplest crops as regards cultivation, much depends upon the season.

The price of wheat is regulated largely by the foreign market, the home demand affecting it only slightly. During ten years the average yield per acre has not varied one-third of a bushel. The banner wheat-growing States are Minnesota and the Dakotas, while Kansas and California come next in rank.

While there has been a gradual decrease in the yield of oats since 1889, there has been a steady increase in demand, affected somewhat by a growing consumption of the grain for human food. The interchangeable use of oats and corn regulates the values of each in a degree. The average yield for a series of years has been twenty-seven bushels to the acre. The range of value per acre is from $18 or $19 in Colorado, to $4.50 or $5 in North Carolina, depending upon the yield and the cost for transportation. A crop that is not grown much in this country is rye. It is a crop for poor soils, and its value per acre is from $11 to $13. In the South it is grown for winter pasturage rather than for seed. The average yield per acre, for ten years, has been 26.6 bushels.

The potato crop, a never-failing one in this country, will always be an important staple industry. In Idaho, where the soil is particularly favorable to the culture of this plant, 500 bushels have been the average per acre. Nearly every soil is suited to its growth.

Tobacco has always been one of the chief crops from the time it was exchanged by the early immigrants for wives, and from the first it has been a regular export. The chief tobacco regions are in Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Maryland, while it is grown also in Connecticut and in certain portions of New York, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and other States. The yield in Kentucky is steadily increasing, and this State now has 39.62 per cent. of the total acreage, besides producing over 45 per cent. of the entire crop The seed-leaf varieties are produced more in the Northern States, while farther south the manufacturing and export varieties predominate.

It is often profitable for the farmer to cultivate fodder in the seasons unfavorable to the regular crops. The representative constituent of hay is timothy, mixed more or less with other varieties of grass. In Texas, the land of the enormous hay farms, the famous mesquite and the native prairie grass, growing ten or twelve inches high, very juicy and fine-speared, make the best hay in the world. If carefully protected from cattle and allowed to grow, it is sufficiently hardy to choke out the weeds. In Arizona and parts of California, wheat, barley, and winter rye are cultivated for forage. The hardier varieties of sorghum and the early spring or winter grains may always be relied upon for fodder.

The successful cultivation of cotton depends upon certain meteorological conditions which the Northern climate lacks. During the first period in the growth of the plant, tropical conditions—moisture in the soil from frequent rains, an invariable high temperature, hot sun, with little wind—will reduce evaporation and contribute to the hardy growth of the plant. During the second period, which is the period of fruition, the opposite conditions are necessary, both in relation to soil and climate, to arrest the growth of

the stalk and develop the boll. So much depends upon these external conditions to produce a fine grade of cotton. The best quality is produced on the coast and low-lands. The fibre grown in the pine belt is coarser and has a lower value for manufacturing purposes.

Statistics of the great harvests of 1891 show that 2,075,000,000 bushels of corn were produced, 588,000,000 bushels of wheat, 758,000,000 bushels of oats, 80,000,000 bushels of barley, 34,000,000 bushels of rye, 14,000,000 bushels of buckwheat, 225,000,000 bushels of potatoes, with a total of 3,774,000,000 bushels. Also 523,000,000 pounds of tobacco were raised, 44,430,000 tons of hay, and 8,000,000 bales of cotton. The cotton receipts were the largest since the year 1860.

ENTRANCE TO A COTTON-YARD, NEW ORLEANS.

While market gardening may be carried on near local markets, where the producer often disposes of his goods to the consumer, truck-farming is usually carried on at a greater distance from the local points, on a greater scale. The total number of acres under cultivation for truck-farming is 534,400, with a total value of $76,517,155. In the district of New York and Philadelphia, nearly 109,000 acres are cultivated. Not far from one hundred million dollars are invested in the industry, and much employment is afforded to women and children. The advantages to be derived from the industry are that nearly all vegetables may be had during the year, since the railroad facilities have made it possible to convey perishable products to remote markets in a short time. Florida and the regions of the Lower Mississippi Valley supply the Eastern and Central cities in the early spring and late fall, and California supplies the Western cities. During midsummer the immediate neighborhoods supply the cities.

A partial failure of any of the crops does not signify that the cities shall not be supplied from other sources. About the only products received from California in Chicago, St. Louis, and Kansas City are new potatoes, cauliflower, cabbage, garlic, and tomatoes. The more perishable vegetables cannot be sent such a distance. New England supplies the Eastern markets even in the early and late season with such products as are profitable even when raised in hot-houses. California has the advantage over other States, for in addition to a soil that grows every vegetable, she has a climate that does not endanger her winter vegetables by frost. Michigan supplies the Chicago and middle Western markets with a great proportion of their produce, while Charleston, Savannah, and Jacksonville ship enormous quantities of truck to New York several times a week. During the census year of 1890 an estimate shows that the value of the vegetable crop was $5,773,476.25.

The Colonial records show that early in the seventeenth century the production of plants brought from the mother country was from seeds and by budding, grafting, and layering. In the records of the Massachusetts Company a memorandum of March 16, 1629, shows that slips for vine planters were provided, and stores of all kinds of fruits, and a letter from George Fenwick, of Saybrook, Conn., to Governor Winthrop acknowledged the receipt of trees for which he had evidently sent. Nurseries and botanic gardens were established, later, about the middle of the last century, at Flushing, L. I., which for more than a hundred years were continued by the descendants of William Prince, the original owner; and another is on record as existing near Charleston, S. C., about 1760. A premium of £10 was awarded to Thomas Young, of Oyster Bay, in 1768, by the Society for Promotion of Arts.

The matter of census inquiry in regard to nurseries was taken up in 1891, and but little recorded data were found to aid in the work. The approximated figures show that about 4510 nurseries are now flourishing in the United States, occupying 172,806 acres of land and valued at $41,978,835.80. There are employed 45,657 men and 2279 women for propagating and cultivating trees and plants, with a total capital invested of $52,425,669.51. The estimates show that 95,025.42 acres are comprised in these nurseries, and that a total number of plants and trees of 3,386,825,778 are reported, of which less than one-sixth are fruit trees; about one-fourth of the number are grape-vines and small fruits, and the remainder are evergreen and deciduous trees, hardy shrubs, and roses. The increased taste in horticultural matters and the steadily increasing demand will cause the rapid growth of horticultural production.

Within recent years the division of labor in every industry has made it possible to develop every branch in a measure independently of the others, save only so far as there must exist a mutual interdependence between all industries. In the day of small beginnings the farmer saved his own

seeds for successive plantings, and if he wished to vary his crops or add to his varieties, he made an exchange with his neighbors. Since the demand for seeds of all agricultural products, fruits, vegetables, and flowers, has made it profitable to raise seeds for commercial purposes, it has been found worth while to devote 169,831 acres of land exclusively to seed production. Nearly one-half of the 569 seed farmers are in the North Atlantic States, covering 47,813 acres, or an average of 185 acres per farm. In the North Central division there are 157 farms, with a total acreage of 787,096, or 555 acres per farm. The largest farms are reported in Nebraska and Iowa, with an average of 695 acres. Several of these farms average 3000 acres each. The industry is not a new one, for two seed farms were reported before 1800.

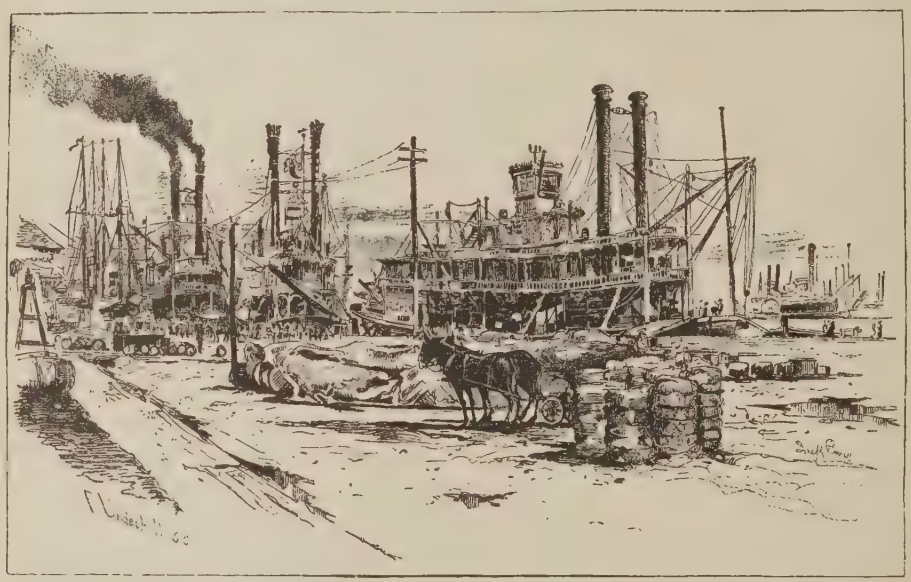
Commercial floriculture has made the greater part of its development within the past ten years, and there are in this country to-day 965 state and local floral societies and clubs, besides the Society of American Florists. It is probably due to the influence of these societies that there is a rapidly growing taste for the culture of flowers. More than in any other American industry are opportunities offered for women. Of the 4659 floral establishments reported in the census year, 312 were owned and conducted by women. These establishments are valued at $38,355,722.43, and the combined wages of the 16,847 men and 1958 women employed, amount to $8,500,000. The rose is the universally favorite flower, as shown by the report of products. Nearly fifty million roses were produced in the year, thirty-nine million hardy plants and shrubs, and 153,000,000 of all other plants. It may be of interest to note that the greatest area of glass in any one floral establishment was 150,000 square feet, and the smallest 60 square feet, an attachment to a New England farm-house where the woman of the house sells from $35 to $50 worth of plants and cut flowers each year. Every state and territory except Idaho, Nevada, Indian Territory, and Oklahoma, reported floral establishments.

No industry is more fascinating and compensating to the man who has an instinctive fondness for nature, than fruit culture. Aside from the pleasure of watching the growth in his orchards and on his plantations, from shoot to bud and bloom, through the whole ripening process to full fruitage, he is rewarded even further by the literal fruits of conscientious toil. But perhaps no agricultural product is more subject to the uncertainty of varying seasons.

Although extensive fruit farming is of comparatively recent date in America, statistics show that $85,000,000 was expended in the home markets during the last census year for orchard products. In addition, fully $20,000,000 was spent for imported fruits and nuts. There is every reason to believe that in a few years, with the certain development of our country's resources,

and with our rapidly increasing fruit industry, we shall be able to supply, not only the domestic markets, but a large part of the foreign as well.

Fruit raising as a vocation was hardly known in the South until after the Civil War. It would have been beneath the dignity of the "fine old Southern gentleman" to part with his orchard delicacies for money. The best his land could produce belonged always to his family, his friends, and the chance stranger within his gates. But when the civil strife was over, and his occupation gone, the gentleman turned to the products of the rich soil for his livelihood. To-day we find much of our best and most abundant fruit is grown in the South, much of which is raised for early Northern markets.



THE "PICAYUNE TIER."

Fruit growers remember the wave of fruit culture which, beginning in Delaware, swept southward through Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and all the States warmed by the Gulf Stream. The territorial limit has not yet been reached. The west, aside from California, has not yet disclosed all its resources to the fruit grower.

The apple seems to be peculiarly an American fruit, for it can be grown successfully in a variety of soils, and in nearly every part of the country. It probably thrives best in the hard, rocky land of New England, and there seems to be justice in that, for there is so much in the way of fruit cultivation that is denied the New Englander. It is often believed that the apple was the first fruit discovered in America; but the fox-grape was found here by

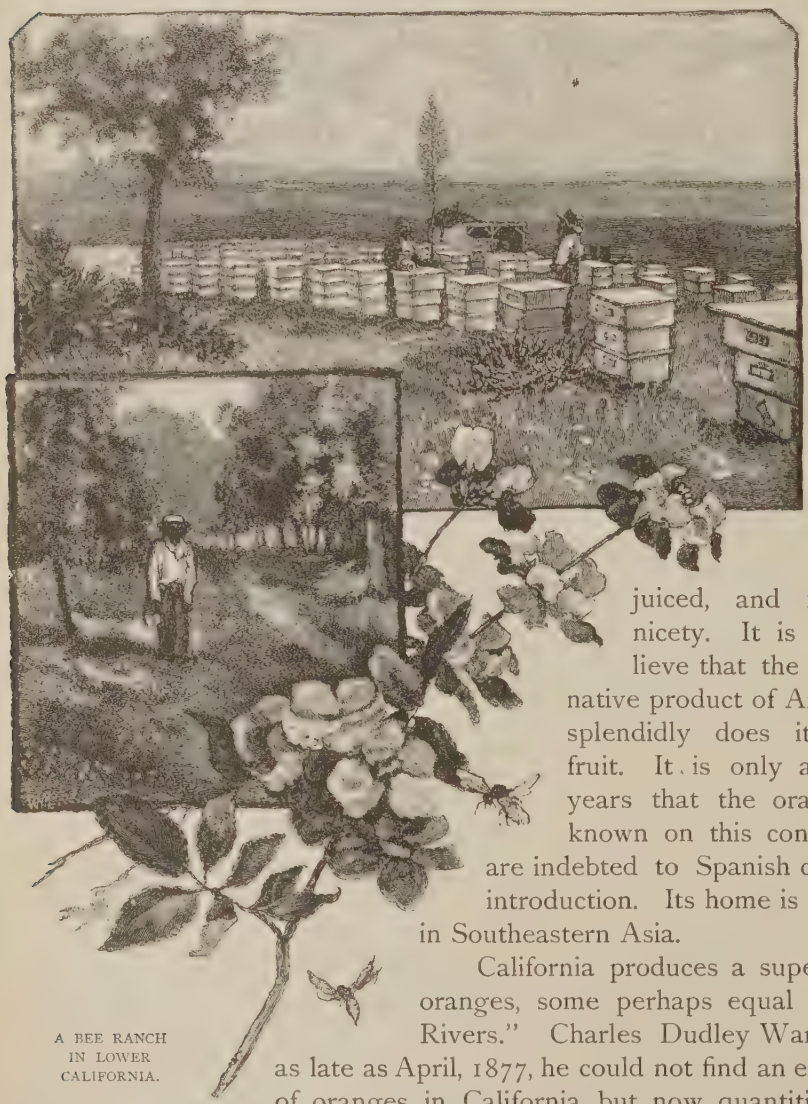
the earliest explorers, and the apple was probably first introduced by the French missionaries. The Dutch and English colonists followed with varieties from their own countries. One branch of apple growing is strangely neglected, that of rearing and sending to market the early summer varieties.

For the propagation of the peach, which is believed to have been brought here by Spanish explorers, we are indebted to the Indians. The variety known as "Indian" peach, sometimes also called Columbia, which was introduced into Jersey, has, by cross-cultivation, given numberless varieties, from the white free-stone to the peculiar dark purple type. The list of hardy varieties is not a long one, the latest being known as the "Excelsior." A slight difference in the quality of the fruit makes considerable difference in the price, and the shrewd grower aims to produce a superior quality rather than a great yield. The process of thinning is strongly recommended. As soon as the blossoms have set, fully two-thirds are plucked, and another thinning should follow as soon as the color of the fruit begins to turn. The result, other things being equal, is a yield of magnificent specimens, large, finely marked, and delicious to the taste. Peach cultivation is a remunerative industry in more ways than one. There is always a demand for skilled labor in the picking and handling of the fruit, this work being regarded as an art in its way.

The process of thinning is also profitable with early apples and choice pears, especially with those growing in clusters. While California produces more pears than any other State, and the California pear has no rival in the regard in which it is popularly held, the Southern States, particularly Texas, are experimenting with the fruit and have already produced fine varieties. The objection to planting pear-trees commonly made, that one must wait so long for any returns, is met by the fact that the demand for fine pears, as for all high-class native fruit, is constantly increasing. A large capital is not necessary to insure success in this branch of the fruit industry. The grower needs only to avail himself of the experiences of others in regard to the best soil, best methods of producing, and best varieties for cultivation.

The orange industry is a recent one. The fruit was first raised in this country for market by Dr. Clayton Cargill, of Dover, Del., in 1865. Soon after this Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, visiting the region of the St. John's River, in Florida, wrote glowing letters on the possibilities for orange culture. Since then the trackless pine woods have been converted into orange bowers, beautiful to look upon, delightful to the senses, and profitable to the owner. There are $10,000,000 invested in orange groves in Florida, with a yearly return of $2,000,000. Fifty varieties are yielded by the tall, graceful, shining-leaved trees in that State alone, and fully 10,000 square

miles are adapted to the production of the bridal blossom. The finest oranges in the world come from Florida, and are raised on the banks of the Indian River. No apologies are needed for that fruit, and there are no vain regrets that such and such a quality is missing. The Gulf Stream weathers are favorable to a variety that is almost as large as a croquet ball, of a deep color, brown cheeked, thin skinned, plentifully juiced, and flavored to a nicety. It is difficult to believe that the orange is not a native product of American soil, so splendidly does it nurture this fruit. It is only a few hundred years that the orange has been known on this continent, and we are indebted to Spanish cavaliers for its introduction. Its home is supposed to be in Southeastern Asia.



A BEE RANCH IN LOWER CALIFORNIA.

California produces a superior quality of oranges, some perhaps equal to the "Indian Rivers." Charles Dudley Warner writes that as late as April, 1877, he could not find an excellent quality of oranges in California, but now quantities of delicious native fruits are easily obtainable. The question is often asked if it is feasible for one to attempt orange culture in California with small capital? In all probability twenty times the number of men who are interested in the business now could become wealthy if engaged in intelligent culture of the fruit.

Energy, pluck, patience, and faith in his Maker, are pronounced good qualities in a man who starts out to make his fortune in any branch of fruit raising.

Grape fruit is produced in Florida and the other Southern States, as is also the shaddock, a coarse, pumpkin-shaped fruit of the same variety, weighing from three to five pounds. The persimmon, lime, fig, prune, guava, pineapple, banana, etc., are cultivated in the same region. In the cultivation of the banana the utmost care must be taken in selecting the best soil for the tree. The average time required to bring it to fruition is about one year, but if planted in one locality it may mature in nine months, while in another, where there is, apparently, only a slight difference in the soil, from fifteen to sixteen months may be required. The shoots are set fifteen feet apart, thus giving the growing tree plenty of room to spread its broad, translucent leaves, under whose shelter is partially hidden the single bunch of fruit which it is its mission to bear. Having performed its duty, the tree proper dies, while fresh shoots come forth to produce in time more food for the sustenance of its master, man. People remote from the home of the banana are not grateful enough for this palatable, nourishing fruit. They nibble it simply as the relish or finishing touch of a meal, unconscious of the fact that it forms almost the whole subsistence of millions of natives of the Tropics. It is claimed that a banana contains as much nourishment as a pound of beef-steak, but the Northerner clings to the beef at twenty-five cents a pound in preference to the humble banana at "two for five." The banana harvest does not depend upon the time of year, but upon the time of planting. We have a continual banana season, although the best market is between the first of March and the last of June. The large bunches, often weighing sixty pounds, are cut while green by machinery, and are caught by the laborer, as they fall, without breaking or bruising a single fruit. The bunches for transportation are wrapped in the dead leaves of the plant, which are used wet to insure pliability. The growth of the banana industry in this country is almost marvelous. Each of the large cities, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, receives from seventeen to thirty thousand bunches a day. As in other branches of fruit-raising, the supply does not equal the demand. We pay Jamaica alone $1,000,000 a year for bananas, and the possibilities in the way of cultivation of this fruit should be a stimulus to encourage the industry. There are many "banana walks" along the irrigation canals in our Southern States, and there is room for many more. The enterprising young man with a few hundred dollars will find rich returns for intelligent investment in banana fields.

Pineapple culture in this country is still in its infancy. The largest plantation in Florida is owned by Thomas E. Richards, the pioneer in the industry, who began to plant in 1879. It is not yet known how much of our land is adapted to the pineapple, nor are the best methods of culture yet determined.

Much can be learned from the pioneer growers, who have already achieved encouraging results, but the pineapple planter is still an experimenter. The number of crops that a plant can profitably yield is a disputed question. Reports show that three crops are the limit under certain conditions of culture, four crops can be grown under other conditions, while one grower maintains that five crops can be easily yielded before the plants need to be replaced. A larger capital for investment—not less than $3000 or $4000—will be required

VALLEY IRRIGATION IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.

to yield satisfactory returns in this branch of fruit culture, than in any other. While the experiment may be regarded as more or less hazardous, the returns are often gratifying. In some cases $700 an acre, with a net of $300, was reported, and the results are quick. The orange requires seven or eight years to reach fruition, and the pineapple plant bears a full crop in a year and a half from the time of setting. This delicious fruit, whether canned or fresh, will always be the *piece de resistance* of every thrifty housewife, and until its culture

becomes a flourishing American industry she must continue to pay from twenty-five to seventy-five cents apiece for these luxurious necessities.

Of the progress made in the cultivation of the smaller garden fruits comparatively little has been written. They have been overshadowed by the larger enterprises devoted to the culture of larger fruits, and it has been said of them that except to the enthusiast they are, like Heaven, "objects of special interest and general neglect."

Our greatest fruit industry is grape culture. It is strange that no foreign grapes have yet been raised east of the Rocky Mountains. The experimenter has tried again and again to propagate European varieties, but all his efforts have been unsuccessful except in California. A few years ago E. W. Bull began experimenting with the wild fox-grape, and his efforts have met with gratifying success. The Ives Seedling, Lady Woodruff, and the luscious Concord are direct descendants of the humble "Fox." The Delaware, Isabella, and Catawba are accidental varieties.

The American wild grape and its cultivated varieties are peculiarly adapted for wine making, and it is encouraging to learn that France, which produces finer table grapes than any other country, is experimenting with our grapes for wine purposes. It is probable that the United States will eventually supply the world with the best vineyard varieties. Less than half a century ago a venturesome grower of grapes in the Lake Keuka district, N. Y., sent to New York city his full crop, consisting of fifty pounds. To his surprise, the entire shipment was sold. Growing reckless with his success, he sent during the following year about 250 pounds, and broke the market! In 1891 about 20,000 tons were consumed through the markets of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. During the same year California alone manufactured 16,500,000 gallons of wine, besides producing 235,526 pounds of table grapes, and preparing 2,197,463 boxes of raisins, with prospects of increasing the yield of raisins within the next five years to 10,000,000 boxes. In the vineyards alone 100,422 men were employed, and the importance of the industry can scarcely be estimated.

Raisin making is a comparatively simple process. On the fruit ranches in California the grapes are simply cut from the stem and left on the ground for the sun to dry.

Statistics show that New York State produced 60,687 pounds of grapes for table use during the year and made 2,528,250 gallons of wine, employing 25,500 men for the work. However, the figures do not indicate that the consumption of wine has increased alarmingly, but that the wine consumer has transferred his patronage to home-made goods. It may be of interest here to note that the largest wine cask in the world is in the Lake Erie district. It is made of Ohio oak and holds 36,000 gallons. California can boast of the largest as well as of the smallest vineyard in the world. The former is at Tehama and

contains 3800 acres, to which 1000 acres are to be added within a year. The smallest vineyard is in Santa Barbara county, and consists of a single vine which was planted by a Mexican woman about sixty-nine years ago. Its trunk has a diameter of twelve inches, its branches extend over an area of 12,000 feet, and it produces annually from 10,000 to 12,000 pounds of grapes, of the famous Mission variety, the bunches frequently weighing six or seven pounds each. The old lady to whose thrift the present owners are indebted died in 1865, at the age of 107.

The total number of acres included in the vineyards of the various States and Territories is 307,575, giving employment to 200,780 laborers. The average number employed in the outdoor work, in the cultivating of the fruit, is one person to three acres. As growers become more familiar with the use of spraying apparatus and fungicides, the harvests will be more certain. It may be a long time before we shall achieve a parallel to the grapes of Eshcol, though our own product guarantees great possibilities in viticulture.

Aside from the small fruit farms, and hot-houses for the cultivation of blackberries, raspberries, and strawberries, much of the small fruit for market comes from the woods and marshes, where they grow in a semi-wild state. Their yield as regards quantity and market price, is almost marvelous.

In many New England localities, the small farms that once were the source of livelihood of the Yankee and his family have weather-stained boards across their front gates bearing the sign, "For Sale," or "To Let." The pear and apple orchards, clover meadows, and small fields, well enough for the sedate fathers, are too small to bound the aspirations and energies of the younger generation. The soil which has borne harvests and fruitage for ten generations is not so responsive as the soil of the New West. The young men who do not turn their attention to the more lucrative trades and professions of the cities, venture into farming on a large scale in the West, where the indolent tiller reaps almost as rich harvests as the energetic one. The yielding capacity of the wheat farms of the New West is almost incredible. If the native grass is burned off or turned under, and seed is scattered on top of a light plowing, the tender grain springs up and yields good returns with but little effort on the part of the tiller. On the other hand, when great capital is invested, improved methods and machinery used, and efficient labor employed, wheat farming in these regions yields returns that would seem incredible to the old-fashioned farmer. The supply of grain is limited only by the acreage under cultivation. From 12,000 to 40,000 acres are comprised in single farms, and the number of buildings, granaries, elevators and windmills on each give the appearance at a short distance of little villages. Farming on such a scale is simply a business venture, controlled by monopolies or wealthy capitalists, who leave the entire charge of the business with superintendents. About 150 men are employed during the harvest

season, with daily wages averaging $1.50 per capita, and thousands of dollars are invested in machinery and horses. The small farmer in the West has no chance in his competition with monopolies, and while companies are becoming wealthy, the communities receive little of the benefit. There is no home-life on these large Western farms, and the only society is that of the laborers, often uneducated foreigners.

The great fertile district extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Panhandle of Texas, from the curving boundary lines of the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana to the Rio Grande River, has been called the Land of Cotton. The most beautiful, as well as the most typical plantations are those in the valleys of the Red and the Mississippi Rivers, where the soil is a rich red loam, easily cultivated as well as productive and responsive. The climate is mild and salubrious, and all natural conditions are favorable to the cultivation of the cotton. In all its different stages of growth it is the most interesting of those plants that fall under the class commonly designated as "useful." Its very seed is a mystery of the life principle, for that small, woolly, rusty little cocoon conceals the warp and woof of the great proportion of humanity's covering. After lying all winter in the neglected heaps about the old gins and barns, the seed are tossed into the moist earth, and soon the three-leaved plants appear, running in long straight rows for miles across the fields of bottom-land. The blossom, appearing as a pink bud, becomes white petaled, filling the land with a rare fragrance. All the while the process of cultivation goes on, the dark-faced laborers plowing, thinning, hoeing, and weeding. It is a leisurely work which suits the indolent nature of the negro, the ordained cultivator of cotton.

WIND-BREAK OF EUCALYPTUS TREES, TO PROTECT ORCHARDS.

During the summer drouth, the green stalks turn brown, and the leaves fall away, giving place to the cooped boll with its contents of snow. Soon these bolls burst, and out comes the fine dry fabric. "Cotton-pickin' time" begins, the merriest, jolliest, "flushest" season the darkies ever know. With good-natured hardihood they desert their town homes, for it doesn't pay to

tend horses, run errands, nurse and cook, while the vast fields of cotton stretching beyond invite their nimble fingers, and promise pay for actual number of pounds picked.

Some of these plantations are small colonies in themselves. Their boundaries include many miles square of prairie and timber lands. Upon each is the store for general merchandise, a post-office, church, and school house, besides the mill, gin, press, compress, and warehouses. There are the renters' houses, the "hands'" cabins, each with its truck patch and pig pen, the owner's house, with its long, rose-bowered verandas, its beautiful lawns and flower gardens, the stables, barns, and carriage houses. There are an ice-house, a dairy, an apple-house and smoke house, and buildings innumerable. Fruit orchards and vineyards, hammocks and rustic seats, all contribute to make the life of the Southerners as enviable as possible. About these old plantations lingers the atmosphere of ante-bellum grandee life. Things are done on a large scale. Supplies are laid in by the barrel and hogshead, and produce is planted and garnered accordingly. Yet everything is subservient to King Cotton, who fills the measure of the hearts and expectations of his subjects. Year after year, and crop after crop, bring no great profits to the owner. He does not seem to take into consideration the difference between the former times, when he owned both labor and product, and the present conditions, with its divided interest, daily wages, inequality of labor, and decreasing capabilities, which have warped the conditions of the industry since the war. Paid labor is not equal in many ways to slave labor, for the slaves worked for the interest of their masters. As many as five hundred slaves often grew up together on one plantation. They knew but one home and one occupation. Their first toddling steps were between the rows of young cotton, and they learned to sing the cotton field songs as soon as they could talk. Their wants were few; their knowledge of life and its possibilities was bounded by the blue rim of the horizon which set on their master's plantation. Now they are a set of shiftless nomads, wearying of the new broom of their spasmodic energies at one plantation, and moving on to a fitful spell of work at another. This in a great measure accounts for the uncertainties. Employer and employee have no longer a mutual interest. As for white cotton-hands, they do not pay. The hot seasons are too intense for them and the returns too precarious. Yet the Southener clings to his cotton fields. He cannot believe that Egyptian and other foreign cottons are competing successfully with his. He cannot understand why it is that he makes as many bales to the acre as he did in the old time yet clears no money. He only knows that if raised at all it must be raised in large quantities. The cost of labor is nearly equal to the returns of the crop. He hauls his bales into town to be sampled and bid upon by merchants and buyers, and is satisfied if the net profits are sufficient to pay off last year's store-bills. The system of

monthly and yearly credit is, of itself, the ruin of the Southern farmer. He is even handicapped by his tenants. He must advance them provisions while they are working in his employ. If his crop runs short he is in debt to his merchants and his tenants are in debt to him. He has not a diversity of crops to fall back upon in an unfavorable year. So all depends upon the season, upon the drouth, or overflow, or boll-worm.

Yet the business possesses a peculiar fascination. There are the green fields in the spring-time; the blossom fields in the summer; the brown fields of early autumn; and the snow fields of harvest-time. There are the pickers in wagon-loads and tramping crowds, weary and care-free. They sing all day as they fill their baskets, joking and depreciating each other's skill as they wait about the weigher's stand at night for their weights and pay, and singing again to the merry tinkle of the banjo, as they lounge about their cabin doors before bedtime. There are the gins with their creaking machinery and snow-drifting lint room; presses with the ties and bagging, rolling out great bales, which are crowded into a sixth of their original size by the mighty elbows of the compresses. Then there are the wagons, loaded bale upon bale, jogging along the road, the happy tenant driving, wife and children perched upon the bales, "goin' to trade." There are visions of cotton exchanges, where gambling in futures runs high, and millions change hands every day; of huge vessels at the seaport and long freight cars in the inland, laden and groaning with the precious freight.

One of the devices of greatest interest to the visitor in many parts of the West is the device which makes man a special providence in sections which were formerly arid wastes because of lack of rain. In an admirable discussion of the subject of irrigation, General Irwin quotes the phrase "irrigation makes homes for millions, better than the rain makes homes." In former times irrigation would undoubtedly have been regarded as a device of Satan, since it attempts to supplement the work of Providence in making the earth fruitful. The change in twenty years by the introduction of water into sections where no water was has been marvelous, but it is only prophetic of the still greater changes to come. It is not many years since the maps of the Western country were interspersed with forbidding dots, marked deserts, which were universally regarded as waste places forever. In the map of the near future there will be no American desert. Irrigation will have made almost every acre of land available, and those sections which seem to-day almost beyond redemption by artificial fertilization, will undoubtedly yield to the increasing inventiveness and ingenuity of man.

The arid area in this country, according to Major Powell, is fifteen hundred miles in its widest part, from east to west, and a thousand miles from north to south, containing over a million of square miles, over six hundred millions of acres, and constituting about one-third the entire area of the country. These

statements make the importance of irrigation evident at the first glance. Within the limits of this natural desert lie Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, Wyoming, New Mexico, Idaho, and parts of Montana, of the Dakotas, of Texas, of Kansas, of Nebraska, of Washington, of Oregon, and of California. The Secretary of the Interior, in his report for 1891, declared "that 120,000,000 acres that are now desert may be redeemed by irrigation so as to produce the cereals, fruits, and garden products possible in the climate where the lands are located." It is to the Mormons that we owe the first practical and successful use of irrigation on a large scale; a scale so large and so impressive that it became a great object-lesson in the whole West. There are now under the influence of irrigation nearly four million acres of land, penetrated by more than fifteen thousand miles of artificial water-ways in the form of canals and ditches. The condition of the cultivator of irrigated lands is, in one important respect, more assured than that of the cultivator of lands within the rain belt, for while rains fail, and droughts are of frequent occurrence, to the disaster and discouragement of the cultivator, irrigation is unfailing.

In California, the price of water is regulated by law, and it is likely that the other States and territories in which irrigation is used will, sooner or later, regulate the matter just as other States regulate and control the freight charges of the railroads. The greatest need in irrigated countries is the building of large reservoirs for water storage, for the purpose of securing an equalization of distribution. The dry regions contain hills and valleys, and the soil which is furnished by the valley is supplied with water by the mountains, and all that is needed is the utilization and equalization of the supply which nature furnishes. The main question now is how shall this be done. The Secretary of the Interior, in the report already quoted from, says that private corporations and associations are now substantially given the field of water supply for that domain which may be redeemed by irrigation, and that this field is being rapidly seized upon. The United States does not retain control, but establishes States or Territories, by which the control is handed over to corporations. In the Secretary's opinion the General Government should not release altogether its hold upon water supplies. No one can compute the future populousness and value of the arid Territory, and no one can compute, therefore, the future value of privileges which are now being given away. It will not be long before the matter of water supply will be one of the highest national importance, both as regards the value of the control to the Government and its importance to settlers who are dependent upon it. In a recent message to Congress, the President said "the Government should not part with its ownership of the water sources, except on the condition of insuring water to settlers at reasonable rates." The appliances of irrigation add not a little to the picturesqueness of the country, and the wind-mills often may be made as effective as the mills of Holland, if proportion and color are taken into account.

CHAPTER XXVII.

SOME GREAT AMERICAN INDUSTRIES.

ARBLE is, of all stones used for building or sculpture, the best known and the most anciently used. The earliest records of human architecture tell of its employment. The Egyptians used it before they built the Pyramids. The temples and palaces of Greece were built of it; and it was the boast of an Emperor that he had found Rome brick and had left it marble. For external structure and for internal decorations marble was used with equal felicity, while for statuary and all forms of sculpture it was the only stone held worthy of the artist's chisel. From Mount Pentelicus and from the Isle of Paros came the snowy stone of which the Parthenon and its fellow gems of architecture were built, and in which were wrought the masterpieces of Phidias and Praxiteles, while the artists of Rome sought their supplies at Carrara, on the Gulf of Spezzia.

It is a far cry from Mount Pentelicus to Otter Creek. Yet the fame of the former for this beautiful stone is rapidly being transferred to the latter. The hills that border that humble stream in Central Vermont are green without, as their name implies. But within they have been found to have hearts of snowy marble, rivaling that of Italy and Greece in purity and texture. A considerable quantity of it is perfectly suited to the finest statuary work, while the amount available for architectural purposes is practically inexhaustible.

This Rutland County marble, for which Vermont is famous, is of the age of the Trenton limestone of New York, and forms a huge layer, 2000 feet thick, underlying hundreds of square miles of country. Not all portions of the layer, however, are valuable. Where it crops out at the surface of the ground, or nearly reaches it, the upper part, for a depth of from ten to fifty feet, is worthless, because of the action of the weather. At West Rutland the vein of perfectly pure statuary marble, rivaling that of Paros and Carrara, is only four feet thick. But there are fifty feet more of superb clouded and colored marble for architectural use. At Sutherland Falls the vein of building marble is seventy-five feet thick, and at Pittsford it is more than six hundred feet thick, with scarcely a seam or a flaw. Other less valuable deposits of marble, white,

clouded, or colored, are found at Lee, Mass., Tuckahoe and Sing Sing, N. Y., Louisa County, Va., and other places in the Appalachian Mountain belt. At Shoreham, Vt., and Glen's Falls, N. Y., black marble is found. Burlington, Vt., furnishes the beautiful variegated "Winooski" marble. But the mountains of Tennessee are the chief source of this last-named kind, yielding seemingly endless quantities of fine-textured stone, colored in every imaginable hue and tint, and veined and streaked and mottled in the most bewilderingly beautiful manner.

IN THE QUARRY.
(*A Marble Quarry in Vermont.*)

So it came to pass that when the hardy Green Mountain farmer found his fields becoming sterile and unprofitable, he looked below the surface, and there found a richer and surer harvest than ever had appeared above. And while on the Gulf of Spezzia the quarrymen clung to the primitive methods of work, slow, laborious, and wasteful, the New Englanders utilized in quarrying the latest devices of Yankee ingenuity.

The first thing to do is to clear away the surface rock, which heat and cold and other conditions have partially decomposed and rendered worthless. This is largely done by blasting, great care being exercised to use light charges, acting upward, so as not to injure the sound

marble below. After this "cap-rock" is thus removed and a "sound" floor secured there is no more blasting. The stone is too valuable to be shattered into useless fragments.

Instead of gunpowder, steam-power is used. There are two kinds of "channeling machines" in use. One drives a set of chisels, the other a series of drills. Both effect the same purpose, the cutting of straight, narrow, parallel channels in the marble floor, five or six feet deep and perhaps the same distance apart. Other channels are then cut at right angles to the first, dividing the floor into squares. One of these huge blocks is next broken loose, by means of wedges, and lifted out. Into the cavity thus formed a workman gets down, and directs a drill or set of chisels horizontally against the bases of the other blocks, which are thus one by one cut off—"gadding," the work is called—and lifted out. When all are removed, a fresh "floor" is presented and the "channeling machines" are set at work again, cutting their deep, narrow trenches and dividing the "floor" into another series of blocks. The cost of thus cutting marble and raising it from the quarry is from seventy-five cents to a dollar the cubic foot.

SLUICE-GATE.

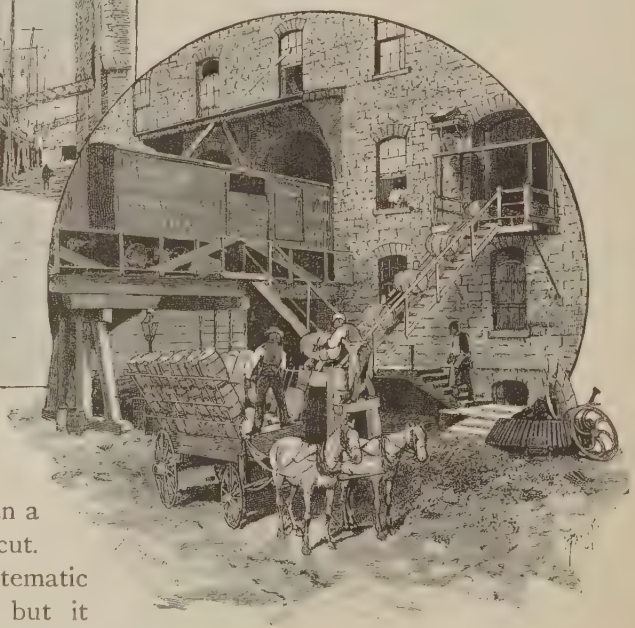
These huge cubes of marble are taken from the quarry to the mill, to be cut into smaller blocks or slabs for building purposes. The cutting is done by means of gangs of horizontal saws, made of soft iron and having no teeth, but being fed with sand and water. They are operated by steam

or water-power. The polishing of the blocks and slabs is also done by power. The pieces of marble are placed in a "rubbing-bed" and ground and polished with sand and emery by a rubber, which works on them with either a rotary or a to-and-fro motion.

Pieces of marble of extraordinary size, for monolithic columns, obelisks, etc., are cut and fashioned in the same way. Much of the fluting and other carving on ornamental stonework is done by machinery in the mills. Sometimes hand-carving is done there also, and sometimes it is left until the stones are actually in place in the structure of which they are to form a part.

BETWEEN THE MILLS.

The American marble industry is a comparatively young one. It began about 1836, with the burning of some of the surface marble, at West Rutland, for lime. Then a few tombstones were cut. After a dozen years systematic quarrying was begun; but it was difficult to persuade the public that Vermont marble was as good as that imported from Europe. That it is as good, if not better, is, however, now amply established, and the quarrying of it has become a mammoth industry. Where once were barren sheep-pastures, worth a few dollars an acre, are now vast and increasing caverns, with snowy walls, from which busy toilers



BARREL-HOIST AND TUNNEL THROUGH THE WASHBURN MILL.

armed with steel and steam have taken millions of dollars worth of stone, enough of it, and good enough, to have built all Athens in the age of Pericles.

"The old order changeth, giving place to new." But only the means are new, and not the ends. Before history began, bread was the staff of life, and in the Stone Age the grain of the field was ground into meal for food. Among the earliest implements of human ingenuity were the two stones between which the corns of wheat or barley were crushed, and those very implements are in use to-day in savage lands. Civilization still clings to bread as the staff of life, and still grinds the grain between two stones. They are large stones, now, and they are operated by steam or water power. But the result is the same in kind as it was uncounted ages ago.

SHOOTING A WELL.

The well-nigh universal method of grinding grain is that of the common village mill. Two huge disc-shaped stones are placed one above the other, the faces which come together being grooved in a peculiar fashion. Through the upper stone there is a hole, through which the grain trickles from a hopper and enters the narrow space between the stones. Then, as the upper stone whirls swiftly round and round upon its axis, the grain is finely ground, thereafter to be screened, so as to separate the fine flour from the coarser bran. To this day, with few exceptions, that is the process used in flour mills, great and small.

About 1870, however, some millers in Hungary began experimenting with a view of improving the milling process, and the result was the Walz Muhl, or cylinder-mill, called also the gradual reduction mill, and, in this country, the "new process." In this system no millstones are used, but, in their stead, many pairs of small, horizontal steel rollers, their surfaces traversed by small, sharp grooves, sometimes spiral, sometimes parallel with the axes. These pairs of rollers are arranged in sets of at least three, one above the other, with a space between. The grain passes between the uppermost pair and is crushed. Falling through the intervening space it is cooled, and then goes between the second pair and is crushed more finely. Again it is cooled by falling to the third set, and again is crushed more finely still. The finest grades of flour are thus passed through eighteen or twenty sets of rollers.

GUARDING A WILD-CAT WELL.

This is the "new process" used in the great mills of Minnesota, perhaps the most important seat of the flour-making industry in the world. Here the famous and picturesque Falls of St. Anthony, on the Mississippi River, furnish practically unlimited water-power, through systems of turbine wheels. Anthony Trollope—not the Anthony for whom the falls were named—once said that he never could believe, until he actually saw it, that there was a place, inhabited by rational men, called Minneapolis. The name is a queer mixture of Indian and Greek. But never mind. Philology may stand aghast, but all the same a very great share of the world must get its bread from this same Minneapolis. Here huge mills form a city in themselves. For their supply cartage would be absurd; the railroads run directly into them. Daily long trains bear in the harvest of the wheat fields and bear out the finished flour, the finest in the world. There is no tumult or clatter; the thousands of cylinders are

whirling with only a low, continuous hum. There is no dust in the air, with its death-dealing power. Once mills were pervaded with a fine, impalpable dust. This one day exploded, with the force of gunpowder, wrecking one of the largest mills and destroying many lives. Since then elaborate systems of air-currents have been devised, keeping the atmosphere of the mills always free from dust, and cool.

Thousands of barrels of flour daily are turned out of one of these mammoth mills, and thousands of empty barrels must be daily received to contain the snowy product. With a task of such magnitude on hand, the old-fashioned cooper's shop is useless. Great factories have taken its place, where saws and knives, driven by steam power, in wholesale fashion transform forests into flour barrels. These go in towering loads to the mills, and are hurried in the grasp of an endless chain to where the perfected flour is pouring from the whirring rollers and through the quivering silken screens.

GAS WELLS.

Starting from bins in the upper story, the wheat travels through the vast building, from floor to floor, from side to side, untouched by human hands; now being cleansed from impurities, now being crushed finer and finer, now being sifted again and again; until at last, encased in barrels of one hundred and ninety-six pounds each, it issues forth by the carload to feed the millions of the world. Half a billion bushels, or thirty billion pounds, are the inconceivable figures that represent the annual wheat crop of America; and the mills of Minneapolis and Rochester and other cities are worthy, in magnitude and perfection of equipment, to deal with the large share of it that forms their grist. True, they are doing, in kind, only what the squalid wild woman of the cave-dwelling race did with stone

bowl and grinder. But in degree, how different! And though the end be the same, in means how has the old order changed and given place to the new!

The use of petroleum in various forms is of unremembered origin. Nineveh and Babylon knew it well, the "slime" of the Old Testament being merely crude petroleum, partially evaporated. To this day the oil wells of Is, on the Euphrates, which supplied "slime" or mortar for the building of Babylon, are still flowing. Other ancient wells are in the Ionian Islands; at Amiano, Italy; on the Persian Shore of the Caspian Sea, and in Burmah. Pliny tells of the use of this oil in lamps in his day, and the city of Genoa was largely lighted with it centuries ago. But it did not play a great part in the world's economy until an American "struck oil" in the latter half of the present century.

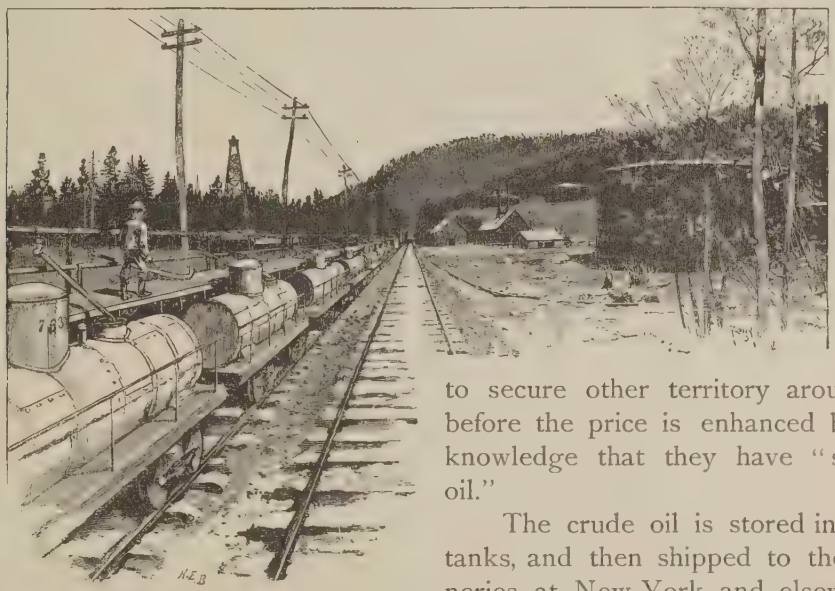
As early as 1819 petroleum was collected from wells in Ohio and put to various uses. In 1850 the manufacture of the oil from coal was begun, and rapidly increased until it became an important industry. But not yet was the true vein struck. The honor of at last doing this was reserved for Colonel G. L. Drake, who, in 1858, began to bore, on Oil Creek, Venango County, Pa., an artesian well. "What for?" his neighbors asked. "For oil," was his reply; and they laughed him to scorn. But on August 28, 1859, at a depth of 71 feet, he "struck oil." It flowed at the rate of 400 gallons a day, and he sold it for 55 cents a gallon; and his neighbors stopped laughing.

Seldom has the world seen such a rush for wealth as the oil country then beheld. Wells were sunk everywhere. A forest of derricks arose. Farms that had been worth five dollars were largely purchased at a thousand dollars an acre. One farmer sold out for a round million. Another would not sell, but got $3000 a day in royalties on wells sunk on his farm. Fabulous fortunes were amassed. One well, the Noble, in a little more than a year, yielded 500,000 barrels without pumping. The principal oil field was in Pennsylvania, but many wells were sunk in adjacent counties of New York and in Ohio and West Virginia.

In time the freely flowing wells began to fail and pumping had to be resorted to, under which process the yield was maintained, though the profits were slightly lessened. Another system of renewing the flow of exhausted wells was invented some years ago and is widely and successfully practiced. This is called "shooting," or "torpedoing." A gallon or so of nitro-glycerine, enclosed in a long and slender tin can, is lowered to the bottom of the well and exploded. The shock shatters the oil-bearing slate and sandstone for a considerable distance around the bore, and jars it much further, and the result is an immediate rush of oil, often spurting high in air, like a geyser. This process is patented, and the work is done by a single company, whose agents drive about the oil country, over rough roads, in a most reckless fashion, with cans of nitro-gly-

cerine under the wagon-seat. Now and then a jolt of the wagon causes an explosion. There is a tremendous noise and a hole in the ground; that is all. Man, horse, and wagon are literally blown to atoms. "Moonlighting" is the name applied to the surreptitious "shooting" of wells by unauthorized persons —owners of wells who thus evade paying royalty to the company holding the patent.

"Wild-cat" wells, so called, are shafts sunk secretly, or so guarded that none but the owners can approach them to ascertain their value. Such wells are surrounded by armed sentries, who promptly repel curious visitors at the rifle's muzzle. If the well proves profitable, the owners are able thus to secure other territory around it before the price is enhanced by the knowledge that they have "struck oil."



TRANSPORTING OIL FROM THE PIPE-LINES TO THE CARS.

The crude oil is stored in huge tanks, and then shipped to the refineries, at New York and elsewhere. Once it was all conveyed in casks. Then huge iron tanks, resembling a locomotive boiler in size and shape, were made, each being mounted on a flat railroad car and holding about 25,000 gallons. This method of transportation is still much used. In 1865, however, another plan was devised, which is now the characteristic method. This is the pumping of the oil through pipes, laid on or under the ground. These pipes are from four to six inches in diameter, and on the long lines have pumping stations at intervals of about twenty-five miles. Twenty thousand barrels of oil may be sent daily through a six-inch pipe. The oil country is fairly gridironed with these pipe-lines; and there are two lines reaching from Olean to New York Bay, 300 miles, and many others from fifty to 175 miles long.

In late years natural gas has become an important product of the oil fields. Exhausted oil wells often furnish it, and so do wells driven for the purpose. The gas rushes from the well in a powerful current, and when ignited forms a perpetual torch perhaps a hundred feet high, a very "pillar of fire." This gas is conveyed through pipes to towns and cities, where it is used in place of the manufactured gas for illuminating purposes. It is also much used for fuel in private houses and in manufacturing establishments. It is found to be cheaper than coal, its fires more easily regulated, and the unpleasant features of smoke, cinders, and ashes are entirely avoided.

Although the day of phenomenal "gushers" among oil wells seems well-nigh past, the industry maintains mammoth proportions. Thus in the month of May, 1892, in the Pennsylvania field alone 183 new wells were sunk, 43 of them being dry. The product of the new wells was 7795 barrels. In 1889 the oil fields of Pennsylvania and New York produced 21,486,403 barrels (of 42 gallons each,) those of Ohio, 12,471,965, and those of West Virginia, Colorado, California, Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois, Kansas and Texas enough to bring the total for the United States up to 34,820,306 barrels. That produced in Ohio, Indiana, and California was used chiefly for fuel, and the rest for illuminating purposes, excepting 109,891 barrels used for lubricating. The total value of the year's yield in its crude state was $26,554,652. The total product of the United States from 1859 to 1889, inclusive, was 407,985,503 barrels, or 17,135,391,126 gallons of crude oil.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

GREAT INVENTIONS AND THEIR INVENTORS.

IVEN a country of magnificent proportions, overflowing with undeveloped natural resources, newly invaded by a people appreciating the advantages of wealth, educated above the average of the most favored nations, free to do right according to their own pleasure, active, ambitious, and protected in all rightful pursuits by a government of their own making, it is no miracle that the United States early exhibited a tendency to develop the elements of material well-being unprecedented in the history of the world; nor that their subsequent progress should continue with accelerating speed and irresistible momentum.

But our country has done more than simply develop itself—much more. The creative energy of its inventors has made the United States a new force in the world, changing and improving the conditions of civilized life the world over, and enabling other peoples in other lands, whether the seats of ancient barbarism or of decadent civilization, to accomplish in a generation what had previously been possible only by the creeping progress of centuries.

The Atlantic coast of North America was but a small part of the world first laid open to European influence and occupation in the Columbian era. It was but a small part of the world invaded about that time by European colonists, and by no means the most promising; nor was it the only new country colonized by the liberty-loving peoples of Northern Europe. It was pre-eminently favored, it is true, by an early attainment of civil and religious freedom, but it may well be doubted if those signal advantages by themselves would have or could have caused the social, industrial, and material transformation of social life characteristic of the United States. Freedom allows, but does not determine, radical changes in modes of living. Those are traceable rather to another influence, developed here as nowhere else—a singular appreciation and encouragement of new ideas, particularly those embodied in useful inventions.

The idea of recognizing, and to some extent protecting as property, intellectual creations, did not originate here, but it received here its earliest popular development under laws which made it easy for any inventor to secure

to himself for a term of years the absolute control of the useful fruits of his own creative energy. Our Patent Laws have been materially improved from time to time, and are still open to great improvements, yet they are, and always have been, in the main, the best in the world; and, as a natural consequence, the list of American inventions exceeds in number—as they have surpassed in their influence in determining the trend of modern life—those of any other nation, perhaps all the other nations of the earth combined. The records of our Patent Office cover nearly half a million of these new factors of civilization, among them very many, if not the majority, of those which have given the nineteenth century its preëminence for material progress. To trace their origin and influence individually, much more, to try to estimate their value, would require volumes. We must be content here to notice briefly a few of the more notable and important of them, grouped for convenience according to their primary effect on one or other of the great departments of industrial and social life.

INVENTIONS AFFECTING AGRICULTURE.

Great inventions are not necessarily large or costly. The scythe is a simple tool, and inexpensive; yet the practical perfecting of it by Joseph Jenks, almost at the outset of farm-life in New England, is an epoch-mark in agriculture. It was the beginning of a new order of things. Putting curved fingers to the improved scythe-blade and snath, did for the harvester what had been done for the grass-cutter, gave him an implement which doubled or trebled his efficiency at a critical season, and furnished in the American grain cradle, a farm-tool perfect of its kind, and likely to hold its place as long as grain is grown on uneven ground. For the great bulk of grain and grain-cutting, the scythe and the cradle have been displaced by later American inventions—mowers and harvesters, operated by animal or steam power; still they are likely to remain forever a part of every farm's equipment. Their utility is beyond computation.

The plow supplied to the Colonial farmers, was as venerable as the reaping-hook. It had been substantially unimproved for four thousand years.

The moment our people were free to manufacture for themselves, they set about its improvement in form and material. The very first patent granted by the National Patent Office being for an improved plow of cast-iron. The best plow then in use was a rude affair, clumsily made, hard to guide, and harder to draw. It had a share of wrought iron, roughly shaped by the roadside blacksmith, a landside and standard of wood, and an ill-shaped mould-board plated with tin, sheet iron, or worn-out saw-plates. A stout man only could hold it, and a yoke of oxen were needed for work that a colt can do with a modern plow. Its improvement engaged the attention of many inventors, notably President Jefferson, who experimented with various forms and made a mathe-

matical investigation of the shape of the mould-board, to determine the form best suited for the work. He was the first to discover the importance of straight lines from the sole to the top of the share and mould-board. Pinckney discovered the value of a straight line from front to rear. Jethro Wood discovered that all lines, from front to rear, should be straight. The method of drafting the lines, on a plane surface, in designing plows, is due to Knox. The discovery of the importance of the centre-draught, and the practical means of attaining it by the inclination of the landside inward, is credited to Mears. Governor Holbrook, of New Hampshire, devised the method of making plows of any size symmetrical, so as to ensure the complete pulverization of the soil. Col. Randolph, Jefferson's son-in-law, "the best farmer in Virginia," invented a side-hill plow. Smith was the first to hitch two plows together; and Allen, by combining a number of small plow-points in one implement, led the way to the production of the infinite variety of horse-hoes, cultivators, and the like, for special use. But Jethro Wood, of New York, 1819, and after, probably did more than any other man to perfect the cast-iron plow, and to secure its general use in place of the cumbrous plows of the earlier days. His skill as an inventor, and his pluck as a fighter against stolid ignorance and prejudice, for the advancement of sensible plowing, cost him—what they ought to have gained for him—a fortune. The use of cast-iron plows had become general by 1825.

THE SPEEDWELL IRON WORKS, MORRISTOWN, N. J.

Here was forged the shaft for the Savannah, the first steamship which crossed the Atlantic. Here was manufactured the tires, axles and cranks of the first American locomotive. Shop in which Vail and Baxter constructed the first telegraph apparatus, invented by Morse, for exhibition before Congress.

A multitude of inventors have since improved the construction and material of plows, suiting them to different soils and uses; the most valuable single improvement, probably, coming through the use of chilled iron, and the most promising from the application of steam power to plowing. The increase in the farmer's efficiency, by American improvements in plows, may be estimated from the fact that two million plowmen, with as many teams, would need to work every day in the year with the primitive plow to prepare the soil annually under cultivation in this country. To do the work in the plowing season would be practically impossible.

Coincident with the evolution of the plow was that of another epoch-marking American invention—the cotton gin of Eli Whitney, now just a century

old. When it was introduced the entire cotton crop of the country could have been grown on a single field of two hundred acres, and cotton was a costly product because of the labor required to separate the lint from the seed which bore it; a good day's work of a man being four or five pounds of lint, or a bale of cotton in three months. Whitney's gin enabled a man to do the same work in six days. The new spinning and weaving machinery of Hargreaves, Arkwright, Cartwright, Samuel Crompton and others had opened an almost limitless market for raw cotton, and America could furnish the best. As a consequence of the cheaper and more rapid means of preparing it with the Whitney gin, the cotton crop of the South rose to sudden prominence. In 1800 it was eighteen million pounds; the next year forty million. Ten years later it was eighty million pounds, which product was more than doubled in the next ten years. In 1830 it was a million bales; two millions in 1840; three in 1851; and four in 1860. Judged by its commercial and financial effects the cotton gin must be considered a benefit of the first magnitude; judged by its social and political effects, it was, perhaps, the country's greatest bane. Without it slavery would have died out naturally in the South, as it did in the North; with it, slavery became a power which changed unfavorably, not only the industrial character of the South, but the civil, political and industrial history of the entire country. Of its efficiency as a machine there can be no question. In its original form it enabled one man to do the work of fifteen; in its improved modern form, steam-driven, it does the work of a thousand men. Without it modern cotton crops of eight or nine million bales would be impossible; simply to pick the seeds out of the crop of 1891 in the old way would have kept the entire working population of the United States busy for a solid month. Its action, however, is very hurtful to the fibre, for which reason it may be regarded as one of the most wasteful and destructive of machines. Unfortunately, however, there is nothing better to take its place.

THRESHERS, MOWERS, AND REAPERS.

The era of agricultural machinery began about 1825, its earliest phase appearing in the application of horse-power to the threshing and cleaning of grain. Already the American tendency to seek practical results by the simplest means, and to make high-priced labor profitable by increasing its efficiency, had been shown in the improvement of a wide range of farmers' tools, almost everything they had to use being made lighter, neater, and more serviceable. The same improving, practical sense was displayed in devising more complicated labor-saving machines, which made it possible to do easily and directly what had been previously difficult or quite impossible to do. Too often, however, the early inventor was defeated by the lack of skilled labor and proper machine tools for making his improvements commercially successful. As soon as the

mechanic arts had been sufficiently perfected and extended—largely by American genius—the development and production of agricultural machinery became rapid and profitable.

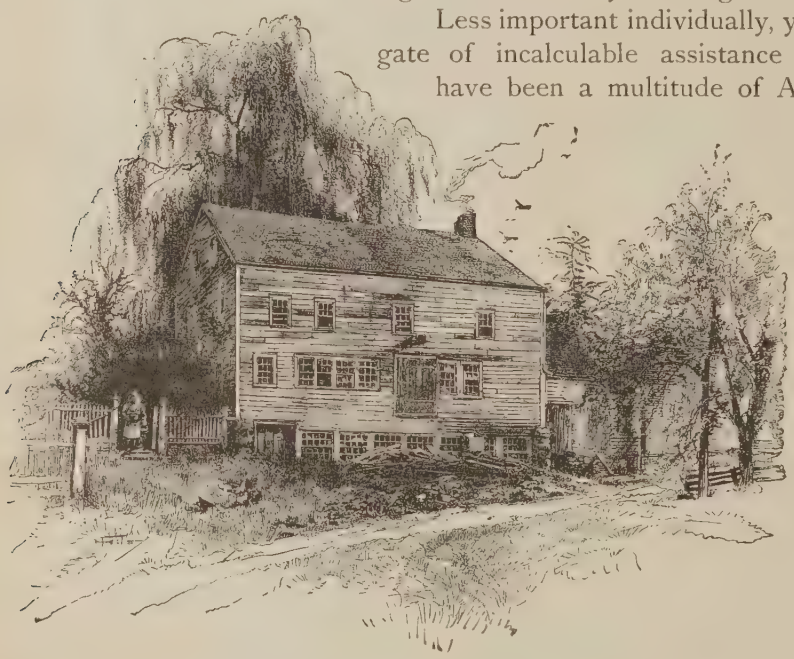
Washington had tried a sort of threshing machine as early as 1798; and one of the first patents issued by the Patent Office was for an improved thresher; yet the flail held the field until after 1825. In the next twenty-five years, over two hundred patents were granted for improvements in threshers, and since then they have numbered thousands. By 1840, most of the grain was threshed by horse-driven machinery. In 1853, when a famous trial of rival threshers was held in England, the American machine did three times as much as the best English machine, and did it better. In a subsequent trial in France, the average work of experts with the flail being reckoned as one, that of the best French machine was twenty-five; the best English machine, forty-one; Pitt's American machine did the work of seventy-four. The application of steam-power greatly increased the efficiency of threshing machines, raising the output from perhaps 2000 bushels a day to six or seven thousand for a single machine.

Still more significant and important have been the victories of American inventors in connection with mowers and reapers.

The circumstance that reaping by machinery was as old as the Christian era, and a multitude of comparatively modern attempts had been made, particularly in England, to apply horse power to the cutting of grass and grain, only added to the merit of inventors like Hussey and McCormick, who practically solved the problems involved by means so simple and efficient that they have not been and are likely never to be entirely displaced. Hussey's mowing machine of 1833 had reciprocating knives working through slotted fingers, a feature not only new but essential to all practical grass and grain cutters, except the special type known as lawn-mowers. McCormick patented a combination reaper and mower in 1834, which he subsequently so improved as to make it the necessary basis of all reapers. In competitive trials at home and abroad, the American mowers and reapers have never failed to demonstrate their superiority over all others.

Their first great victory, which gave them the world-wide fame they have so successfully maintained, was won in London in 1851. In the competitive trial near Paris, in 1855, the American machine cut an acre of oats in twenty-two minutes; the English in sixty-six minutes; the French in seventy-two. In the later competition, local and international, their superior efficiency has been not less signally manifested. By increasing the efficiency of the harvester twenty-fold (and twice that by the self-binders), these products of American invention have played a part second only to railroads in opening up the West to profitable cultivation, rapidly converting

a wilderness into the granary of the world. Devices for binding grain as it was cut began to be developed about 1855. The first machine used wire binders; the later twine. The combination of reapers and threshers in one machine has been most largely developed in California. The largest in use there weighs eight tons; and, pushed by thirty mules, cuts a swath twenty-two feet wide and eighteen miles long in a day—over forty-eight acres, yielding about as many tons of wheat, which is cut, threshed, cleaned and deposited in 700 sacks. The machine employs a driver, a shearer, a knife-tender, and a sack-lowerer—four men, costing eight dollars a day for wages.



SHOP IN WHICH THE FIRST MORSE INSTRUMENT WAS CONSTRUCTED FOR EXHIBITION BEFORE CONGRESS.

Less important individually, yet in the aggregate of incalculable assistance to agriculture, have been a multitude of American inventions intended to expedite and lighten the farmer's work—stump and stone extractors for clearing the ground, ditching machines for drainage systems, fencing devices, particularly the barbed wire fence, special plows for breaking up new ground, harrows of many types, seeders, planters, cultivators, horse rakes, hay tedders and hay loaders, potato and rock diggers, corn huskers and shellers, cotton pickers, and countless other labor-saving tools and devices. In most cases these improved appliances enable one man to do easily the work of several working with primitive tools. With the help of machine planters and seeders the farmer's work is made at least five times more efficient; with cultivators, ten times; with potato diggers, twenty; in harrowing, thirty; in mowing and harvesting, from twenty to fifty; with corn huskers and shellers, a hundred. The latest cotton harvester, employing a team, a driver, and a helper, does the work of forty hand-pickers.

It is estimated that over two-thirds of the value of farm implements now in use is in the improved machinery which distinguishes American farming. Such machines are, individually, more costly than the appliances they have displaced, but their superior efficiency makes them cost far less for a given amount of product, while, by making it possible for a few to feed the many, they have set free for other pursuits the vast numbers employed in the various useful occupations characteristic of modern civilization. In this way, and by extending the area of possible cultivation and greatly cheapening all food products, they have had a wider influence, probably, than any other group of American inventions. In connection with improvements in means of transportation—largely of American origin—they have changed the food conditions of half the world, making food more abundant, more varied, more wholesome, more secure, and vastly cheaper than ever before. At the same time they have lightened the farmer's labor, shortened his hours of toil, increased his gains, and quite transformed his social and industrial position.

INVENTIONS AND MANUFACTURES.

In every art they were allowed to practice the colonial mechanics and manufacturers showed a tendency to work on independent lines, and to improve upon the means and methods brought from the old country. There were few chances for making radical changes, however, until the Revolution brought industrial freedom. Then inventions seem to have come with a sudden outburst, the fruit partly of Revolutionary conditions and needs, more largely, perhaps, of wants long felt and desires repressed.

Owing to the undeveloped state of the mechanic arts generally, the want of machinery and exact working tools (not yet invented) and the scarcity of money for experimental ventures, the early inventors were rarely able to carry out successfully their more ambitious projects; yet they accomplished enough to prove them worthy progenitors of the most inventive people the world has ever known. Many of them were giants in respect to creative genius, and fully abreast of the best their age afforded, whether in scientific knowledge or in mechanical skill: and some of them, like Oliver Evans, left an impress upon the arts which a century of progress has not been able to entirely efface or supersede.

Primarily a millwright, Evans found the art of flour-milling traditional, crude, and unskillfully developed. He left it organized, practical, systematic, almost automatic. For a lot of disconnected, wasteful, and laborious processes he substituted a series of neat and simple machines and attachments which saved half the cost for labor and supervision, increased the yield of flour, improved its quality and raised the traditional practice of millers to the dignity of an art. For more than half a century the flour and grist mill remained substantially as he left it, improved as to details but in no way radically changed. The mills of

Europe as well as of America were revolutionized by his methods; and some of his devices are likely to remain permanent if not essential contributions to the art of handling and milling grain.

Less widely known and appreciated, but quite as radical, and perhaps more valuable ultimately, were the services of Evans in other departments, particularly in connection with the utilization of steam, then the great problem of advanced mechanics. His contemporaries, working with low-pressure steam, naturally encountered fewer mechanical difficulties, and some were able to achieve more immediate and conspicuous financial results, but not any of them surpassed him in the real value of their work. The type of engine now in most general use for all purposes and absolutely necessary for many—the locomotive engine, for instance—is the non-condensing, a type of engine conspicuously American in development, as in origin. Primarily, we owe it to Evans, who, far in advance of his age, appreciated the value of the elastic force of confined steam as a source of motive power, and was the first to utilize it in a successful non-condensing high-pressure engine. As early as 1768 he was experimenting with steam, and was able to drive a small boat by means of steam and paddle wheels; but the century ended before he had brought his engine to anything like commercial perfection. In 1786 he applied to the State of Pennsylvania for a patent on the application of his engine to driving mills and to a steam carriage, but his petition was denied by the same conservative body which at first refused him a patent for his improvements in grist-milling. There was then no national patent office for the encouragement of men of original ideas; if there had been, the practical development of the steamboat and the steam-carriage might have been materially hastened, for Evans was apparently diverted from this line of work for a dozen years or more. In 1800 he returned to it, and built a novel and relatively inexpensive non-condensing engine, designed for application to a steam-carriage, but for financial reasons set to working a plaster mill. A year or two after he built an engine of 150 horse-power for parties in New Orleans, who set it up in the boat for which it was intended. But a long season of low water prevented a trial of the boat, and wasted capital compelled the owners to take the engine out and set it to work in a lumber mill, where it did such good service that the steamboat project was abandoned. It was thus no fault of Evans' that the pioneer engine, of the type afterwards adopted for western river navigation, did not win for him the fame subsequently achieved by Fulton. In 1804 Evans built for Philadelphia a steam-dredger, which, set on wheels, propelled itself along the streets to the river, where it was launched and the engine applied to its stern-wheel, when as a steamboat it was navigated about the Schuylkill. About the same time Evans submitted to the Lancaster Turnpike Company plans and estimates of cost and profits of a system of steam-carriage—a project too far in advance of the

age to meet with proper consideration. A railway followed the same route a generation later.

As the introducer of the non-condensing type of engine, however, Evans did greatest service to manufacturing, for the field opened up by him has been cultivated with conspicuous success by later American inventors, who have made the high-pressure engine peculiarly their own. To attempt to follow the development of this standard type of the great industrial motor of the age would quickly carry us beyond the scope of the present enquiry; much more impossible would it be to estimate its influence upon the productive arts the world over.

The first single machine of American production to become widely famous as a triumph of ingenuity and mechanical skill was the nail-machine of Jacob Perkins, patented in 1795, but not commercially developed until 1810, by which time more than a million dollars had been spent in perfecting it, proof at once of its promise and of the urgent need of a machine to do its work. At that time nails were mostly imported, and cost twenty-five cents a pound, a price which made them too costly for many uses for which they were greatly needed. They were all hand-wrought, chiefly at chimney-corner forges, where, in New England, farmers and lumbermen, fishermen and laborers employed their evenings and other times of slack work—winters, stormy weather, odd times generally, hammering nails. In Europe, especially in manufacturing districts of England, it was a common domestic industry, often employing whole families, but chiefly women and children, ill-paid, over-worked, and toiling under social conditions of the most appalling character.

THE AMERICAN NAIL MACHINE

Promptly displaced this domestic industry here, and more slowly that of Europe, by making it possible to use power in nail-making, while enabling a workman to do in a minute the previous task of an hour. The price of nails was speedily reduced two-thirds, subsequently much more, with an assured supply equal to any demand. The early cut nails were not so tough as the hand-made nails, but for most purposes they were neater and better; while any desired toughness was ultimately secured by annealing, and by the use of steel, particularly steel wire. Every style of nail, from the smallest tack to the railroad spike, is now made by machinery, at a cost but little above that of the raw metal, the forms being as various as their manifold uses.

Scarcely less noteworthy for its industrial effect was another invention of that early period, the Blanchard lathe, developed in 1819—an invention which made possible for the first time the turning of irregular forms, and contained the generic idea of all machines for duplicating shapes, in wood or metal, by a model in conjunction with blanks. Only a machinist, familiar with the history

of mechanical processes and working machines, can appreciate its far-reaching importance, not only as a time- and labor-saving tool, but as the basis of a long list of automatic machines for doing rapidly and exactly work that only the most skillful artisans can perform, and that slowly and at much greater cost.

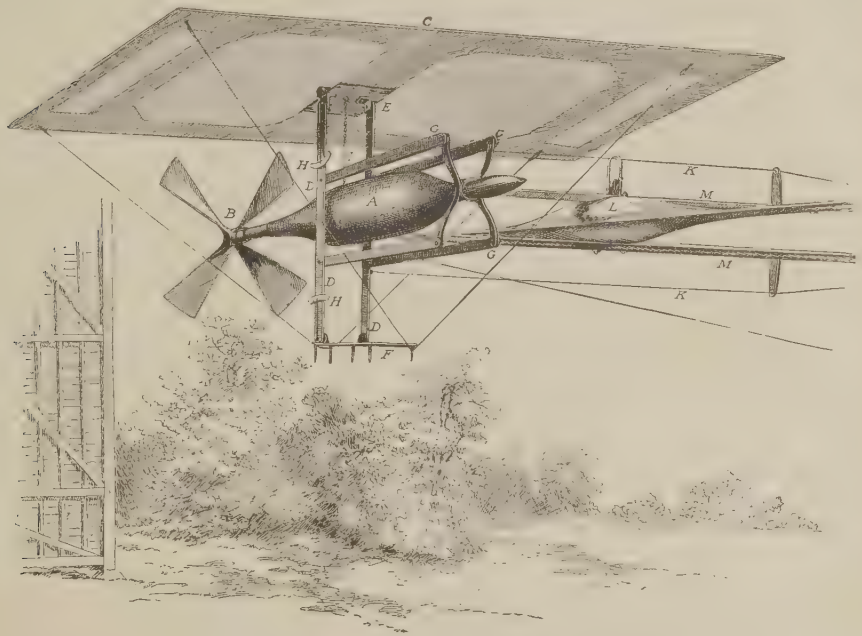
Though the fundamental problems of spinning and weaving by machinery had been solved before the textile arts could be transplanted to our shores, the contributions of American inventors to them have been many and important. The jealous care with which England guarded the new devices which were enabling her manufacturers to monopolize this field, no doubt had something to do in determining originally the special character of American textile machinery, but the practical genius of our people must have had even greater influence. Certain it is that from the first the organization and equipment of our mills have been different from, and in some respects better than, the English.

As not so much as sketches of mill machinery were allowed to go out of England in the early days of American cotton and woolen milling, Slater, Lowell, and the rest of our pioneers could import nothing: they had to build from memory, or according to general ideas, and to solve anew many of the special problems of construction and operation. Hence, while their first efforts were sometimes crude and unsatisfactory, the ultimate result was the development of the lighter, neater and more efficient type of machinery characteristic of American mills. Even where the general pattern was English, the finer and tougher American iron made it possible to build the moving parts of machinery so much lighter, as to greatly lessen the power required. With improved designs, the gain was often as much as fifty per cent., as in the case of the Sawyer spindle. American cards also have always been lighter than the English, hence they run faster and more cheaply, and do better work. In both cotton and woolen mills American made looms are usually preferred; and in not a few notable instances, looms and other machinery of American origin have become the standard the world over. One of the best known achievements in this line is the automatic loom of William Compton, for fancy weaving, patented in 1837, and first used at Lawrence, Massachusetts, three years later. Most of the fancy cassimeres, ginghams, shawls, and other figured fabrics produced throughout the world, are woven on Compton looms. Horstman's power loom for silk-weaving, invented about the same time, has been similarly far-reaching in its influence, being more used in Europe than here.

Still more conspicuously useful, not to say epoch-marking industrially, was the Bigelow carpet loom. The problem of weaving figured carpets by power had been given up in Europe as impossible and hopeless, when Bigelow attacked it with such success that the bulk of the world's carpets have since been woven upon it; while the cost of carpets has been so reduced, chiefly by its time- and labor-saving virtue, that what was before a luxury of the wealthy has now be-

come the conven.ence and comfort of all. The more recent positive motion loom of Lyall, by which fabrics of any width can be woven, is a scarcely less notable and important contribution of American invention to the textile arts, and one that has had much to do in raising our carpet industry to its present supremacy, the United States now being by far the largest producer, as well as user of carpets in the world, the single city of Philadelphia producing more than all of Great Britain, our nearest rival.

A striking illustration of the progress of recent years in textile production was shown at the Atlanta Exhibition in 1881, where a group of men and



THE MANNER OF CONNECTING THE AËROPLANES AND ATTACHING THE SCREWS.

A is a casing partly wood and partly brass and which carries a horizontal steel shaft; B, The screw-propeller; C, The aëroplane; D, D, Two bars of steel operating freely in a vertical direction, being supported by four horizontal bars pivoted at G, G; H, H, Indices showing the angle of planes; E and F, Steel plates to which aëroplanes are attached; L, Long horizontal bar of Steel and wood to the ends of which steel wires are attached to prevent the twisting of the machine while in motion; I, Chain connecting the aëroplane with the dynamometer; K, K, Wires for relieving the parts from strains set up by centrifugal action.

women made cloth with hand-cards, spinning-wheels, and hand-loom, alongside modern spinning and weaving machinery. They worked on a coarse fabric, and in ten hours five operators could make eight yards. Five operators in a modern mill easily make eight hundred yards of the same fabric in the same time. With finer goods the advantage is still more in favor of machinery. A tender of a spinning-mule in a cotton mill spins six hundred times as much as one could spin with an old-fashioned spinning-wheel; three thousand times as much as could be spun with a distaff; thirty thousand times as much as a

Lapland woman of to-day spins, using one hand on the knee to twist threads drawn backward by the other hand.

Scarcely less astonishing has been the progress recently made in the production of all useful articles in wood and metal, due very largely to American inventions. A type of these is the famous Woodworth planer, patented in 1828; an invention which, by substituting quick-acting, power-driven machinery for hand-tools slowly pushed by muscular force, not only enabled one workman to do the work of twenty-five, but cheapened the finished lumber and greatly increased the possible supply. The economical replacing of human skill and strength by clever mechanism, as exhibited by the planer, is, indeed, nowhere more characteristically shown than in the development of the almost endless variety of American wood-working machinery; a field of invention naturally falling largely to Americans, the vast demand for manufactured lumber in our rapidly growing communities, together with the scarcity and high price of labor, making such helps absolutely necessary. In his report on this class of machinery at the Paris Exposition of 1867, Professor Reauleaux happily described the characteristics of American inventors, as shown in such machines, and not less so in all others. "They are distinguished from Europeans," he said, "by more direct and rapid conception. The American aims straightway for the needed construction, using the means which appear to him to be the simplest and most effective, whether new or old." . . "The American really constructs in accordance with the severest theoretical abstraction, observing on the one side a distinctly marked-out aim, weighing on the other the already available means, or creating new ones; then proceeding, regardless of precedents, as straight as possible for the object." In 1867 the American wood-working machines stood first for originality, variety and excellence; a rank which they have not lost and are not likely to lose.

In iron-working machinery the genius of American inventors is not less conspicuously manifested. The cut-nail machine was the precursor of an endless series of powerful machines and special tools for doing rapidly, easily, exactly and cheaply an infinite variety of work, apparently demanding at every stage more than human intelligence, decision, promptness, certainty of action, and sensitive skill. Superior mechanics are now employed, not so much in producing things of popular use, as in constructing the special machinery required for making such things by the million cheaply and at lightning speed often, a gross costing for labor not more, perhaps, than a single article would if made by hand. The manufacture of machinery has thus become a characteristic branch of American industry, which is developing into the manufacture of manufacturing plants, with all parts designed, built, organized and set to work to produce a predetermined result as harmoniously and economically as a well-made single machine will make a nail, a fish-hook, or a screw.

This, the highest product of mechanical and business evolution, is the outgrowth of a typical American improvement in mechanics, involving not one invention, but thousands—the Interchangeable System, first applied to the manufacture of firearms, but now common in all manufactures involving detachable parts, from watches to locomotives. In organizing a gun-making plant about the beginning of the century, Eli Whitney made the first attempt to apply the principle; but gun-making still involved too much hand-work, always variable, to make complete success possible. In planning, building, and directing the U. S. Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Superintendent Hall carried the system much further, indeed to practical demonstration, inventing machinery, adopting the inventions of others, and greatly improving many time-honored processes to obtain more uniform results, especially in the construction of gun-locks. Barrel-turning, forging under a trip-hammer, and Blanchard lathes for turning gun-stocks were among the newly-adopted improvements. In 1827 a hundred Hall rifles, made at Harper's Ferry in 1824, were taken apart and the metal parts reassembled and remounted on new stocks, with fairly good fitting. The interchangeability, though not up to modern standards of exactness, was a practical fact—an epoch-making achievement. Less hand-work and more exact machine-work, involving close forging with steel dies, exact cutting with milling machines, and other improvements in means and methods of working, were necessary for securing the perfect interchangeability of all parts in a gun or a machine; but American mechanics were equal to the task. When, at the World's Fair in London, in 1851, the results of the interchangeable system applied to the manufacture of firearms were exhibited, they naturally created great astonishment. It was a distinctively American improvement in the mechanic arts, and an important one. Its advantages were so striking that the system was speedily adopted by the British Government, and American machinery was purchased for its application to gun-making in the new British Arsenal at Enfield. Other European Governments followed suit with large and numerous orders for American machinery, and large quantities of American arms were purchased for supplying immediate needs. One of the most notable of these contributions of American mechanics to Europe was the recent supplying of gun-making plants to the Prussian Government Armories at Spandau, Erfort, and Dantzig, displacing the best machinery that Europe could produce.

In peaceful arts the interchangeable system has proved quite as economical, and vastly more useful than in the making of military arms, —in the manufacture of agricultural machinery, sewing machines, writing machines, locomotives, and the like. Variability, the joy of the artist and the bane of the mechanic, is done away in this system. The products are not only uniform as a whole, but the individual parts are alike, and able to take their proper place and perform their proper function in any machine,

so that special fitting is avoided, the cost of making and repairing is greatly diminished, and the purchaser can depend on the assured good behavior of the entire mechanism, however complicated.

The influence of American invention upon manufacturing is shown quite as conspicuously in materials as in methods, and even more in providing new or improved means of utilizing natural forces. The development of machinery for making boots and shoes, for example, distinctively the work of American inventors, has not merely cheapened the product, and widened the shoe-wearing area, so to speak, thereby increasing the demand, but it has entirely changed the conditions under which boots and shoes are made, which reacts in turn upon the character and habits of boot and shoe makers. When the material as well as the modes of working is new, as in the case of vulcanized rubber, the influence of the invention is more radical and far-reaching. Scarcely less so when the material is not new but is so cheapened by improved methods of production as to vastly extend the range of its application, as in the case of steel; or still more vitally, where the new process, like the electric smelting of aluminium, brings a useful substance for the first time fairly into the field of commercial production and economical utilization.

HARNESSING NATURAL FORCES.

In all these ways American inventors have contributed more than their quota to the elements of industrial progress. Not less noteworthy has been their work in taming and harnessing the natural forces. In the employment of water-power in milling, and in improving the simple water-wheels of their day, the early colonists were not more forward than their successors have been in solving the practical problems of the turbine wheel and in its industrial employment. Blest above all other countries in the abundance of available water-power, America leads the world in its use for manufacturing purposes, although as yet we are utilizing less than half of one per cent. of the amount that remains unemployed, while river and tidal currents not yet harnessed multiply a thousand-fold the visible sources of working power which will some day be brought under subjection. In the utilization of the limitless force of direct sunshine, Ericsson and others have done what Evans, Perkins, Stevens, and other pioneer inventors did with high-pressure steam in their day—have taken the first steps, always the hardest and least conspicuous in immediate visible results. Their history is for the future to make and tell. Broadly speaking, the same is true of heat engines, electro-thermal engines, and the use of electric motors in manufacturing, now more or less successfully inaugurated. And further on along the furthest frontier of the known, science and invention catch glimpses of new forces, new materials, and new methods of working, by which, when fully grasped, the

mechanic arts are all but certain to be transformed more rapidly and more radically than ever in the past. From present intimations, certain clues, and inevitable tendencies, it requires no prophet to foresee results that must dwarf to relative littleness the greatest achievements of to-day.

If suddenly translated to a modern house, reasonably well provided with modern conveniences, our great-grandparents would be almost as much at a loss as a visitor from another planet. They would see scarcely anything familiar or easily understood, while the more recondite of our conveniences—fires without visible fuel or ashes, lights without oil or wicking, conversation at long range by whispering to a spot on the wall, summons for service by the silent touching of a button, and so on—would seem nothing short of magical. Strip a modern house of all the things of use and convenience unknown fifty years ago, things directly due to recent inventions or made possible by recently invented means and methods of production, and how much would be left? Everything, from the kitchen stove to the piano in the parlor, is more or less a novelty, and is what it is because of a shorter or longer series of developments, every step of which was punctuated by a patent, the official certification of an invention, in nine cases out of ten an American invention. The piano has the place of honor, but its influence on national life is as nothing to that of the cast-iron kitchen stove—a characteristic American convenience.

As Jefferson supplemented his honorable achievements as a statesman by not less honorable efforts to improve the humble but useful plow, so that other philosopher and nation-builder, Ben Franklin, essayed the family stove, contributing to human welfare thereby, perhaps, more than by his political, scientific, or philosophic labors. As early as 1745 he invented the enclosed fireplace still known as the Franklin stove, a device unequaled for the wholesome warming of a room. A quarter of a century later he invented a smoke-consuming stove, with a downward draught, for burning bituminous coal. Not long after, Rumford, scarcely second to Franklin as an organizing genius and practical scientist, invented cooking ranges lined with fire brick and soapstone, with ventilating ovens—perfect in principle but clumsy in the making, because the art of casting iron in thin plates had not yet been mastered. In solving that problem in 1835, Jordan L. Mott, the pioneer in introducing self-feeding stoves for anthracite coal, made one of the most widely useful improvements in the metallurgy of iron.

About the same time the learned Dr. Eliphalet Nott, so long the honored President of Union College, took up the stove problem in its scientific and practical aspects, and spent much time and money in perfecting base-burning and other improved stoves. He was followed by scores of more or less successful inventors, who developed the base-burning, self-feeding principle, improved the construction of stove-grates, and devised innumerable forms of

stoves for various uses, practically perfecting this universal household convenience, and raising the manufacture of stoves to the front rank among great industries. Stoves for burning petroleum and its products, gas stoves, and, latterly, stoves without any sort of fuel, heating and cooking by electricity, have become, or are becoming, common. Before long the now idle winds, the unimpeded currents of our rivers and coasts, the profitless sunshine of waste places, are likely to heat our rooms and do our cooking, as well as furnish light and motive power, through the medium of electricity.

The social and industrial effects of the iron stove with its substitution of slow-burning and economical mineral fuel for the more costly and troublesome quick-burning wood, are paralleled in the improvement of household illumination by the use of mineral oil since 1860. From the dim and flickering tallow dip, to the sweeter and more durable candle of stearine and paraffin was a great step; but much more considerable, in respect to convenience and economy, was the replacing of the smoky and ill-smelling whale-oil lamp by the cheap and brilliant kerosene burner. In towns and cities gas and electricity are and are likely to remain the great illuminants, though not as cheap as mineral oil; but for the country generally the kerosene lamp commands the situation, and as perfected by recent inventions, it is able to hold its own in cheapness and brilliancy, the world over. The kerosene lamp, like the petroleum field whose refined product feeds it almost everywhere, is mainly of American origin and development. And the match which lights it—that most marvellous of little conveniences—largely owes the cheapness which makes its employment universal, to the fundamental invention of an American, under whose patent of 1836 the manufacture of phosphorus matches on a large scale was first made possible. The social changes due to this cheap and handy little fire-stick have been too often enlarged upon, and are practically too fresh in memory to require more than the briefest mention here.

More characteristically American in its development and more conspicuous in its visible effects, social and industrial, is the familiar sewing machine. Sporadic attempts to devise a machine that would imitate the motions of a sewing needle had been made for a hundred years or more, an English patent having been granted as early as 1755, for a device for embroidering, with which it was proposed to use a needle, pointed at both ends with the eye in the middle, to go backward and forward through the cloth. It does not appear to have been practically developed. In 1790 Thomas Saint made a working machine for sewing leather and heavy cloth. It made a chain stitch, using an awl and a needle. Later attempts about the beginning of the century, contributed little to the solution of the problem, but served to keep the idea alive. Rev. John A. Dodge, of Monkton, Vermont, aided by a clever mechanic, John Knowles, built an approximately practical machine for sewing the back-stitch with a double

pointed needle; but failed to develop it commercially, owing, it was claimed, to pressure of professional duties. Several other "might-have-beens" followed chief among them Walter Hunt, of New York, who made and sold several working machines in 1832–34, but neglected to apply for a patent. He used two threads, the upper carried by a curved needle, with the eye at the point, the lower by a shuttle; the two making a lock-stitch. The value of the invention was not appreciated until Howe, and Wilson, and Singer had proved the commercial importance of sewing by machinery; and then the evidence of Hunt's originality, filed with an application for a patent, came too late to benefit him, his rights having been forfeited by the delay.

Howe's machine, patented in 1846, used, like Hunt's, a curved, eye-pointed needle, and a shuttle below the cloth, with original devices of such efficiency that the combination was regarded by the Patent Office as a new and useful invention. Though the practical parent of the modern sewing machine, it was not in itself a successful machine, nor was Howe at first successful in enlisting capital to aid him in developing from it a good machine. In the course of four or five years the defective details were corrected or displaced by the work of other inventors in great numbers, who attacked the problems of the sewing machine, as soon as their importance became generally appreciated. The years 1849 and 1850 were prolific in inventions in connection with the fundamental movements of sewing machinery, and since then the patents on movements and attachments have numbered thousands.

The Singer machine, which closely resembled Howe's, but did what Howe's could not—good work—came into the field in 1850 and took the lead in sales until 1854. The Grover & Baker machine became most popular for four or five years, then the Wheeler & Wilson for ten years; afterward the Singer regained the lead. In the meantime, all the companies were infringing on the rights of Howe, who, after expensive litigation, won his case and entered into an agreement with the great manufacturing companies, receiving five dollars for each machine made until 1860; after that, on a renewal of his patent, one dollar a machine. There is no record of the number of machines made and sold prior to the compact of 1856. Between that date and 1877, when the last of the foundation-patents expired, over six million machines were sold by the numerous manufacturers of the United States. Two-thirds that number were estimated to be then in use, representing an investment of over two hundred million dollars. The sewing machines in use in 1891 were valued at fully half a billion dollars. Though the great bulk of these machines are held for family use, the factory machines were estimated to give (the world over) employment to 20,000,000 persons, mostly women. In social, not less than industrial, effects the sewing machine has been simply revolutionary.

Thanks to its cheap and rapid stitching, and the serviceableness of its numerous attachments, the clothing of half the world has been improved in appearance, increased in quantity, and materially cheapened by it. Indeed, it would be hard to find a region so remote as not to have felt its influence in some way.

Of the multitude of other inventions which have had a shaping influence on social habits and conditions, none, perhaps, has had a broader or deeper effect than our cheap yet accurate time-pieces, the Yankee clock, and the later and higher achievement of scientific manufacturing, the American watch. We commonly think of them as time-recording instruments merely; their more valuable function is as time-savers. To appreciate the significance of this phase of their influence, one has only to go to Mexico or any other country where time-pieces are little used, where the habit of making and keeping time engagements has not been acquired, and half one's days are wasted waiting for those who take no note of time, even by its loss.

The pioneer in American clock-making was Eli Terry, of Plymouth, Connecticut, who was also the first clock peddler, in the latter part of the last and the beginning of the present century—a practical missionary of a new era. As the means and methods of cutting the wooden wheels were improved, the clocks were greatly cheapened. Chauncey Jerome, an apprentice of Terry, was especially successful in reducing the cost and improving the quality of these primitive time-keepers. In 1841 he sent a cargo of Connecticut clocks to England, billed at so low a figure that the customs officers seized them for under-valuation, paying him his price plus ten per cent., as the law directed. The second cargo, much to his delight, met with the same reception. With the third, the tardily-enlightened Government allowed him to seek a less convenient customer. Already (in 1837) Mr. Jerome had brought out the machine-made brass clock, which revolutionized the business of clock-making and sent a timepiece into every house. The metal movements were stamped from sheet-brass so rapidly that three men with one machine could cut out the works of five hundred clocks a day, reducing the cost of a clock-movement to fifty cents. At this rate the sale was enormous. The metal clocks, unlike the wooden clocks, could stand any climate, and this, with their astonishing cheapness, gave them world-wide acceptance. The substitution of steel springs for weights added to the cheapness but not to the accuracy of the modern clock; and clocks to run a week, a month, a year, and even a hundred years, with one winding, are now produced in infinite variety, from sizes no bigger than a watch to the largest and most costly tower and astronomical clock.

The progress made in the perfecting of clock movements and in the extension of the manufacture of clocks was especially rapid after the Civil War. In the first two decades there was an advance of from five- to six-fold in the

number of hands employed, in the wages paid, in the capital engaged, and in the value of the products.

The electric time service, by which all the standard timepieces of the country are kept in perfect regulation to the hundredth part of a second by the co-operating clocks of the great astronomical observatories, is perhaps the highest possible index of the exact and exacting respect for time, characteristic of American sagacity. Indeed, the safety and certainty of modern social and business movements, with instant electric communication and rapid transit, would be impossible were accurate timepieces less common, and the machinery of modern life would be thrown into confusion by their general derangement.

THE AMERICAN WATCH.

As a factor in the development of these imperative social conditions, the inexpensive and trustworthy American watch deserves more than the brief notice permitted it here. Under the old system of watchmaking as developed in Europe the various parts of watches were made by different artisans, in different establishments, employing fifty skilled trades; the parts were then assembled and fitted by the watchmaker proper in a separate shop. The manufacture of clocks by machinery had proved not only feasible, but profitable. The necessary cost of hand labor forbade the making of watches in this country. Was it possible to apply to their production a system of machinery similar to that which had succeeded so well with the larger and coarser timepieces? Mr. Dennison, a watch repairer, and Mr. Howard, a clockmaker, both of Boston, thought it might be.

More than that, they studied the problem practically at home and abroad, and, in 1850, boldly attacked what all experts confidently pronounced an impossible task. They carried their constructive task to a demonstration; but, like too many pioneers, they lacked capital for carrying their undertaking to commercial success. That was accomplished by the American Watch Company, which took up the task where Dennison & Howard were obliged to leave it, and, by patiently perfecting machinery and methods, succeeded in making under one roof every part of a perfect watch, at a cost so low that the machine-made watches were able to compete with the cheapest productions of Switzerland, which had been previously imported, to the number of three or four hundred thousand a year. By 1876 the number of watches imported was reduced to seventy-five thousand. Since then the exportation of American watches to all parts of the world has been extensive, more than balancing importations; and they have been able to compete everywhere with the best, in excellence, as well as with the cheapest in price. For railway service, the most exacting of all fields, they have become the accepted standard. The orderly operation of national and international railway systems are now for the most part, deter-

mined and regulated by this potent and serviceable product of American machinery. The labor of millions of working people is timed by it, and it enters as a regulating and guiding factor into every movement of unnumbered households. Who can estimate the service of such a social factor?

These are but a few of the American inventions that have vitally influenced the development of modern social and domestic conditions; inventions which have revolutionized transportation, like the locomotive; communication, like the telegraph the telephone, the type-writer; food conditions, like desiccated and canned provisions, cold storage and refrigerator cars; the warming of houses by steam and hot air, etc. It would take not one, but many chapters to do them even the scant justice accorded to the few already touched upon.

SUSPENSION BRIDGE, NIAGARA FALLS.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE SAVING OF LIFE.

IT is a long way from the willful destruction of human life to its intended saving; from the settled and criminal neglect of care for life by individuals and by communities to organized and systematic action having for its end the preservation of life in every instance and emergency. Nor does anything more sharply mark essential differences in social and moral *status* among nations, or the contrast between periods in the history of given nations, than the disregard or care for that.

But the way, long as it may be, has been traversed alike by individuals and by the State in our own country. It will be the purport of the present chapter to exhibit the results rather than the stages of the journey, and it may well enough open with such description as is practicable of the means provided by the United States Government for the deliverance of mariners and other travelers from perils by sea. For now, in sharpest contrast to an old indifference to human life, nay, to the means sometimes employed to destroy the lives of unfortunates who suffered shipwreck, by their fellow-men on shore, alike the dwellers on our coasts and the Government of the United States are laboring, far and wide along our ocean borders and by our inland lakes, to deliver human life from the greed of the ravening sea.

First, by *The Lighthouse System*, with its twenty-five hundred and seventy-four (2574) lighted and its five thousand and eleven (5011) unlighted "aids to navigation."* Of these, the lighthouse is, of course, the chief, and the degree of improvement in its construction and illuminating power is the gauge of thought and toil that have been put forth to make it effective for its

* Annual Report of United States Lighthouse Board for the year ending June 30, 1891. The lighted "aids" are lighthouses and beacon lights, including 299 post-lights, light-ships in position, light-ships for relief, electric buoys in position, gas buoys in position, and post-lights on the western rivers. The unlighted "aids" are fog signals operated by steam or by hot air, the same operated by clockwork, day beacons, whistling buoys in position, bell buoys in position, and other buoys in position, including pile buoys and stakes, and thirty buoys in Alaskan waters.

work. Its light has been defined by competent authority* as one "so modified and directed as to present to the mariner an appearance which shall at once enable him to judge of his position during the night in the same manner as the sight of a landmark would do during the day." In order that it shall be seen at considerable distances, it is requisite that it have a certain elevation, the height determined by the rotundity of the earth. Thus, a light placed on the shore at an elevation of fifteen feet will be visible about four and one-half nautical miles out to sea; one raised to fifty feet, about eight nautical miles, and a light elevated to one hundred feet will be visible about eleven and one-half nautical miles to sea.†

It has already been said that improvement in constructing lighthouses

A LIGHT SHIP.

and in their illuminating power measures the increase of the purpose to make them instruments for the saving of human life. Bright, indeed, is the vision of that purpose to-day in contrast with that discernible in the past, as may readily be seen. Among the finer lighthouses in the United States, perhaps the most noteworthy, is that first built in 1847-48, on Minot's Ledge, in Massachusetts Bay, off the town of Cohassett, twenty miles E. S. E. of Boston, Mass., and not far from that on Little Brewster Island, at the entrance to Boston Harbor, where the first lighthouse on the North American continent was built in 1715-16, at a cost to the General Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay* of £2,285, 17s. 8½d. This

* Mr. Alan Stevenson, Scotch engineer.

† Given approximately from the table by J. G. Barnard, American engineer.

is accounted one of the most dangerous places in the world if left without a signal. And as a record of its construction illustrates the processes and the difficulties of lighthouse building, it is proposed to make a statement concerning it in some detail. The first construction on the Ledge, an iron framework with lighthouse at its top, having been swept away by a storm, with all who were in it, in April, 1851, it turned out that replacing it was to be a more difficult task than it had been to build the Eddystone, the Bell Rock, or the Skerryvore, examples of notable and difficult lighthouse construction in England; for the foundation of the Eddystone, when laid, was all above low water, and a part of that foundation was even up to high-water level; the foundation of the Bell Rock was not far from three feet above low water, while the Skerryvore had its foundation even above high-water level, whereas a good part of the foundation of the Minot's Light was below low water. "And," says General Alexander, of the United States Corps of Engineers, "there had to be a combination of favorable circumstances to enable us to land on the Minot Rock, at the beginning of that work—a perfectly smooth sea, a dead calm, and low spring tides. This could only happen six times during any one lunation—three at full moon and three at the change. Frequently one or other of the necessary conditions would fail, and there were at times months, even in summer, when we could not land there at all. Our working season was from April 1st, to September 15th. Work was prosecuted with all possible diligence for more than three years before a single stone could be laid.† "The difficulty was to cut the foundation rock into proper shape to receive the stones, and after that to lay them."

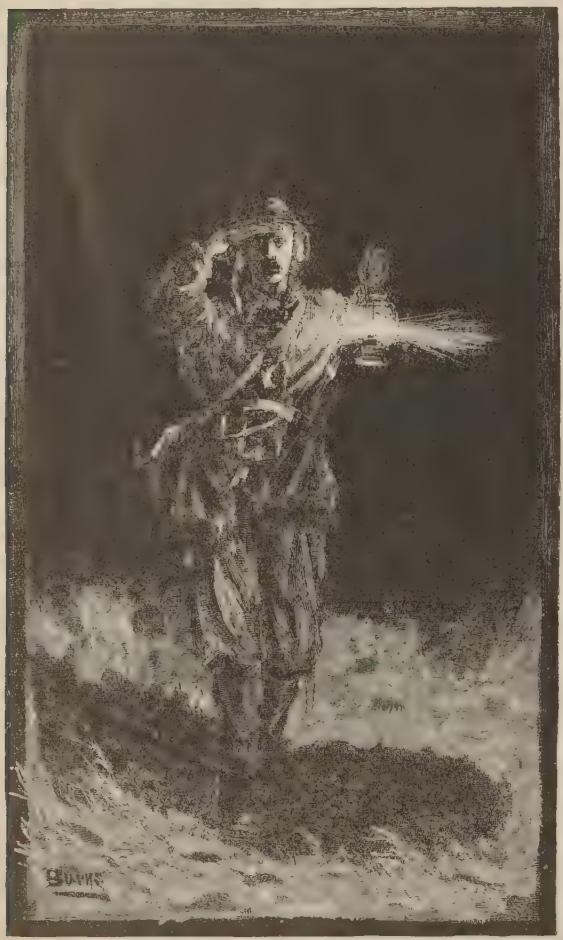
The work, commenced July 1, 1855, was finished September 15, 1860, at a cost of about $300,000. Up to the level of the entrance door the structure is built solidly around a central well. Above that is a hollow cylindrical space, fourteen feet in diameter, arched at the level of the cornice, and divided into five stories by four iron floors, with spiral iron stairway and a trap-door on each floor. These five compartments, with a sixth immediately under the lantern in the top of the tower, make the keepers' rooms, store-rooms, etc.

Still another "rock lighthouse" in the United States stands upon Spectacle Reef, in the northern part of Lake Huron, off the eastern end of the Straits of Mackinac. The least depth of water on the shoal is about seven feet, but at the site chosen for the lighthouse the rock (limestone covered with a layer of two feet of boulders) was found at a depth of eleven feet. The nearest land is ten miles and a half away. In the direction of the greatest exposure of the

* It was supported by light-dues of one penny per ton on all incoming and outgoing vessels, except coasters, levied by the Collector of Imports at Boston.

† It had been determined to build of stone, the superior value of inertia over strength, for lighthouses in exposed situations, having been fully demonstrated.

lighthouse to the waves the latter have a range of one hundred and seventy miles, but they are not such foes to its stability as the ice fields with which it contends in winter. These are thousands of acres in area and two feet in thickness, solidly frozen, and move with a "living force" that is almost irresistible. In the spring of 1875 this ice was piled against the lighthouse to the height of thirty feet above the water, or seven feet above the sill of its doorway, which is twenty-three feet above the lake; and when the keepers went to the station to exhibit the light (not in operation during the winter) they could only obtain entrance to the tower by cutting a passage through the pile of ice referred to.



THE NIGHT PATROL.

In the construction of this work, the first step was to surround the site of the proposed tower by a crib-work ninety-two feet square, filled with ballast-stone, called a "pier of protection." This enclosed an interior opening forty-eight feet square. The arrangement gave a landing stage, and also an area for quarters for the workmen. It, moreover, secured still water in which to place the coffer-dam. That was cylindrical in form, thirty-six feet in exterior diameter, made of staves four inches thick, six inches wide, and fourteen feet long. These were carefully jointed, and were held together on the outside by three iron bands or hoops. Then they were braced and stayed in the strongest manner on their inside, against a centre post.

This done the dam was sunk in the centre of the interior opening of the crib-work, the water within it exhausted, and the bottom leveled for the foundation of the lighthouse. The bottom was then made perfectly water-tight by

filling it with concrete. Upon that the lighthouse tower was erected, thirty-two feet in diameter at the base and eighteen feet in diameter at the spring of its cornice, which was eighty feet above the base. The additional elevation for parapet, lantern, and roof made the total height of the lighthouse about one hundred feet. In this structure the tower is solid from its foundations for the height of thirty feet, all the stones having continuous dowels inserted to bind and hold them to each other. The light here was first exhibited June 1, 1874, labor having been commenced in May, 1870. Its cost was $375,000, and it is regarded by the United States Lighthouse Board as their best specimen of monolithic stone masonry. Thus far, for lighthouses constructed of wood and of stone. The use of iron in places where it is allowable is now common in our system, alike on dry and on submerged foundations, and in the building of both skeleton and plate structures. Among the more prominent of iron towers are those at Cape Canaveral, in Florida, built in 1868, 150 feet high; at Bolivar Point, in Texas, built in 1872, 120 feet high, and at Cape Henry, Va., 165 feet in height, built in 1881. The peculiar painting of the exterior of the last named tower makes it an excellent waymark. Indeed, the painting of specific lighthouses in colors and in styles which are quickly recognized by mariners, and enables them at once to locate their own whereabouts with precision, is a picturesque feature of lighthouse outfit.

A fourth material for construction is brick, and some of the brick towers are among the more important upon our coast. The Shinnecock (L. I.) Bay Light, and that at Cape Hatteras, N. C., may be instanced, and also that at St. Augustine, Florida, the last 165 feet high, built at a cost of $100,000, and painted in spiral stripes of diverse colors.

Next to lighthouse construction, lighthouse illumination is of almost equal import. For however decided the advance in the former, with the resultant of stability and convenience, the interests of commerce and the safety of life were illy secured without a kindred progress in this element of effectiveness. That this has marked the years is evident. We are told that in 1673 the beacon at Point Allerton, Mass.,* was illuminated by "fier balls of pitch and ocum" (*sic*) burned in open braziers. The light on Little Brewster Island, in Boston Harbor, already referred to (built 1718–19), was at first lighted by tallow candles. Then followed the spider-lamp, burning fish oil in the lantern, as it might have been set in a window. In 1812 this was followed by sperm oil burned in a sort of Argand lamp in Winslow Lewis' "patent magnifying and reflecting lanterns," for which the government paid to the inventor the sum of $20,000. This is described as consisting of a lamp (roughly constructed on the principle

*Facts in this connection from "The Modern Lighthouse Service," by Arnold Burges Johnson, Chief Clerk United States Lighthouse Board, Washington, D. C., 1890.

of Argand's fountain lamp), a reflector, and a "magnifier." Mr. Lewis made no pretensions to optical knowledge, and his reflectors came about as near to a true paraboloid—the *desideratum* in shape—as did a barber's basin. In 1840 the administration of this system was largely improved upon, but poor light was still the rule and good light the exception. In 1852, when the Lighthouse Establishment was turned over to the Lighthouse Board, the reflectors in the towers began to be replaced by the Fresnel lenticular apparatus, found so successful in France and, more or less, throughout the world.

BURNING A SIGNAL.

The saving in oil effected by the use of the lenses, over reflectors, was so great that the expense of exchanging the one for the other was met in a few years, although the first cost of the lenses was quite large. The French system, in use since 1852, consists of a powerful central lamp emitting luminous beams in every direction, around which is placed an arrangement of glass, so formed as to refract these beams into parallel rays in required directions. The light may be fixed or revolving;—in the latter case, by multiplying lenses, and special devices in connection with them, all the rays from the lamp are formed into an eight-angled drum and projected as required. In the case of a fixed light, another adaptation of the principle is called for, and a continuous belt of light in azimuth, instead of a series of beams nearly parallel to the axis of the circular lenses (as in the case of the revolving apparatus), is produced. The lamp is placed in the focus of the belt or drum of glass, and "nothing can be more beautiful," says the Scotch lighthouse engineer, Mr. Alan Stevenson, "than an entire apparatus for a fixed light of the first order. I know of no work of art more creditable to the boldness, ardor, intelligence and zeal of the artist."

The lantern which holds this apparatus, moreover, has now come to be a creation, of itself, and the whole arrangement an object worthy of study. A light of the first order stands twelve feet high and six in diameter, involving, in its structure some of the highest principles of applied science. The cost of the lenses alone varies from $4250 to $8400. The distance from which they can be seen is only limited by the horizon. They might be seen, indeed, sixty,

eighty, or even a hundred miles, if sufficient elevation could be gained from which to view them. All this lenticular apparatus was invented and constructed in France, and for many years Frenchmen supplied the world with it. The United States Government still orders its purchases from the same French house of which it has long been a customer.

The fuel for the lamps in the United States lighthouses is mineral oil, through all the establishment, and a burner has been invented which will keep a light burning in a place difficult and dangerous to reach in heavy weather—as at the heads of long piers built out into lakes and sounds to make harbors—for four, six, and even eight days and nights. Such burners are used at some twenty places on our eastern and western coasts and on the lakes. The use of gas as an illuminant has been duly considered and attempted by the Board, but it can hardly be said to have passed beyond the point where there is not something more to be desired. And much the same may be said of the employment of electricity as an agent of illumination It was under the Board's supervision, however, that the great tower at Hell-Gate in East River, at New York city, was lighted;* that the buoys in Gedney's Channel (New York) and the station at Sandy Hook, New Jersey, with the workshops and offices of the Board in New York Harbor, were lighted: so that the Establishment is to be ready for any work in placing electric lights in its towers or ships if authorized to do so by Congress.

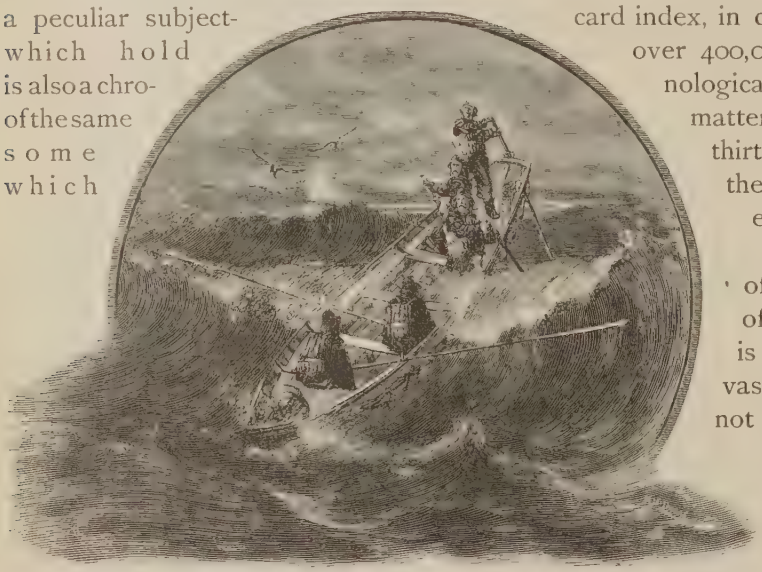
It remains to add that the Lighthouse Board is a segment of the United States Treasury Department, with headquarters at Washington, D. C. By the organic act of August 31, 1852, the Board is composed of two officers of the Navy of high rank, two officers of the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army, two civilians of high scientific attainments, whose services may be at the disposal of the President, and an officer of the Navy, with an officer of the Engineers of the Army as secretaries, the Secretary of the Treasury being *ex-officio* president. The Board meets regularly four times each year, but called meetings are held about once in two weeks. For administrative purposes, the whole country is divided into sixteen districts, each having its inspector, a United States naval officer, and its engineer from the United States Army. June 30, 1891, in these sixteen districts, 852 light stations were in actual operation, manned by 1082 keepers, whose average salary, fixed by law, was $600 *per annum*.

The theory of coast lighting is that every coast shall be set with towers, and that the rays from their lights shall meet and pass each other, so that a vessel on the coast shall never be out of sight of a light, and that there shall be no dark spaces between lights. Upon this theory the United States Government

* Ultimately taken away because its brightness dazzled the eyes of pilots navigating steam and other vessels.

proceeds, planting lights where they are most needed upon those lines. From year to year the length of the dark spaces on its coasts is lessened or expunged entirely, and the day will come, it is predicted, when all its coasts will be defined from end to end by a band of light at night and by well-marked beacons by day.

Toward the realization of this theory the United States of America spent in the support and extension of its lighthouse system, in the one hundred years from 1791 to 1890, inclusive, the enormous sum of $93,238,925.80. In the office of the Lighthouse Board at Washington are preserved, bound in some eight hundred volumes of from five hundred to one thousand pages each, the MSS. records of its work. The Board has made them available by a peculiar subject-card index, in cases and drawers which hold over 400,000 cards. There is also a chronological personal index of the same matter, running through some thirty-four volumes, in which there are, say, 300,000 entries.



DRILL AND EXERCISE IN THE SURF BOAT.

The aggregate of this expenditure of money and labor is appalling by its vastness. But he is not a wise man, nor does he rightly esteem the value of the human life that is made surer and safer by such outlay, who will say that the expenditure ought to have been less liberal—who would rest content with anything less of efficiency attained or of honor accruing to the nation by reason of the facts that have been before us.

The same recognition and praise will be bestowed, by any wise person familiar with it, upon the *United States Life-Saving Service*. This system has been widely exploited since it was established upon its present basis by act of Congress in 1878. It is an expensive and elaborate system, but amply justifies its existence and administration. This would be true indeed if the value of its protection to human life, which is beyond computation, were left out of sight, for, in the words of its General Superintendent, it has already "saved many times its cost in property alone."

From its two hundred and thirty-six stations (June 30, 1891),* it has long fulfilled the functions usually allotted to several different organizations. Since the introduction of the present system in 1871, to the close of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1891, the number of disasters in the scope of the Service has been (1892) 5943; value of property involved, $96,357,934; value of property saved, $71,646,982; value of property lost, $24,711,002; number of persons involved, 49,874; number of lives lost, 600; persons succored at stations, 9,242; days' succor afforded, 34,229.

In its *personnel* are to be found something over sixteen hundred keepers and surfmen—usually six or seven men with a Keeper, at every station.† These crews are made up of able-bodied and experienced watermen, all his subordinates being chosen by the Keeper of each station from among those residing in its vicinity. There is a need for mutual confidence between the leader and his followers, and such selection has been found the best way for securing it. The men at their original entry into the Service—every "active season" continuing from September 1st of one year to May 1st of the next—must be not over fifty-five years of age, and sound in body, being subject to rigid physical examination by a surgeon of the United States Marine Hospital Service. Their compensation is $50 per month during the season, and three dollars for each occasion of serving at other times. The salary usually paid to Keepers is $700 *per annum*. They are obliged to reside constantly at their stations, have the care and custody of the station property, and govern the station premises. They are also the captains of the crews, who lead them and share their perils on all occasions of rescue, taking always the steering-oar when the boats are used, and directing all operations with the apparatus. The Keepers are, besides, *ex-officio* United States Inspectors of Customs. In 1882 Congress provided by law that the selection of keepers and crews should be made solely with reference to their fitness and without regard to political affiliations. At the same time the same wholesome provision against this pestiferous bane of efficiency in public business was extended to the higher officers in the administrative department of the Service.

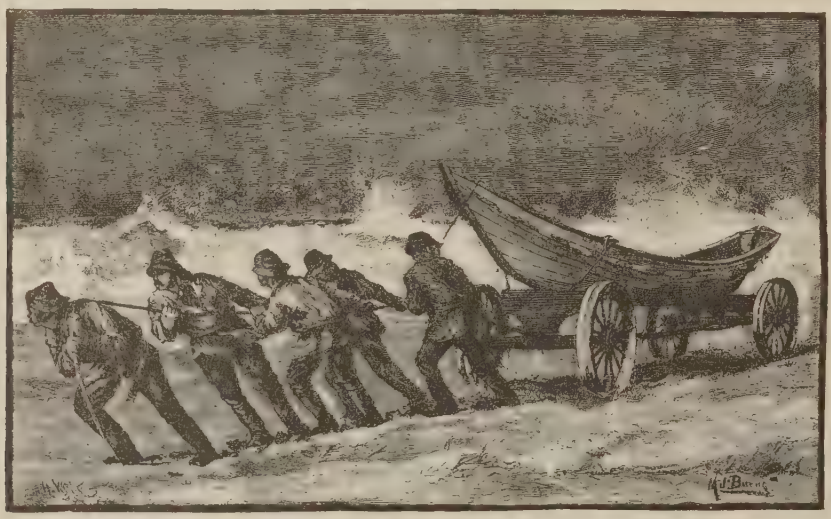
These methods for manning the stations have, since that date, filled them with the pick and flower of the hardy race of beachmen who inhabit our shores. No better evidence of this can be desired than that during the years in which they have governed the selection of the men not one has shown the white feather, while the pages of the Annual Reports of the Service are crowded

* On the Atlantic coast, 178; on the lakes, 46; on the Pacific, 11; at the Falls of the Ohio, Louisville, Ky., 1.

† The number of men composing the crew of a life-saving station is determined by the number of oars required to pull the largest boat belonging to it.

with the records of gallant deeds that have made them famous throughout the land.

At the opening of the "active season"* the men assemble at their respective stations, and establish themselves for a residence of eight months. They arrange for their housekeeping, usually by forming a mess, taking turns by weeks in catering and cooking, although at some of the stations they engage board of the Keeper at a rate approved by the General Superintendent. The Keeper organizes his crew by arranging and numbering them in their supposed order of merit, the most competent and trustworthy being designated as No. 1, the next No. 2, and so on. The rank of his men being fixed, the Keeper assigns to each his quarters, and prepares bills for the day-watch, night-patrol,



OFF TO A WRECK.

boat and apparatus-drill, care of the premises, etc. On the ocean beaches, the stations are generally situated among the low sand hills common to such localities, sufficiently back of high-water mark to be safe from the reach of storm-tides. They are plain structures, designed to serve as barracks for the crews and to afford convenient storage for the boats and apparatus. All are built of wood, but with a view to withstand the severest tempests. Those located, as many necessarily are, where they are liable to be undermined, or swept from their position by storms or tidal waves, are so strongly put together that they may be overthrown and sustain but trifling injury. Instances are on record where they have been carried a long distance inland, in one case a half mile,

* "Organization and Methods of the United States Life-Saving Service," p. 14.

without sustaining material damage. Their substantial construction also enables them to be easily and cheaply transported if anything demand their removal.*

For the purposes of watch and patrol, limits are established as far as possible along the coast in both directions from the stations, these limits being marked by distant monuments. Day-watch is kept from sunrise to sunset by a surfman assigned to this duty every twenty-four hours. He is usually stationed in the look-out on the top of the building, where there is a flag-staff for signaling, the service co-operating in this matter with the maritime associations of the country, and if the patrol limits cannot be seen from thence, he goes, at least three times a day, far enough along the shore to bring them into view. During thick and stormy weather a complete patrol, like that at night, is maintained. And the day-watch keeps a record of all passing vessels.

For patrol service the night is divided into four watches, one from sunset to 8 P. M., one from 8 P. M. to 12 A. M., one from 12 to 4 A. M., and one from 4 A. M. to sunrise. Two surfmen are designated for each watch. When the hour for their patrol arrives, they set out in opposite directions along the coast, keeping as near as practicable to the shore, as far as the ends of their respective beats. If within communicating distance from an adjacent station, each patrolman proceeds until he meets another from the next station, and gives him a metallic check marked with his station and crew number, receiving a similar check in exchange. The checks thus collected are examined by the Keeper, recorded in the journal, and returned to their proper stations the next night. If a patrolman fails to meet his fellow from the adjacent station, after waiting a reasonable time at the usual place of meeting, he continues his journey until he either meets him or reaches that station and ascertains the cause of the failure, which on his return he reports to his own Keeper, who makes a record of it in his journal.† At isolated stations each patrolman is required to carry a clock, within which is fixed a dial that can be marked only by means of a key, which also registers the time of marking. This key is secured to a post at the end of his beat, and he is required to reach it and bring back the dial properly marked.

Every night-patrolman is equipped with a beach-lantern and several red Coston hand-lights. Upon the discovery of a wreck, a vessel in distress, or one running dangerously near the shore, he ignites his hand-light by percussion, which sends out a brilliant red flame. This serves the double purpose of warning the people on the vessel of their danger, and of assuring them of succor if they are already in distress.

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* A complete life-saving station, fully equipped, costs about $5000.

† A transcript of each Keeper's daily journal, "log," is forwarded each week to the General Superintendent at Washington, through the District Superintendent.

For every day in the week a regular routine of duties is appointed for the surfmen, and if anything prevents the performance of any of these duties the fact must be entered on the station "log," or journal, with a full explanation, and the omitted exercise must be performed at the first opportunity. For practice with the beach-apparatus (hereafter to be described), there is provided, near each station, a suitable drill-ground, prepared by erecting a spar called a "wreck-pole," to represent the mast of a stranded vessel, seventy-five yards distant (over the water, if possible) from the place where the men operate—which represents the shore. At drill the crew is mustered in the boat-room at the station, and each man, upon his number being called, salutes the commanding officer and recites in proper sequence every act he is to perform in the exer-

LAUNCHING THE SURF-BOAT.

cise, as prescribed in the Service Manual. At the proper word of command they all fall into their allotted places at the drag-ropes of the apparatus-cart and draw it to the drill-ground, where they perform the remainder of the exercise, which consists in effecting a mimic rescue by rigging the gear and taking a man ashore from the wreck-pole in the breeches-buoy. The officer conducting the drill carefully notes the time which elapses from the moment he gives the initial command, "Action!" until the rescued man sets foot upon the shore.

If in one month after the opening of the "active season" a crew cannot accomplish the rescue within five minutes, it is considered that they have been remiss in drilling or that there are some stupid men among them, and they are cautioned that if upon the next visit of the inspector a marked improvement is not shown, some decisive action will be taken to secure it.

This usually produces the desired effect. The exercise has been executed, without error, by several crews, in two minutes and thirty seconds; and at some of the night drills, without lights other than the moon and stars, the shot has been fired, the apparatus set up, and a man brought ashore from the wreck-pole in three minutes.

The appliances to be found at every life-saving station are the tools with which each group of surfmen do their appropriate and best work for the Service and for their fellow-men. They are: two boats, with outfit, a life-car, two sets of the breeches buoy, a Lyle life-gun, cork jackets, heaving sticks, night signals, rockets, signal flags, barometer, thermometer, apparatus-cart, etc. The means employed to rescue people from stranded vessels are everywhere essentially the same and are two in number, the crossing of tumultuous waters between the wreck and the shore in a life-boat rowed by the saving crew, or the spanning of the waters by strong lines between the vessel and the shore, over which some vehicle for rescue is passed back and forth. The type of boat generally employed for the former purpose by our Service, and always by preference over the spanning process, if it be possible, for the rescue by boat is quicker, is known as a surf- rather than a life-boat, and there are three varieties in use, the Beebe, the Higgins, & Gifford and the Beebe-McLellan. They are made from white cedar, with white oak frames, 25 to 27 feet long, 6½ to 7 feet beam, 2 feet 3 inches to 2 feet 6 inches deep amidships, and 1 foot 7 inches to 2 feet 1 inch sheer of gunwale. Their bottoms are flat, with little or no keel, and have a camber (upward curve) of 1¼ inches in eight feet each side of the midship section. They draw only six or seven inches of water when light, and weigh from 700 to 1000 pounds. They commonly have air-cases at the ends and along the interior sides, under the thwarts, which make them insubmergible, and are fitted with cork fenders running along their outsides to protect them against collision with hulls or other wreckage. Loops of rope, with floats, are affixed to their outer sides, to which persons in the water may cling. They are propelled by six oars and can carry, besides their crews, from ten to twelve persons, although as many as fifteen have been landed at a time in a bad sea. Their cost ranges from $210 to $275. The Beebe-McLellan boat is the Beebe boat with a self-bailing quality incorporated.* The boats are so light as to be readily transported along the shores of soft, yielding sand, without roads, and along the flat beaches covered with little depth of water for a considerable distance seaward, which almost uniformly mark our Atlantic coast from Cape Cod to Cape Fear.

The marvelous self-righting and self-bailing English life-boats are also employed in our Life-Saving Service wherever the coast formation calls for them, thirty-seven being in its ownership and use in November, 1889.

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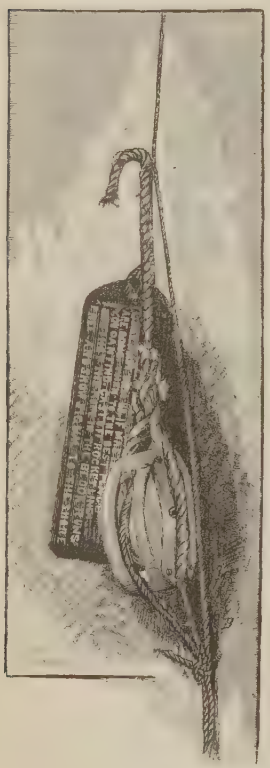
*And recently the self-righting quality, as well.

In active service with the surf-boat, the Keeper steers with a long oar, and, with the aid of his trained surfmen, intent upon his every look and command, manœuvres his buoyant craft through the surf with masterly skill. He is usually able to avoid a direct encounter with the heaviest breakers, but if he is obliged to meet their onset, meets them directly, "head on." His practiced hand immediately perceives any excess of weight thrown against either bow, and instantly counteracts its force with his oar as instinctively and unerringly as the skilled musician presses the proper key of his instrument. He thus keeps his boat from broaching to, and avoids a threatened capsize. At such a time the American boat shows itself capable of marvelous action; and "few sights," says Mr. O'Connor, former Assistant Superintendent of the Service, "are more impressive than the passage out through the flashing breakers of the frail red boat, lightly swimming on the vast swell of the surge, held in suspension before the roaring and tumultuous comber, or darting forward as the wall of water breaks and crumbles, obedient to the oars of the impassive crew."



TALLY BOARD AND WHIP BLOCK.

The requirement of the Service is, in all cases of stranded vessels, that a trial of rescue by the surf- or life-boat be made if that be practicable; and no Keeper is held excusable for failure to make effort to save the shipwrecked by that means, unless the launching of the boat would obviously be foolhardy or is clearly unnecessary. In those cases, and they are not infrequent, the beach-apparatus is brought into play.

First, a projectile, to which is attached a line about a quarter of an inch in diameter and very strong, is fired toward the vessel from the Lyle gun.* If this reaches its mark and the line drops on the vessel, it is seized by the imperiled sailors and hauled on board until they find attached to its shore-end an endless, longer, and larger line, called "the whip," running through a pulley, to which whip-line is fastened a board, with directions printed upon it in English and in French, for the adjustment of the whip on board the vessel. The whip-line pulley-block, having come aboard, is made fast by the sailors, well up on the mast, if that be possible, in accordance with the instructions referred to.

* A small bronze cannon, which, with its line-carrying projectile, weighs but about 200 lbs. It was invented by Captain D. A. Lyle, of the Ordnance Corps of the United States Army. Its range is 695 yards.

Already, on shore, one end of a three-inch hawser has been made fast to a sand-anchor, and the anchor has been buried in a hole which the life-savers who are not at the gun have dug, and that part of the hawser next this anchored end has been lifted over a standing tripod or crotch, to raise it high above the earth. The other end of the hawser is now affixed to the whip-line, and forthwith hauled to the vessel by that by those on board of it. They find upon the hawser another instruction that they fasten their end of that to the mast, say, eighteen inches higher up than the block or pulley of the whip-line. This done, the sailors or others on the stranded craft have nothing more to do except to be rescued. At once, on shore, the breeches buoy or life-car (if the latter be used) is swung to the hawser by its own pulley for a "traveler;" the life-savers forthwith haul on the whip and pull the buoy or car, suspended as we have seen, and fastened to the whip, out to the wreck; then the shore crew pull again upon the whip, this time in the reverse direction, and the buoy or car comes back to them with its human freight, bringing to safety, on each trip, one or two persons in the buoy, or six to eight within the car.

The shipwrecked people, once on shore, are taken to the life-saving station and are provided with every comfort it affords. They find hot coffee and dry clothing* awaiting them, with cots for those who need rest and sleep. If any are sick or maimed they are nursed and cared for until sufficiently recovered to leave with safety; in the meantime, medical aid is called if practicable.† There is also at each station a very fair library of books, presented by the American Seamen's Friend Society of New York city and by benevolent individuals, serving the purpose of entertainment for the life-saving crew and of relief from the tedium of enforced detention on the part of those who have been rescued.

At times, moreover, the unfortunate people reach the shore to all appearances dead. In such cases the Keepers and surfmen attempt their resuscitation by the most approved scientific methods, employing the Hall-Silvester treatment for restoring respiration, for which they have printed instructions and in which they have been thoroughly drilled. During a given twelve years of the service, of one hundred and eighteen apparently drowned persons thus dealt with, sixty were successfully and fifty-eight unsuccessfully treated.

The United States Life-Saving Service is attached to the United States Treasury Department. Its chief officer is its General Superintendent, and

* The clothing is taken from a supply constantly kept on hand by the Woman's National Relief Association, an organization established to afford relief to sufferers from disasters of every kind.

† A medicine chest is furnished for each station, with wine and brandy, mustard plasters, volatile salts, probangs, and a few other simple remedies and appliances.

since its formal organization in June, 1878, it has had no other than Mr. Sumner I. Kimball, who had taken charge of the United States Revenue Marine Service in February, 1871, and with that charge assumed the care of the few scattered life-saving stations then existing. He was already known (1878) as the virtual founder of the life-saving system then legally established. His name was at once nominated to the United States Senate by President Hayes, and he was promptly and unanimously confirmed by that body without reference. The law places no limit upon the tenure of this officer, and he is, therefore, subject to the pleasure of the President. His office is in Washington, D. C., with an Assistant General Superintendent, their respective salaries being $4000 and $2500 *per annum*. Connected with the office is a corps of clerks, a civil engineer, topographer, hydrographer, and draughtsman. Then follows a Board of Experts on Life-saving Appliances, an Inspector, with headquarters in New York, and an Assistant there as well. These are supplemented by an Assistant Inspector for each of the twelve districts into which the entire ocean and lake coasts of the country are divided, who is detailed from the United States Revenue Cutter Service, and in addition a Superintendent of each of these districts. These latter conduct the general business of the districts, visit the stations, make requisitions for supplies and see that they are furnished, pay off the crews, etc. Their compensation is $1000 to $1800 *per annum*.

THE BREECHES BUOY.

The noble Service which has held our attention fairly merits all the space given it by way of record. For it marks as plainly, and perhaps upon a wider scale than most of its companion instruments, the existing spirit and purpose of our countrymen in this matter of saving human life. That is its main mission. Regulation No. 112 of the Service reads:—

"On boarding wrecks by boat, the preservation of life will be the Keeper's first considera-

tion (or that of the person in charge of the boat for the time being), and he will on no account take in goods or merchandise which may endanger the safety of his boat and the lives of those entrusted to his charge; and should anything of the kind be put in against his remonstrance, he is fully authorized to throw it overboard."

And behind all that has been said of the Service and its *personnel*, one finds the American people making their work a possibility as every year goes by.

One of the beneficent legislative enactments for which the Service was very largely indebted to the late Honorable Samuel Sullivan Cox, M. C. from New York City, was the quasi pension system for its crews adopted by the United States Congress in 1882. The bill which was then passed provides that the pay of any member of a crew losing his life in the line of duty shall be continued to his wife and children for the term of two years, and that a member disabled in the line of duty shall be retained upon the pay-roll one year, and, under certain circumstances, two years.

Passing from a survey of these two great systems—the lighthouse and the life-saving—in further statement of the means now employed by our countrymen to protect human life, it is in point to instance the *Regulations for the Prevention of Collisions at Sea* by night-signals. These are to be indicated as fixed upon by the International Marine Conference, held at Washington, D. C., October–December, 1889. Delegates were present and were participants from these countries: Austria-Hungary, Belgium, China, Chili, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Guatemala, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Russia, Siam, Spain, Sweden, the United States of America, and Venezuela, South America. Citation is had from the "Official Record of the Proceedings of the Conference," by reference and condensation, as follows:—

Following certain preliminaries, Article 1 of the "Rules" provides that they are to be complied with in all weathers, and that when these are used no others shall be employed. Article 2 fixes the position of a white light to be burned upon the forepart of the vessel, of a green light upon its starboard side, and a red light to port, all to be fitted with inboard screens, and adds that a steam vessel may carry an additional light similar to the first named, the two to be placed in line with the keel.

Article 3 prescribes, in detail, the character of the lights to be carried by a steam vessel when towing another vessel.

Article 4 relates to the case of a vessel which, from any accident, is not under command, and prescribes its lights, as also that of a vessel employed in laying or picking up a telegraph cable.

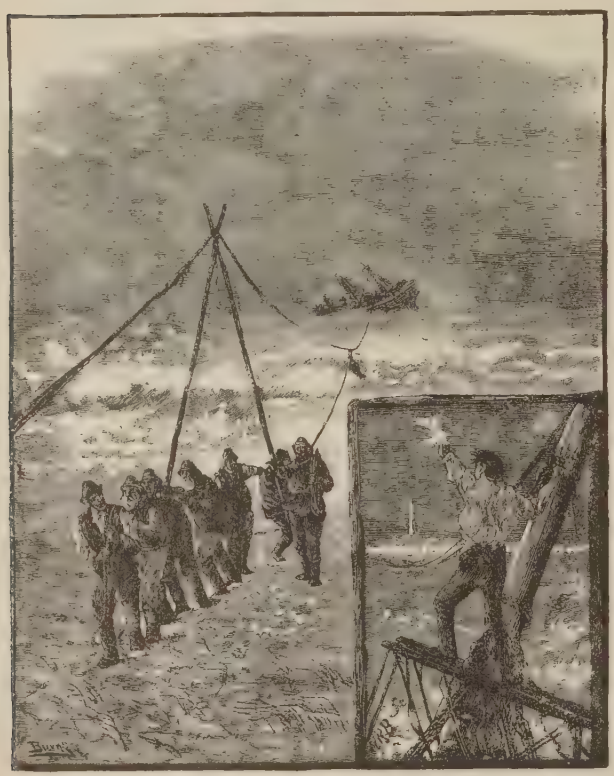
Article 5 prescribes that a sailing vessel under way, and any vessel being towed, shall carry the same lights as named in Article 2 for a steam vessel, with the exception that they shall never carry white lights.

Articles 6 and 7 pertain to the use of portable lights by small vessels in certain cases, and make certain allowances to steam vessels of less than forty, and to vessels under oars or sails of less than twenty tons, gross tonnage, respectively.

Articles 8 and 9 fix the character of lights for pilot vessels and for fishing vessels and boats under way.

Articles 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 relate to lights to be displayed by a vessel which is being overtaken by another; to that to be shown by a vessel under 150 feet in length, lying at anchor; to the employment by vessels, in addition to prescribed lights, of flare-up lights, or detonating signals; guard against the interference of these rules with rules made by any Government for determining the lights to be used on its war-vessels or upon those under convoy, etc., and prescribe, in conclusion, what signal shall be carried in daytime forward by a steam vessel proceeding under sail only.

There is an impression of detail in these regulations, even when presented in greatly abbreviated form, which may be almost, if not quite, burdensome to a general reader. But they attest in a very striking manner and degree the purpose of the Conference delegates, experts in all sea-matters, and from so many nations of the earth, to incorporate within them any and everything that may tend to make human life safer on the deep, and aptly fall within the scope of these pages.



BREECHES-BUOY IN OPERATION. "HAUL AWAY."

Further and most vivid impression, alike of the fact and the extent of care now exercised in our country for the saving of human life, is to be derived from municipal regulations concerning it in our large cities. Assuredly *Sanitary Science* has not yet reached within them its amplest development, but those seeking familiarity with its present aspects may be commended to the last printed report of the Board of Health of the Health Department of the city of New York—that for the year ending December 31, 1890. A score of years, possibly, even ten years ago, its issuance would have been impossible.

During the year named the city's death rate was lowered from 25.06 per thousand, in 1889, to 24.58, and there was a marked gain to infant life, secured by constant and systematic sanitary inspection under the Board's direction. The

work done by its "Summer Corps" of Inspectors contributed effectively to this result. The percentage of deaths among children of five years old and under, to the whole number of deaths in the city was 40, against a similar percentage of 48.35 in the year 1875. Diminution in the ravages of scarlet fever following the work of the Health Board was marked. The number of cases of diphtheria also exhibited kindred diminution.

Permanent Inspectors of Vaccination, working mainly among scholars in the public schools, brought about the fact that between June 14, 1889, and December 31, 1890, not a single case of small-pox occurred in New York from contagion acquired in the city itself. A corps of Inspectors visited every dwelling where contagious disease was reported, fumigated and disinfected it, and then left other disinfectants with succinct instructions for their use when necessary. In twenty-five districts, which covered the city area, as many Inspectors reported to the Board upon special places likely to become dangerous to life or detrimental to health. These Inspectors made 39,202 visits, which resulted in more than 9000 orders for the abatement of nuisances of seventy-one different kinds. Special Sanitary Police made 85,023 inspections of tenement houses during the year, and, on behalf of the more than one million people resident therein, the Report declares that such *surveillance* so improved these houses that their changed condition constituted one of the most important subjects before the Board of Health for years. Inspections of fruit and food numbered more than 35,000; meat and fish condemned and destroyed by the Health Inspectors amounted to over 12,000,000 pounds; fruit and food similarly treated aggregated over 1,000,000 pounds. Careful weekly analysis of the city's Croton water was also made by the Health Board's chemist, to detect all impurities within it at all likely to injure the public health.*

The *Ambulance System* connected with public hospitals, parks, etc., in New York, and in other American cities, merits our attention. Historically it is a military system, and in military understanding ambulances are hospital establishments, moving with armies in the field, organized to provide early surgical assistance to the wounded after battles. It would be aside from the purpose of our volume to essay an enumeration of the elaborate details of such an organization, but it may be observed that while the system, as a branch of military apparatus, had very notable development in the United States in the civil war of 1861–65, and as it was then perfected has since been adopted by most civilized nations, the term "ambulance" is now ordinarly used, in this country, to designate a small spring wagon drawn by one or two horses, and provided with all necessary appliances for transporting sick or injured

* These operations of the Board were carried on at an expenditure of $392,436,25.

persons. Ambulance staffs attached to hospitals in some of our cities consist of uniformed surgeons and drivers. More or less detailed rules are provided at Bellevue Hospital, in New York City,* for their guidance. It is, in part, the surgeon's duty to see that the ambulance is provided with everything for the relief of a sufferer. When answering a summons from a police precinct, a prison, a fire, or any casualty, the Ambulance has the right of way after the United States mail and the City Fire Department. Gentleness and kindness are especially enjoined in the handling of patients, and in all respects the presence of a considerate and intelligent disposition carefully to bear the injured or the sick to quarters where they are to receive needful treatment, is discernible in their regulations, in order to the greater security of human life.

THE SELF-RIGHTING LIFE-BOAT.

The same regard is manifest in the existence, in most American cities and large towns, of *Building Laws*, of greater or less efficiency, with the design of rendering dwellings and other structures more stable and healthful. That there may be a call in given localities for simplifying and for otherwise amending such legislation, ought not to obscure the truth that its enactment, and its enforcement as it stands, is in virtue of a distinct intention to protect the lives of all who become their inhabitants.

The treatment of this topic may be closed by reference to the increased *safety of travel* on sea and land which characterizes the working of the railway

* At foot of 26th Street, on East River.

THE FACE OF THE AMERICAN FALL IN WINTER.

and steamboat systems owned and used by our fellow-citizens. Whatever impressions may have been entertained, the well-ascertained facts prove that this increase is more than real—is such as justly calls for recognition and for hearty praise of the genius that has given rise to it and the administrative ability that insures its continuance. In the matter of Atlantic Ocean steamships, the comparatively recent adoption of the twin screw, the provision of double ship bottoms, the new materials employed in constructing vessels and their equipments, the use of "steam lanes" (the running of these steamers upon prescribed and definite courses that are based on calculations as to probable areas of fog and ice)—these and similar expedients, springing, doubtless to some extent, from keen rivalry between the various lines, do yet give unmistakable evidence of determination on the part of these navigation companies to leave nothing undone in the construction and managing of their vessels which may in any way be the means of averting disaster.

And if the question be as to safety in railway travel within the United States, the answer must be the same; the facts bear swift witness to its existence, whatever the motive that gives birth to it.

Thus, from lighthouse and light-saving systems, from ocean lights and civic hygienic processes, from ambulance organization, and out of a regard to security in the erection of buildings, the theory of which, at least, American people have really grasped, as well as from the facts of ocean and railway travel, comes to clear view the deliberate and persevering purpose of that people to guard human life, which by its genesis and in its execution may be taken as the guaranty of still further development in the same direction.

CHAPTER XXX.

FROM CAVE TO PALACE.

HAT man in his savage state lived in caves and holes in the ground is a very simple statement of a well-known fact, yet to most of us it carries a suggestively Robinson Crusoeish flavor that is not unpleasant. The fact is that the aboriginal ancestor sometimes asserts himself in a great desire to get away from the walls of brick and the roofs of tin and shingle, and fly, not only far from the madding crowd, but also far from the steam radiator and the electric light, and the things they imply and the things they involve, to a cave or a hole in some rocky hillside.

Picture such a dwelling! A cavern pillared with stalactites, musical with the plash of falling water, brilliant with the flashing colors of millions of crystals that reflect the blaze of torch or fire. A pile of warm furs for a bed, the larder stocked from lake and forest, that is the sort of a primitive dwelling that one would glory in for—well, say a two weeks' vacation. From the rocky doorway of such a retreat the entrancing view of lake, forest, and mountain would doubtless fill the measure of æsthetic enjoyment. Fortunately, we are not obliged to realize all our dreams.

THE REAL THING.

The far-away savage, to whom cavern life was not a choice, but a necessity, might open his eyes at such a picture. In the wilds of our still unreclaimed domain there are dreary, dark caves in the mountains that are only visited by the fox, the panther, or the mountain lion. The Indian shuns them with a superstitious dread, for they are full of dead men's bones. Over them the solemn pines grow in unvarying monotony. For centuries, perhaps, they have been used as burial-places, and before that they were the abodes of the living, shelters that man had wrested from the wild beasts and held by the right of a scarcely superior intelligence, sharing them with the bat, the owl, and the snake. His lair was furnished as when the former tenant occupied it, with a pile of leaves as a nest for himself and his mate and their young; or, perhaps, the pelt of his predecessor, feline and odorous, added luxury to the den. A pile of

brush or a few stones in the doorway kept out intruders, and when the growling master of this castle sallied forth, urged by hunger or curiosity, he armed himself with a weapon of stone which he had spent days in fashioning. If successful in the chase, he returned to share with his whelps and their dam the fruits of his prowess, till they had gorged themselves and slept by the bones of their feast.

He saw, perhaps, the accumulation of the glacier and its slow subsidence, and learned in the suffering of that long winter to make his cavern more secure against the penetrating cold.

Across the mouth of his retreat he built rough walls of stone, rudely laying them in courses. Then, after awhile, discovering the astonishing fact that caves could be made, his children, and their offspring in turn, added to the achievements of their ancestor. Still retaining the mountain crevice or the shelter of an overhanging rock as a basis, they supplemented these with fronts and sides, even learning to enlarge the space within by building out upon the ledge in front. Some crude dwellings erected by Europeans, illustrate the slow advance in architecture in civilized times.

OLD SPANISH HOUSE IN BOURBON STREET, NEW YORK.

Another step, a few generations, perhaps, and within the recessed wall of the rock appeared the village of curious masonry, its houses huddled together in the shadow like the cells of a wasp's house or the nests of the sparrow.

When you are traveling, go some day down the Cañon de Chelly, in New Mexico; follow its course as it winds in and out, back and forth, among the sage and chaparal, through the yellow masses of the sunflowers. As you approach the cañon wall look up. Hung between heaven and earth, in the grip of the rock, you will see caught such little habitations as we have described—yes, and in the "Monumental Cañon" and "del Muerto," and in many another of the fastnesses of that curious region, are others, some high up, some at the base

of the mesa, trim little castles that time has battlemented and the whirling floods of centuries have bombarded and broken.

When the cave-dweller had reached this point in his development, the interior of his house began to show evidences of his advance, as well as the outside. The walls were roughly plastered; sometimes decoration in colors, as a simple frieze, was added. The requirements of his table, too, were somewhat greater, and his aerie contained a granary or storehouse, entered by means of a ladder and a hole in the wall.

We do not know why the cliff-dwellers copied the swallows in their habitations. It may have been for protection against enemies, or for fear of the floods. What the conditions of the valleys of Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado were at that time, or what the occupation of those who inhabited them, is a mystery. It is probable that at first the streams were much higher, and that year by year "the bottom has dropped out" of the cañons, till now the distance to the dwellings is often hundreds of feet. Nor is there any evidence of essential difference between the little stone houses that are perched on high and those that are on a level with the valley, except that the higher ones are generally in better preservation, though very likely older than the others.

THE MUMMY CAVE.

Perhaps the largest group of cave or cliff dwellings known to man is that of the Cañon del Muerto, in Arizona, discovered by Stevenson. He named it "The Mummy Cave," having found near it an undisturbed tomb containing a mummy. There is a roughly-defined bay in the wall, a great concave surface traversed by a ledge some two hundred feet from the bottom. In the centre is the oven-like mouth of a cavern, within and around the mouth of which cluster houses, which, it is estimated, may have sheltered a thousand souls. Much of the terrace, with the houses that projected upon it, now lie heaped in confusion at the foot of the cliff.

F. T. Bickford, who visited this remarkable group of buildings a year after its discovery, says :—

"The evidence of an aristocracy or controlling class is here very striking. The cave is shaped like two irregular crescents joined end to end, and the apartments, or rather cells, of the two portions are small and of irregular form, following the conformation of the rock. At the point of junction, however, covering almost entirely the narrower shelf, there stands a rectangular tower, three stories in height, the rooms of which, as well as those in its immediate neighborhood, are larger and the walls and floors much better in construction than those upon either side. The tower commands the village, as feudal towns were commanded by the castles of their lords.

Tanks and other necessaries of such a town are also described. The same author adds :—

"The inner coating . . . is of common clay, and was apparently put on by the late occu-

pants of the village. Where this has peeled off a highly ornamental earlier coating of the interior is disclosed. It was frescoed in geometrical figures of brownish-red, white, and yellow, and the workmanship is such as would not be discreditable to our modern artisans."

Scattered throughout the same region are other ruins, standing alone, removed from the cañon cliffs. These are in all essential respects like the "Pueblos," or community Indian towns still inhabited in New Mexico. Their material is stone, which is often laid in courses, regularly arranged in an alternating pattern. The Pueblo Indians build their houses in clusters, tier above tier, house over house, reaching the upper terraces by means of ladders and using their neighbors' roofs for courts and balconies.

Long ago, when the Mexican conquerors were still exploring the new land and Spanish priest and soldier vied with each other in discovering marvels, an astonishing tale came down from the North, transmitted through Indian and priest. It was an account of seven cities —the golden cities of Cibola. They were wonderful, walled cities, if the report spoke true. The adventurous Coronado,* at the head of an expedition, set out in search of them, and although he did not secure the gold, he left an account of the cities which he found. They were walled, truly, and well-nigh impregnable, if one can judge from that record. What became of them? Years afterward, in our own time, in fact, Lieutenant (now General) Bandelier followed in the footsteps of Coronado, and

THE MARIGNY HOUSE, NEW ORLEANS, WHERE LOUIS PHILIPPE STOPPED IN 1798.

* Coronado (Francisco Vasquez de) was one of the early explorers of New Mexico and Florida, 1536–39. An adventurous Spaniard, he visited Lower California and what is now Texas, and there it was he discovered the seven famous cities mentioned by Cabeca de Vaca. On his return from an unsuccessful expedition to the Pacific coast, in 1542, he fell from his horse at Tiquez, near the Rio Grande, "and," says his narrator "with the fall fell out his wits and he became mad." From that time he disappears from public notice.

after careful search and intelligent comparison he located the seven cities on the sites of Zuni, Acoma, Taos, and the Rio Grande settlements. They were the dwellings of the Pueblo Indians. But what was the origin of the Pueblos? It has been maintained that theirs is but the remnant of a greater race, and their habitations the decadent expression of a more pretentious architecture.

Wandering peoples have dwelt under temporary shelters that have little in common with the permanent habitations of man. Tent, wigwam, or wick-e-up serve nearly the same purpose. Collections of them are villages only by courtesy. It is difficult to imagine a people growing up to anything like serious national life under coverings of canvas or skins that are erected here to-day and there to-morrow. They are the makeshifts of the soldier or the hunter. Therefore we can afford hardly more than a passing mention of the light lodges of the Indian camps.

From the time America was settled by white men to the present day there has been no more change in the general plan of a wigwam than in the nests of the orioles. A framework of poles, about which is drawn the covering of skins, open at the top to emit the smoke of a fire. More or less picturesque, according to the quality of skins used, the size of the structure, the brilliancy of the ochre, or the depth of smoke or dirt shading. Liable, like the tent of the Arabs, to be folded silently and as silently to steal away.

If the "wick-e-up" happens to be of branches instead of skins, there are some individual features observed, as, for instance, that the boughs are turned large end up, so that they will shed the water better; but there is the same opening at the top to let out the smoke and let in the storm—the same lack of serious constructive skill shown. They are makeshifts merely.

Between camp-making and the rudest attempts at home-making there is fixed a great gulf. The most brilliant lodge of an Indian Chief takes a lower rank, architecturally, than the most modest sod house on the almost treeless plains of the West. There timber is scarce, labor is unskilled, transportation difficult. Perhaps the settler may have located where the great wind—which sounds even more fierce and terrible if we call it by its Scriptural name, Euroclydon—comes sweeping down now and again to evict intruders. In that case the sod house is a safe retreat for him.

He makes his burrow by hollowing a foundation in some little hillock if he can find one, framing and lining it as best he can with the material obtainable, stone or wood, and covering the whole with sod. In external appearance it is but one remove from a root cellar, perhaps, but many a sturdy boy and girl has grown up or is growing up in such a home. It is humble, but it is a house, and as such it has a definite place in this chapter.

Superficially the sod house seems to be related to the tumuli of the mound builders, but the resemblance is only on the surface. The mounds

which are scattered through the country, but are most plentiful in Ohio and the Mississippi Valley, had many purposes, but habitation was not one of them. There are some that are identical in shape and probable purpose with the "teocalli," or sacrificial mounds, of Mexico, others that were intended for irrigation purposes, and a far greater number that were simply burial places; but among them we find none that could have been intended as domiciles for the living. Yet the importance of these mounds to the archæologist can hardly be overstated, since by the utensils, glazed ware, bits of carving, and human remains hidden in them we can conjecture the stature, brain capacity, advance-

AN OLD NEW YORK MANSION.

ment in art, and even the occupation of a people whose houses, long abandoned, have fallen and decayed till the centuries have left no vestige of them.

The sturdy log house, that needed no timbering, or, rather, which was all timber, has occupied quite an important place in the development of the West and South. It has been the cradle of Presidents, Senators, and other men of note. A type too familiar to require an extended description, it has varied but little down to the present day. The log cabin is only possible in a timber country, where it is cheaper to use a whole log than to saw it into boards or

slabs. The over-lapping ends are cut so that they will dovetail at the angles, and openings are plastered with clay "to keep the wind away." In the North such a house would be banked in winter with sod, to add warmth; in the South it is the custom to raise the structure on piles. This construction allows the chickens and pigs to run beneath, and saves out-buildings.

Many a siege has been sustained behind such walls in the days when Indians were more to be dreaded than even cold and hunger and wild beasts. The block house was at once a dwelling and a fort.

The luxurious cottages of modern days have frequently adopted log cabin features, adding picturesqueness, if not solid merit, to their architecture.

So far we have confined ourselves to the primitive dwellings of men who inhabit the wilderness, or at least the far-away back-country districts. It must still be a long way before we reach the modern city house with its thousand conveniences.

INTERIOR OF THE CARY HOUSE, NEAR RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

When forests were cleared and the fields of grain or tobacco filled the valleys, and the softer side of life began to appeal to the men who had made the wilderness blossom as the rose, they expanded and improved their homes, adding here a little and there a little, till the evolution of the colonial house was accomplished. The peculiarities of that house were due to the demands of the climate, the requirements of the mode of life, and the kind and quality of material to be obtained.

The most familiar type of country house was the cube; its lineal descend-

ants are still with us. A parallelopipedon of wood—clapboards or shingle—surmounted by a steep, pitched roof that the snow would not lodge on; a hallway in the middle, with keeping-room on one side, bed-room on the other, and living-room in the rear; that was the successor of the log cabin and the forerunner of the colonial mansion.

The first addition made to this simple structure was the extension of one story to serve as milk-room, pantry, etc. Then, perhaps, a smaller building, like the first, to which it was connected by a covered passageway. A porch, or "stoep," next graced the front of the edifice, and the roof, that had expanded and adapted itself to the changing shape of the house, was broken by dormers, to give as much space as possible to the low upper story. A common form of country house had a short roof in front and a long one to cover a half story and extension at the rear. We see this repeated in many a cottage of the present day.

GAMBREL ROOFS.

Donald G. Mitchell is authority for the opinion that the gambrel roofs, that have been lately so much revived, are peculiar to the coast or its neighborhood. The quaint double roof-slant, he thinks, may have been suggested roughly by the inverted hull of a vessel. This may be true in part, though the Dutch variation of this form, which is flatter on top, with the lower sweep longer and curving outward toward the bottom, is supposed to have found its suggestion in the Old World. Frequently, in old houses still standing on the seaboard, we find a balustrade enclosing the upper, flatter portion of the roof, as though it had had observatory purposes. It is not impossible that to this use was due some of the modifications of the gambrel roof.

The chimneys of such houses as we have described were no mean affairs. Great, generous fire-places sent their flames roaring up flues that might easily have admitted the traditional witches that the horseshoe was carefully nailed over the door to guard against.

In colonial architecture the important point was the chimney. To-day, if a man's house is built on a county or State line, his residence is held to be in whatever geographical division holds his kitchen chimney. Then, as now, the chimney was the vital spot. Around it the house was erected. Into its solid, rough masonry was built the wide oven—the great bakeoven that accomplished things in the culinary line that are to us only a maddening tradition—with, perhaps, the secret hiding place, cunningly constructed, which was as much a fashion as the secret drawers in old desks.

Sometimes, in place of wood, stone or even brick was used in the old houses. There stands at Tarrytown, N. Y., such a house, built in 1684. It was the home of Sir Frederic Filipse, and was generally known as the Filipse Castle. Its walls are very thick, built of stone and embrasured in the lower

part for howitzers. The gambrel roof is of the Dutch type. The doors and interior wood-work are heavy oak, and the immense chimney, now torn down, was said to have contained a storeroom large enough to victual the castle for a siege. Tradition also tells of a subterranean vault, the entrance now walled up, where forty or fifty head of stock could be hidden. A frame addition to this old house was made by the Beekmans just after the War for Independence. It contained a broad hallway, at the rear of which is a winding stairway with the light spindling balusters of colonial date. At the rear is a broad, low piazza looking out upon the marsh and the river.

DENVER IN 1878.

There was another style, much affected at a later date, which was incongruous, though much admired. That was the transplanted Greek temple. The classic revival of a century or more ago struck the New World as well as the Old. It expressed itself in the dresses of women and in the houses of the rich. Porticos that were designed for summer skies, façades that had little in common

with a winter climate, were the fashion. No one can gainsay the chaste beauty of the classic models, nor can the effort to adopt and adapt them to American homes be defended on any ground of common sense. To this class belong the Hazard house at Newport, R. I., and the extensive, dignified pile known as Hyde Hall at Cooperstown, N. Y.

Of Southern houses, which were typically different from those of the North, the Stratford house, built by General Robert E. Lee's great-grandfather, and Mount Vernon, are perhaps the best known, the latter too well so to need description. The Stratford house was built of English brick, in the form of two cubes, united by a central building which set back further than the ends, making a recessed front. The roofs receded from all sides toward two massive clusters of chimneys, one at each end, which were curiously grouped so as to form balconies between them. The presence of chimneys was not by any means a distinguishing feature of Southern mansions, since many of them were arranged without reference to the cook, whose domain was apart, under a separate roof.

Primarily, the question, North or South, was how to meet most thoroughly and economically the requirements of climate. War—a defensive war against heat and cold—was the first condition to be considered. The wealthy could, to a certain extent, follow an architectural fancy, and if its details presented inconveniences, he might overcome them by artificial means. Lavish expenditure would accomplish a great deal. But the persons of moderate means, which term included ninety-nine-one-hundredths of the Americans of the last century, kept on with their wide, log-burning chimneys, "lean-tos," that afforded a wind-break, roofs gambrel or peaked, walls of rubble or sides of shingle; or their wide, tree-shadowed door, detached kitchen, deep piazzas that the wind could draw through, and rooms so connected that the cool draughts might penetrate them. We have never been nearer a national architecture.

A DRY TIME IN ART.

We must not linger too long on the other side of the Revolutionary line. The dwellings of the sixty-six millions of people on this side are, in some respects, of much greater interest than those of the four millions on that.

There was a time in the United States when all art, architecture included, was a stranger. From the ugliness of our coinage—still maintained—to the ugliness of our homes was an almost unrelieved desert. There were a few protests, survivals, most of them, like the gabled charm of Washington Irving's Sunnyside, spots where taste might find a rallying-point. But, for the most, size was the measure of importance, and the ill-built, ugly shingle-palace had its day. It needs no description; the cheerlessness of its barren front, the ghastly stare of its windows, haunt the memory still.

The first one to address himself to the correction of our taste for building was Andrew Jackson Downing. He was born in Newburg, N. Y., October 31, 1815, and attracted early attention by his writings on Landscape Gardening and Rural Architecture, a book of his bearing that title long being our authority. Mr. Downing accomplished not a little in improving public taste. He suggested the cottage known by his name, N. P. Willis and other celebrities building them on the banks of the Hudson. They were Gothic as to roof, with piazzas. The general objection is that the second-story rooms meeting the roof are not square, and the rooms are very hot in summer. Downing was the best architect of cottage buildings in his day, but his methods have since

AN OLD MARYLAND MANOR HOUSE.

been superseded by better construction and taste and better adaptation to the necessities of our climate. He was drowned in the Hudson River, near Hastings, July 28, 1852, when the steamboat "Henry Clay," on which he was a passenger, was burned.

The next evidence of an improved taste took the form of incongruous details and tawdry, meretricious ornament. The reign of "gingerbread" work, scroll-saw trimmings, barbarism in paint, had begun. In general form and plan the American country house remained unchanged, but over the familiar cubes were stuck all manner of cheap trimmings. Intrinsic changes came later.

The summer cottage is a thing apart, to be classed rather with the tent and the wigwam of the nomad, than with the home of the inhabitant. Its position on mountain side or sea shore is usually determined by some purely æsthetic consideration. During the greater part of the year it is not habitable. The more expensive villa, that is looked upon simply in the light of an elegant summer shelter, has often many points to commend it to the artist, but is hardly to be taken more seriously than the other as a domicile. These are largely in the nature of expensive camps, play-houses for the wealthy. But there is an almost insensible transition from the cottage camp to the country home, and the development of the modern country or suburban house is worth consideration.

The revival may be considered to have begun at the time of the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876. For the first time the majority of Americans visiting the Quaker City, saw models of cottages that showed the English high-water mark in rural architecture, and they were impressed as by a revelation. Calcott became a name not soon to be forgotten. Copying for awhile these English models, the Americans after some years began to realize the worth of the national, colonial type, and the development began in earnest. To-day, we have, externally, the solid stone and broad quiet dignity of the English Squire's house, to which have been superadded the quaintness of the Dutch and the simplicity of the New England type. Gambrel roof, rubble chimney, and shingled sides have each their place.

INTERIOR OF THE COUNTRY HOUSE.

Within the country house the change has not been less striking. At first the plan was so uniform that one might go blindfolded through a hundred houses after he had seen one. The front door was exactly in the middle and opened into a hall (so-called) or entry, that abandoned half its narrow space to a stairway which began its uncompromising ascent just beyond the parlor door. The rooms to the right of the hall were entered by doors that were just opposite the corresponding rooms on the left. The back door was so nearly like the front that the house might have been turned squarely around without the change being discovered except for the fact that the stairs would run the wrong way, and that the front yard was generally better arranged for show than the rear. Now many estimable people all over the country are living in that kind of a house still, but it is not the most modern nor the best.

Gradually the hall widened—even became irregular in shape. An open fireplace, with the ancestral andirons, was sometimes added. The entrance no longer counted so many feet from this angle and an equal number from the opposite one. Back went the stairway and curled itself up into a more graceful form, holding out even hospitable offers of rest for the lame or the lazy on the way up. Here and there a window that seemed to have a shape and an indi-

viduality of its own peeped in, and finally it really seems as though the house has become plastic and has moulded itself about the numbers, and the shapes, and the needs, and even the whims of the people who occupy it. And that, if any one cares to know, the greatest secret of the nineteenth century is, what a house is for.

The time when comforts and luxuries were for the few, while the husks of life went to the poor majority, are past in America. The girl who knew nothing better than the straw shake-down in the half-story farm house loft, whose roses were freshened every morning by cold water brought by her own strong arms from the cistern, ends her days in a more luxurious fashion. She has become accustomed to the service of the modern genii, steam and electricity.

ANCIENT BLOCK HOUSE, ALASKA.

The city house, as we now know it, is the latest expression of modern thought; at once a confession of increased needs and a triumphant proclamation that those needs have been met and provided for. Of course, economy of space on the ground is a question more and more to be considered, so that we have got in a habit of building skyward. This determines the general proportion of a city house, and regulates its economy by conditions quite the opposite of those which we find in the country house. The improvements in form began some years earlier in the former than in the latter, but it is still to the past few years that we owe what is typical in the city home. A custom which claims Philadelphia as its birthplace, of having the common or living rooms of the family upon the first floor and almost on a level with the street, has been done away with. Generally, in the newer style of house, the elevation of the first floor above the street level has been found to be desirable, and the parlor and library

are often, for convenience, placed a story higher than the drawing-room and dining-room. The last is usually at the rear, and often so built that its section of the building is practically semi-detached, having no connection with the rest of the house except on the first floor. This gives opportunity to have the kitchen where it should be, at the top of the house.

It has been no part of the purpose of this chapter to treat of domestic architecture, except where the connection is most apparent between it and the home-life of the people. Sometimes the shape or ornamentation of a house gives so vivid an idea of the character of its inhabitants that it presses upon our notice, like the description given in Olney's geography of the city of Albany, "which is situated at the head of navigation on the Hudson River, is the capital of New York State and contains eight thousand houses and forty thousand inhabitants with their gable ends all toward the street."

The houses of most of our cities afford more variety than that. Individuality of taste and a much larger opportunity for choice in articles of furniture or decoration lead to more originality. Where the grandfathers and grandmothers had their sanded floors just alike, with broom patterns that were sanctioned by fashion, there is an almost endless range of Axminsters, Brussels, Kensingtons, or what-you-will, for the grandchildren. The common cherry and rarer mahogany, plainly and soberly fashioned (with here and there a decorous curve, as though Endicott or Penn had essayed to cut a pigeon-wing) are supplanted by devices in furniture that actually lend themselves to the comfort of man. The andirons that are so carefully arranged in the open fireplace have gone over to the bric- a-brac. For utility in heating commend us to the steam, hot water or furnace heating of the modern house.

Our walls are no longer bare nor do the clock and candlesticks hold undisputed possession of the mantel shelf. An ordinary dwelling house will show more of art to-day than would the best mansion of a century ago. Pictures, or copies of pictures are within the reach of everybody; there has been a general education in taste all along the line. We have grown up to the water color and the etching, the bit of china or the fragment of bronze. That we have had to reach the present point of vantage through the door of cheap chromos and gaudy ceramics that were not as honest or as elevating as the pewter of our grandmothers, is not perhaps to be deplored, since we have got through.

Gloom has not so much of a place in our homes as it used to have. Perhaps it began to go out with the black hair-cloth we used to know so well. If there is not more of joy in our lives, there is at least more of brightness in our homes.

CHAPTER XXXI.

TRAPPING AND HUNTING.

(From the drawing made from Raleigh's Colony, in 1585, by John White. By permission of the British Museum.)

WHEN, in 1607, Samuel de Champlain asked his King, the shrewd Henry of Navarre, for aid in American explorations, he dwelt chiefly on the benefit France would derive from fur trade with the Indians. Champlain had been in Arcadia with De Monts, and he saw, clearer than any man of his time, the immense profits of a commerce by which costly furs might be obtained in exchange for trinkets of little value. The King, who had learned with envy of the Mexican gold which enriched the coffers of his brother of Spain, listened attentively to the explorer's tales of a product to be wrested from Canadian wastes which should rival in value the gold of the South.

In 1608 Champlain, in command of a French ship, sailed up the St. Lawrence, landed at the Indian village of Stadaconé, and built a fort on land now covered by the city of Quebec. In his journal Champlain assures us that his chief object was to carry Christianity to the benighted heathen natives; doubtless he was sincere, but the real force back of the man must have been his insatiable desire for exploration, a desire which is indicated in almost every act of his adventurous life. In those days men still dreamed of a northwest passage to India, and Champlain, in 1612, made a wearisome journey far up the Ottawa River, led by the plausible falsehoods of a Frenchman who pretended to have gone to the west of the sources of that river until his Indian guides showed him

the waters of the Pacific. While Champlain was a devout Catholic, and eager for discoveries, he knew that the foundation of his colony must be the fur trade. Stout woodmen and zealous priests were needed, but money to support these was to come from the fur trader.

From trading posts at Quebec and Montreal the French pioneers sent each year across the sea furs, the value of which far exceeded that of the cod, which the hardy fishermen of the Breton coast had begun obtaining from the Banks of New Foundland as early as the year 1504.

In the spring these furs were brought by frail crafts of the Huron and Algonquin and Montagnai—fearless canoemen, who, by intricate rivers and over long "carrys," came to barter with the French the fruits of their winter's trapping. While the whites cheated the Indians without hesitation, it must be said, to the credit of France, that no trader was permitted to buy furs with whisky.

With the ready adaptability of his race, the French trader fell into Indian ways, often took to himself a dusky wife, and, as he prospered, set up a household something after the fashion of a Roman patrician, his clients being a crowd of Indian hangers-on. Easy-going and jovial, he quickly won the confidence of the natives—a confidence he rarely abused by unfairness or cruelty.

Besides the richer traders, there was another class, made up of perhaps the most picturesque figures of these picturesque times. The couriers-des-bois, or rangers-of-the-woods, were whites who joined the Indians in their winter trapping expeditions, growing almost as wild as the savages themselves. In his long capote, bright-colored flannel shirt, corduroy trousers, leather leggings, moccasins, and pulled low on his swarthy forehead a red cap of knitted wool, the courier-des-bois was a personage of striking appearance. Soon he became a better trapper than the Indian.

The chief prey of the trapper was the beaver, but martens, foxes, bears, deer, wolves, and wild-cats were also despoiled of their coats.

Follow Pierre, the courier-des-bois, up the Ottawa, where he journeys in the canoes of a party of Algonquins. From the head-waters of the river they branch to the northwest, into a country full of small lakes and winding inlets. Camping on the shores of one of the lakes, they prepare to gather the harvest yielded of snow and ice. Perhaps one of the men is set aside as hunter, to provide meat for the camp—not a difficult task in a land abounding in game. It is early winter, but frost and snow come betimes in this northern wilderness, and as Pierre looks out over the bosom of the little lake he sees a white expanse, smooth and unbroken. Yet not quite unbroken, for near the opposite shore he can make out, among the reeds that show above the snow, some small, conical mounds rising above the snow-covered ice.

The courier-des-bois well knows what those mounds mean—they mark

a settlement of the beaver. After the squaws have got ready breakfast, and it is eaten, he puts on his snow-shoes, takes his rifle and ax, and starts forth; several Indians, one of whom drags a toboggan, go with him. At this season the beaver are partially torpid, and fall an easy prey to the experienced trapper. The beaver village being reached, the ice is cut away near one of the mounds or houses on the side nearest the shore, for on that side, under water, is the entrance. In the meanwhile, an Indian has gone ashore, cut some long saplings, and pointed the larger ends; these are driven down close to the house, over the entrance, so as to prevent the beavers' escape. Then

CROSS-COUNTRY RIDING IN AMERICA. THE MEET FOR A FOX-HUNT.

Pierre goes to work with his ax and chops into the mound, a difficult matter, for the little wads of mud and chewed grass of which it is built are, in the outer layers, frozen tightly together. At last his task is done, and he can reach into the upper or dry cavity. Here is where the beaver passes the winter; and, if so drowsy as not to be disturbed by the turmoil, here it stays until, being pulled out by Pierre, it is thrown on to the ice to be killed—poor, sleepy beast—by a blow from one of the Indians. Perhaps several more of the household are taken from the upper story. Below is a cavity, partially filled with water, where may be collected those of the inmates which have tried to escape, but been prevented by the poles driven across the entrance. These

animals are also captured, and the trappers return to camp with a well-laden toboggan.

For a week or more they linger around the little lake, trapping the marten and fox, and catching what few beavers survived the first raid on their village. When fur-bearing animals become scarce they go to another lake where are fresh supplies of beaver.

The marten, or sable, a graceful little creature, somewhat resembling the weasel in appearance, is much prized for its soft, reddish-brown fur. It is about sixteen inches in length, has a long bushy tail, and is an expert climber, spending most of its life among the tree-tops; young birds, mice, and even hare are its prey.

To catch the marten, Pierre and his Indian friends go back from the lake till they come to a hard-wood ridge, such as is often seen parallel to the shores of Canadian lakes; along this ridge, some twenty rods apart, they set their traps. These are called "dead-falls," contrivances easily made with the help of ax and knife; the bait, a bit of meat, is so arranged that, in order to reach it, the animal must squeeze between two horizontal poles, the upper pole being supported by two twigs, to one of which the bait is fastened. When the bait is seized, the support of the upper pole is disturbed and it falls; the marten caught between the two poles is almost invariably killed.

Of the foxes the most valuable is the black fox; its fur is glossy black, save a few white hairs on the back and a white tuft at the end of the tail. The silver fox only differs from the black variety in having more white hairs along its back. Next in value is the common red fox, then the cross fox, a cross between the black or silver and red fox, and last, of least value, the white, or Arctic fox.

These cunning animals were usually caught in steel traps supplied by the French. Being set in the snow just so as to be hidden, the bait was scattered around. The trapper must take care not to leave many signs of his presence or the fox will suspect danger and keep away. The trap's chain is not fastened so as to keep the captured animal a close prisoner, for if that is done a fox will often gnaw its leg off and escape on three feet; the chain is attached to a pole or clog, which impedes the captive and enables the trapper to find it, while not completely checking it. Muskrats and mink have also this habit of gnawing off their feet, and the writer has killed several possessed of but three feet.

The mink were trapped along the water courses, either with dead-falls or steel traps. In early times, when valuable animals were common, the trappers disdained to spend their time catching the musk-rat, and that little creature was left as prey for the Indian boys. Other animals sought for their pelts were the bear, deer, moose, buffalo, otter, and, more especially on the Pacific coast, the seal and sea-otter.

Stories of these valuable sea-otters and seals found on the northwest coast caused Jacob Astor, a New York merchant who had already acquired wealth and prominence, to plan an American Fur Company, having its headquarters at the mouth of the Columbia River. In this venture he had promises of support from the United States Government, which had become alarmed at the increasing monopoly of the British fur companies. After Canada fell into the hands of the English several great fur companies were formed—the Northwest Company, the Mackinaw Company, and the Hudson Bay Company. These

A GOAT BROUGHT TO BAY.

associations, especially the two first named, were encroaching on territory claimed by the United States, and were exerting undue influence over the Indians. So the Government encouraged Mr. Astor with promises of help.

In 1811, Mr. Astor's expedition, a band of traders and hunters, after a march across the continent, of almost incredible hardship, reached the destination of the colony. A rude fort was built, and the place called Astoria. Each year a ship of supplies, destined also to bring back furs to New York or dispose of them in China (then a great mart for furs), was to be sent to Astoria by Mr. Astor.

A series of disasters to the ships sent out, disappointment as to the quantity of furs found inland from Astoria, and, above all, the breaking out of war with Great Britain, which prevented the sending of more ships from New York, led, in 1813, to the abandonment of Astoria to the English.

One of Mr. Astor's chief agents, who had formerly been in the employ of the English Northwest Company, was criticised for too quickly surrendering Astoria. Force was given this criticism by the fact that the agent sold to the Northwest Company what goods and pelts were at Astoria for much less than their value, and immediately went into the employ of that company. So failed a great plan, the success of which was of vast importance to the United States Government.

Gradually the control of the fur industry came into the hands of the Hudson Bay Company, which each spring accumulated great quantities of furs at their chief depôts—Fort Vancouver, on the Pacific; Fort York, on Hudson's Bay, and Moose Factory, on James Bay. The North and Northwest, a land of dense forests, broad rivers, lakes, flower-covered prairies, swamps, and mountains, was filled with their employés; most of these were Highlanders, hardy fellows, well-fitted for the rough life; mixed with them were French-Canadians, descendants of the first couriers-des-bois, and also half-breed and Indian trappers. In winter these men roamed over the desolate wastes collecting furs, the rich harvest of the North; enduring many hardships, fatigue, cold, and hunger; often for weeks living on tripe-de-roche, a lichen which would grow on the most barren rock. In summer the wilderness was astir with canoes of the voyageur bringing in furs to the depôts.

All America abounded with game, ranging from the great musk-oxen of Eskimo-land to the slender deer of the Mexican Gulf. But nowhere was it more plentiful than in the woods and prairies of the Mississippi Valley. Here ranged the great herds of buffalo, the chief food-supply of the savage. In summer the prairie Indian feasted on choice portions of the flesh; in autumn he put by for winter use quantities of pemmican. This pemmican was the common winter food of trappers and hunters; to make it, the buffalo meat was cut into strips, dried in the sun, pounded between two stones until bruised and broken into small bits, then packed in bags of buffalo skin, the hair outside. Next, a quantity of melted grease was poured into each bag, and, finally, the bags sewed up as tightly as possible. The Indians usually ate it uncooked; but the whites, when they could, mixed in flour and water and boiled it. Pemmican was a wholesome dish and not unpleasant to one who did not fear to eat a few buffalo hairs.

In this valley also, especially on the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, lives the grizzly or grisly bear—the beast which is to the new world what the Bengal tiger is to Asia. The Indians were in terror of the grizzly; indeed,

they had no weapons effective against an animal which, above all creatures on the earth, is tenacious of life. Yet the grizzly is not the most powerful of American bears; for the bears, unlike the more formidable of the carnivora, such as lions, tigers, etc., get their greatest size when furthest from the equator. Thus the polar or white bear, in size, and strength, though not in ferocity, ranks first among the bears. It is sometimes nine feet in length, and its weight fifteen hundred pounds. While the polar bear is not so aggressive as the grizzly, it has no fear of man, and the hunters and trappers take care to give it a wide berth.

Through all the East and South are found the black bears, growing smaller and more timid as the tropics are approached. They have nothing of the ferocity of the grizzly, and are as shy as a deer. Black bears are able to climb trees, an accomplishment which nature has fortunately denied to the more savage species.

West of the Rocky Mountains is the cinnamon bear, so called from its color; in habits it closely resembles the black bear, but is somewhat larger.

The black bear is a difficult creature to successfully hunt, and more are killed in chance encounters than in any other way. At the south the planters used to hunt them with packs of dogs, a cross of slow fox-hound and mastiff being the favorite breed; at the east they are tracked by means of small cur dogs, which, nimbly keeping out of reach of the clumsy animal's teeth and claws, will yelp at its heels and annoy it until Bruin, in disgust, takes refuge in a tree, where it is found by the hunter, guided to the spot by the yelps of his dog.

This bear is fond of ripening buckwheat and oats, and in autumn nights will vary raids on the calf-pasture and pig-sty by a trip to the grain field, where he creates havoc, not only stripping stalks of their heads, but plunging about in the grain, rolling, and crushing it flat in very wantonness of destruction. Then the farmer's boy gets out the great rusty, iron trap, unused since "Gran'-ther" caught the catamount. If the bear is in the habit of coming to the grain, it has a beaten way of approach; but should there be no such path in which to set the menacing iron jaws, the boy will bait his trap with a piece of meat or, better still, with a lump of honey—a delicacy which Bruin scents afar off.

The most difficult method of killing the black bear is the one sometimes adopted by a tough old Canadian hunter, a man who boasts himself a *courier-des-bois*. When the first snow comes, he takes his rifle, and going to some swamp he thinks is the haunt of a bear, finds the track, starts the animal, and then follows. A weary tramp is before him; during the first hour or two the bear, frightened by the man whom it scented or heard when first started, plunges through the woods at a clumsy gallop, and so gets a long lead. Finally the

hunter sees that the track is fresher—the game is close by; he steals forward with noiseless moccasins, hoping for a shot; but the bear is apt to scent him and start again. These manouvers may be repeated many times before the Canadian's sharp eyes catch a glimpse of glossy fur, and a bullet ends the chase.

Though, as a rule, a timid beast, an old bear with cubs is often dangerous. Early in the century there lived in Northern New York a religious exhorter, who, in summer, was accustomed to walk, if necessary, to remote communities in need of religious instruction. The good man was famed for his vehement,

MRS. BOB WHITE AND FAMILY.

full-lunged exhortations. One morning in spring he set out to visit a settlement surrounded by the forest. In the afternoon of that day some of the settlers at work near the edge of the clearing were startled to hear coming from the woods a well-known voice, which cried out with all its pulpit power:—

"If thee won't help me, Good Lord, don't help the bear!"

The men, hurrying to the rescue, found the preacher grappling with a bear which was trying to hug him to death. He had drawn a knife, plunging it into the animal's side, but the chances were all in favor of the bear when the

help of which he had despaired came, in the shape of the men and their brush-hooks. It turned out that he had seen a cub and tried to catch it; the little animal's cries summoned an angry mother.

Polar bears that are killed are usually shot by men in boats. The seal hunters do not care to come face to face with the great bear on its native ice floe.

As for the grizzly, it is not game for hunters; it does the hunting itself. A rumor, current in the U. S. Army, is to the effect that Gen. Crook, of Indian-fighting fame, is the one man who single-handed has walked up to a grizzly, challenged it, and killed it. Most men prefer to walk the other way.

Doubtless there were voyageurs and carriers-des-bois, mighty hunters, that threaded the wilds of North America in advance of civilization, who did valiant, though unfamed, deeds in their fights with the grizzly. Books of pioneer adventure in the West, like Lewis and Clark's "Journal" or Irving's "Astoria," are full of the exploits of Pierres and Antoines. Parkman has told the adventures of Champlain's hardy guide, Étienne Brulé. But perhaps no figure is more real as a type of the ideal man of the woods than Cooper's creation, Natty Bumpo, the Leather-stocking—the hunter, philosopher, and fighter.

Without question, Daniel Boone is the greatest figure among pioneer hunters. Born in Pennsylvania in 1735, but passing his youth in Kentucky, he soon became famous as a hunter and Indian fighter. Taken into the United States army, he built Boonesborough, on the Kentucky River. In 1778 he was captured by the Indians and taken to Canada, where, having won the good will of his captors, he was adopted into the tribe. Soon he escaped and returned to Kentucky: that State, however, growing too civilized to suit his taste, the pioneer pushed further west, dying, in 1820, in the State of Missouri. Boone was a man of great strength and endurance, a sure marksman, a hunter and warrior-of-the-woods of unequaled prowess—the type of a class of restless, daring spirits who always keep in advance of the settler's ax.

The buffalo was the animal furnishing most food to the Indians who hunted over the wide prairies of the central and western States, but, taking into consideration all North America, the different varieties of deer were doubtless more important to the natives—flesh, hide, and sinews were all used, and all seemed indispensable. In the South the Virginian, or common red deer, gave food and clothing; in the North its sinews were also prized; they were used in making the snow-shoes which enabled the Indian to take long journeys. In summer he could only travel great distances in canoes; in winter the crusted snow made all the country into one broad, smooth highway, over which with the aid of snow-shoes and toboggan, journeying with his household goods was made easy to the Indian.

In the North, from Maine to the Pacific, roamed, and still roams, though

in less numbers, the great American elk or moose, as it is commonly called—the largest of the deer family, standing five feet or over at the shoulders, and as heavy as a horse. While possessed of great speed, the moose is not a graceful runner, nor a well-proportioned animal. There is a sinister look about its head—too big for even the large body—about its long, ugly, lower lip and small, wicked, eyes, a look which does not belie the creature, as hunters who have encountered a wounded bull moose can amply testify. In the rutting season, that is, in October and November, the bulls are vicious, and often will attack a man without provocation. Formerly, many, when "yarding" in the deep snow, were killed by the hunters on snow-shoes; but such butcheries have

LANDING A MONSTER ALLIGATOR IN LOUISIANA.

been stopped by the Canadian authorities, who feared the total extinction of the animal most typical of the gloomy forest and great barren wastes of the North.

Near the Rocky Mountains, especially in the country drained by the Upper Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers, is found the American stag, or wapiti. These beautiful animals are often called elks, a name which in America belongs only to the moose. The wapiti stands four to five feet at the shoulder and is a well-made, gallant-looking creature; its antlers, unlike those of the elk family, which are heavy and broad, are slender and branch two or three times, making a fine crown to the head. This deer has little of the savage

nature of the moose, is shy and difficult to shoot; a few stags still survive in the Yellowstone Park region.

The mule deer, also native to the slopes of the Rockies, is intermediate in size between the wapiti and the Virginian deer, whose height is only two and a half or three feet. The mule deer's most marked characteristic is the length of its ear, from which it derives its name.

West of the Rockies is the black-tailed deer, which seems to take the place in that region of the Virginia deer, a species it much resembles.

Deer are hunted in a great variety of ways. In the South, before the war, packs of fleet hounds were often kept on the larger plantations. The planter and his friends, men and women, would follow on horseback as dogs and game burst through the oak-openings or pine-woods where there was little underbrush to trouble a rider. Finally the deer would be brought to bay, pulled down by the dogs or dispatched by the hunters. This deer-coursing, which had many features in common with a cross-country fox-hunt, is now seldom practiced; it was, perhaps, the most picturesque form of the hunt to be found in America.

In the more northerly regions many deer are killed by still-hunters. The best time is in the late autumn when a light snow covers the ground, and the deer are still haunting the clearings, not yet having taken up winter quarters in the recesses of the forest. Finding a deer track the hunter follows, stealthily, until he gets a shot at his victim.

Until of late years, when the game laws are more strictly enforced, deer were slaughtered in the summer months by night-hunters. In warm weather the deer, tormented by insects, come to the shallows of ponds and lakes to cool themselves and find relief from flies. The night-hunter, having a darkened jack-lantern in the bow of his boat, is silently paddled among the lily pads. When the splashing of a deer is heard, the lantern is uncovered, and flashes full on the astonished animal. The boat and men back of the lantern are invisible, and the deer, with the curiosity of its kind, stands in the blaze of light and snorts with wonder. Now it is an easy mark, and a charge of buckshot is poured into it.

Night- or jack-hunting was carried on in the hot nights of July and August months, when the deer are in poor condition, and when the fawns are yet dependent on the does. Fortunately this so-called sport, by which hundreds of deer were butchered for their hides, is becoming a thing of the past.

One of the deer's instincts is used for its destruction, particularly by the hunters of Maine, Michigan, and the Adirondacks. The deer's instinct teaches it, when it hears the howls of pursuing animals, to baffle them by running to water. A deer track is found, hounds put on, and the hunters station themselves along the banks of rivers, or, if the nearest water is a lake, watch that in boats.

If the deer goes to the water which the hunters are watching, and does not see or scent them, they may have a shot at it as it wades across the stream or bounds over the banks; if it tries to swim a lake, and men in boats see it, they have every opportunity of killing a deer.

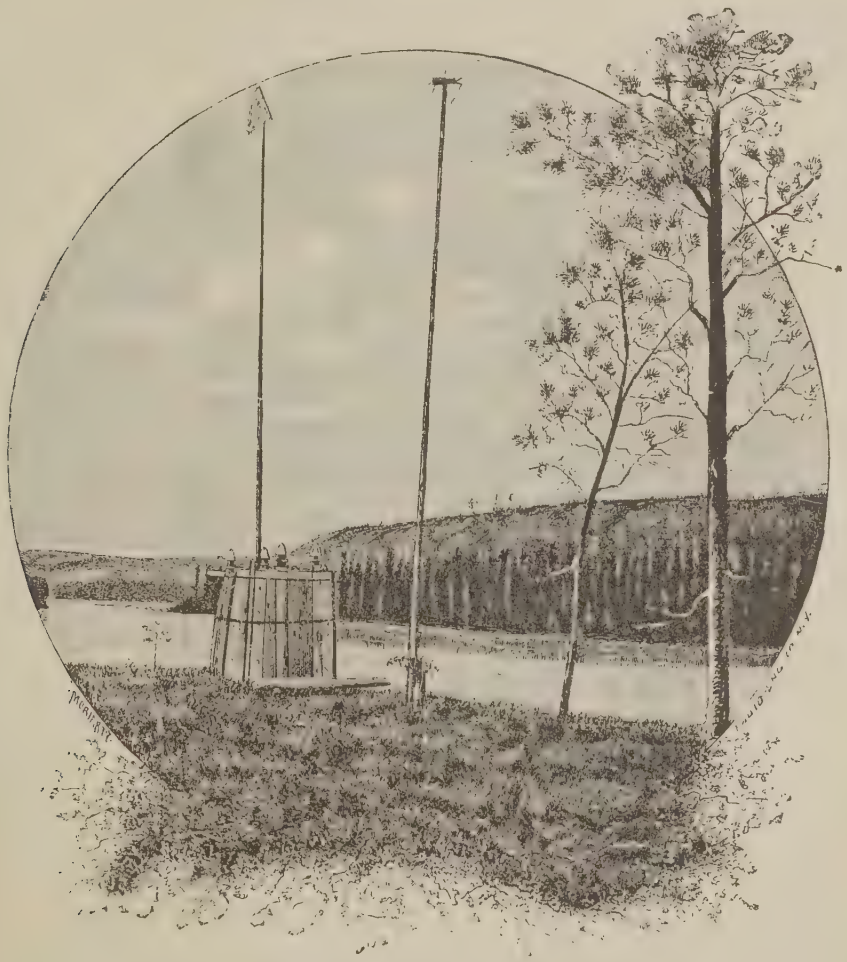
Though at first sight this "hounding" deer seems cruel—in fact it is one of the least destructive methods—the deer has many chances of escape; it may baffle the dogs in forest, swamps, or brooks, or if driven to water, is very likely to elude the watchers. Hounding is now prohibited, save in a few of the autumn months. In North America are found two varieties of antelope—the Rocky Mountain sheep or goat, and the common antelope, or prong-horn—the latter, an animal somewhat smaller than the Virginian deer, being the cabree of the voyageur. The prong-horn is yet plentiful, herds being often seen on the plains west of the Mississippi. In winter its long outer hair becomes thick and brittle, giving the animal a perfect protection from the blizzards that rage over Western prairies. The Rocky Mountain goat, an animal having a shaggy coat of wool, inhabits the most desolate parts of the Rocky Mountains. It is not plentiful and is extremely shy.

As the big game gradually disappears, more attention is given our game birds. The expert wing-shot has taken the place of the rifle marksman—the man who could boast of "barking" a squirrel at forty yards. First of American game birds is the wild turkey, whose domestic descendant, contrary to the usual rule, is only a degenerate scion. The wild bird excels in size and in the flavor of its flesh. At one time great flocks were in the Southern-Central States; but their numbers have been reduced by hunters and by four-footed enemies—the fox, especially, slaughters the young birds.

The wild swan was once found, though it was never common. Geese and brant are still shot, and wild ducks are numerous. But of all our birds the grouse family affords best sport to the wing-shot. The biggest member of the grouse family is the sage-hen, a heavy, somewhat stupid bird. It lives in the sage barrens of the Northwest, and its flesh tastes unpleasantly strong of the sage. The pinnated grouse or prairie-chicken was scattered throughout the East, not so very long ago, in New York being called the "heath-hen"; but now they are only found in the prairie country, where they are plentiful, and much hunted by lovers of wing-shooting.

No grouse is a better example of its alert, swift-winged family than the ruffed grouse, which is found throughout all the temperate regions east of the Rockies. It is a beautifully marked bird, is wary, prompt and strong on the wing; when whirring with the velocity of a bullet through thick New England swamps, no more difficult mark for the gunner can be imagined. This grouse is often called the partridge, but erroneously so; there being no partridges in North America. Less common varieties are the sharp-tailed and the Canada

grouse, both found in the northern districts; still further to the north is the ptarmigan or white grouse. The quail, or Bob White, which abounds in the Central and Southern States, is a great favorite of the gunner, who uses setters or pointers in his shooting. Nor are woodcock, snipe, and plover lacking. Though the sporting rifle is gradually giving way to the fowling-piece,



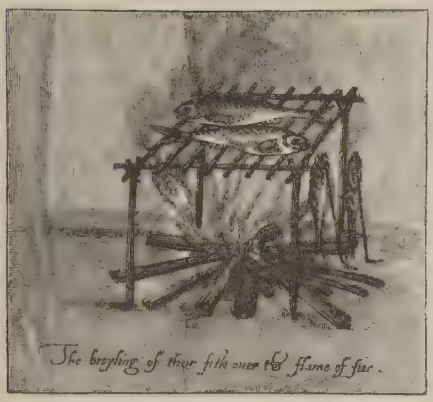
AYAN GRAVE, ALASKA.

North America is still a land of happy hunting grounds for the gunner. He may exercise his skill in bringing down a whirring grouse, and, if he is devoted to his rifle, he may still try his marksmanship in stopping a leaping buck, or in putting a bullet into the eye of one of the great alligators that lounge in Louisiana bayous.

VIEW OF A NEW SETTLEMENT IN THE NORTHWEST.

CHAPTER XXXII.

HUNTING AND FISHING.



(From the Original Drawing made by John White in 1585. By Permission of the British Museum.)

In the middle ages, when the Roman church was at the height of its influence, there was a great demand for fish to be used at the different fasts imposed on the people. The abbots and bishops could grandly dine off turbot and lamprey; but the pious peasant found it difficult to get the herring and cod necessary to satisfy his conscience and his stomach.

Thus, when Sebastian Cabot came sailing home to England from his voyage to the New World, his reports of the great schools of fish seen off New Foundland carried joyful news to the Christian nations. Hereafter the hardships of Lent would be lessened, and that without any hard-earned dispensation from the Church.

The first well-authenticated record points to the year 1504 as the one in which Europeans first went a-fishing across the Atlantic; and then it was not the English, but the hardy, adventurous sailors of the Breton coast of France who were the pioneers. The fishermen who had hitherto confined their industry to the less turbulent coasts of Europe, or, as a long trip, gone to the cod-waters of Norway and Iceland, now braved the storms of the broad Atlantic, and returned with a harvest which at that time was the richest product of the northern regions of America.

Spanish and British seamen followed the Frenchmen, and at one time there were one hundred Spanish vessels engaged in the fisheries; but the gold of the south had more attractions for the Spaniard, and by the middle of the seventeenth century his connection with the New Foundland fisheries had ceased. He followed a brighter lure than the scales of the cod, and thereafter the

subjects of His Most Catholic Majesty had to depend largely on the heretics of England and Holland for their Lenten diet.

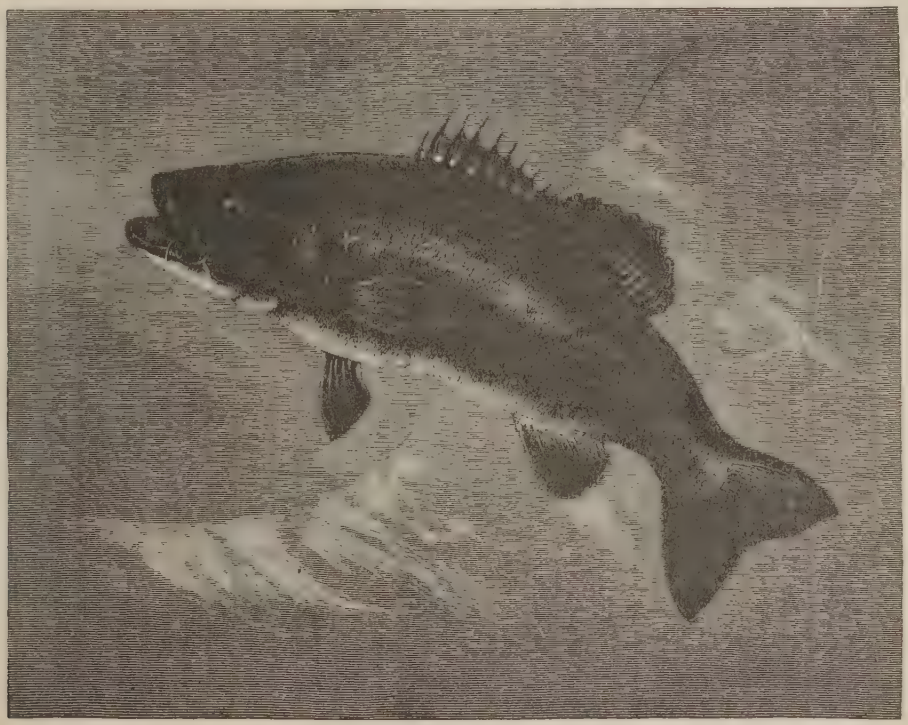
The English were more formidable rivals of France; they sent out a steadily increasing number of ships, and it is estimated that by the end of the year 1600 there were two hundred ships manned by English sailors fishing for cod in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and off New Foundland—a few more than the French could boast. In 1602, cod were caught in Massachusetts Bay, and Cape Cod received its name; in 1614 Captain John Smith had success in fishing off the Maine coast. From this time the fisheries of the New England coast were prosecuted with vigor by the English. Soon after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, in 1620, they came to depend on fish as the main food supply for the colony, and fishing grew to be the chief industry of New England.

The New World fisheries soon caused disputes between France and England. By the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, France agreed not to fish within thirty leagues of Nova Scotia. In 1820, she built the fortress of Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island. But England was not yet satisfied. Louisburg was lost, and by the treaty of Paris, 1763, the French gave up the right to fish within fifteen leagues of Cape Breton. In spite of such constant wrangling, the fisheries of both countries thrived. What British interference could not do to France, her civil troubles accomplished, and while the great Revolution lasted, France put by her fishing tackle, not to take it out again until after the peace of 1815.

While the nations of Europe were quarreling over the cod and mackerel of the Eastern coast, and carrying them away to furnish fasts for the Catholic world, the nations of America, the native Indians, who roamed by the banks of rivers and inland seas, were capturing fish to furnish them their feasts. Fresh water fish were everywhere; each lake, river, pond and brook swarmed with them. In the hilly country to the east, and also through the ravines of the Rocky Mountains, the Indian crept along trout brooks, with swift arrow stunning his prey, as with nose up stream and fins gently fanning the water it lay in some cool pool beneath the bank. Or, in the late fall, when the trout of the lakes run up small streams to spawn and are sluggish and dull-eyed, the Indian fisherman slipped a noose of sinew around them, and, with a quick pull, threw them to the land. From the eastern to the western coast, in northern latitudes, he found the salmon; and, when these fish were ascending or descending the rivers in their yearly migrations to and from the sea, they came in such quantities as to be easy prey. The Indians speared them, or, following the ascending fish to some waterfall, caught them in scoop nets as they filled the pools beneath the falls before attempting the leap.

In the Great Lakes were white-fish, pickerel, pike, lake trout and lake herring. In winter they were speared through holes cut in the ice; the Indian, lying stretched by one of these, with a deer-skin thrown over his head in such a

way as to exclude daylight from the hole, would peer down into the water ; when the game, attracted by a decoy—often the image of a small fish—swam into sight, the fisherman thrust with his spear-hook and rarely failed of success. This spear-hook, an implement of bone, having a wooden handle, was, as its name implies, a combination of the spear and hook ; it was much used by all the fishing tribes, being preferred by the braves to the net, which, to them, seemed a tool more befitting the work of squaws. In the hands of a skillful fisherman the spear-hook was very effective.



"BROKE AWAY."

(*From the Painting by Gurdon Trumbull, Esq., by Permission of Knoedler & Co.*)

Fattening in the mud below the sluggish waters of the Mississippi Valley, the Indian found the great cat-fish. Shad abounded in the Connecticut, Hudson, Delaware and Potomac Rivers. The black bass, which rivals the trout in gameness, darts through the clear, deep waters of most of the northern lakes, but was too shy and deep-dwelling a fish to be often caught by the clumsy tackle of the natives. Before the advent of the whites, fish-hooks of bone were used, made on the same plan as the steel hooks but more clumsy ; these were made use of chiefly in deep water for catching the larger varieties of fish.

The Algonquin tribes of the Northeast were especially skillful with the spear-hook, and in the early summer months, when the long pickerel, which lived in the lakes of their country, came into the shallow water among the reeds in search of food, the Algonquin fisherman, having chosen a dark evening, set out in his canoe. In the bow was fixed a torch of blazing pine, and the paddle was held, often, by a squaw, who with silent sweeps of the blade propelled the canoe along the shore. The spearman, standing in the bow, could see, by the glare of the torch, the pickerel lying in the shallow water; a quick movement of his arm, a slight splash, and a long, ugly fish was flopping in the canoe, ready to receive its death-blow from the woman.

In early summer, when deer and other game was in poor condition and difficult of capture, the fish supply was of much importance to the Indian of the Northeast. But as a rule he could not, or would not, take the trouble to cure this food for winter consumption. For that season they depended on their hunting and trapping; often, as the early French explorers testify, passing the winter in the greatest want. The Indians living in the Columbia River region of the Pacific coast, or the "fishing Indians," as the voyageurs called them, depended on fish for a large portion of their food at all seasons of the year, and were expert fishers. This diet did not seem to agree with them; for they were inferior to the flesh-eating tribes.

It is said that some of the tribes to the south were accustomed to throw large quantities of vegetable matter into small lakes and ponds, which, fermenting, caused the fish to be afflicted with a kind of intoxication, when they were easily captured, but this savors strongly of the legend.

The American colonies had done much to help England wrest Cape Breton, Nova Scotia and Canada from French control; in spite of this the mother country, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, tried to prevent the colonists from fishing on the banks of New Foundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence; disputes about these fishing privileges aided in bringing about the War of Independence. In the final treaty of peace, in 1783, the fisheries question was satisfactorily settled. Congress, in 1702, in order to encourage the industry and train men in seamanship, re-established the bounty system which the fishermen had enjoyed under British rule. All vessels engaged in cod-fishing for four months in the year were entitled to a bounty varying from one dollar to two dollars and a half per ton, according to their size: three-eighths going to the owners, and five-eighths to the fishermen. The war of 1812 proved the value of this nursery for seamen.

Off American coasts the cod is the fish of greatest economic importance. It is a thick, heavy fish, sometimes weighing one hundred pounds; is abundant on the Banks of New Foundland, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, off Nova Scotia and Labrador, and is found in large numbers on the northern Pacific coast. It

is exceedingly prolific, experts having estimated that a female weighing eighty pounds will lay about ten million eggs in one season. Most of these eggs are destroyed; but so many survive that, in spite of the vast number of cod caught each year, the supply on the Banks of New Foundland does not seem to decrease. In the bays along the New England shore, however, the cod are becoming scarce, in some places having entirely disappeared.

Of all the States, Massachusetts stands first in the importance of her cod fisheries. In the early spring the cod-fleet sets out from Gloucester and other ports; the vessels being usually schooners of an average of seventy tons burden, and having crews of about ten men. On reaching the Banks the schooners anchor, and the dories, stout, flat-bottomed row-boats, are brought into use. Going out in these, the fishermen set long lines to which are attached hooks by shorter lines, the longer line being anchored and buoyed at each end. The hooks on these lines, or trawls, as they are called, are baited with mackerel, squid, menhaden, or almost any small fish. As a rule the trawls are examined twice a day by men in dories.

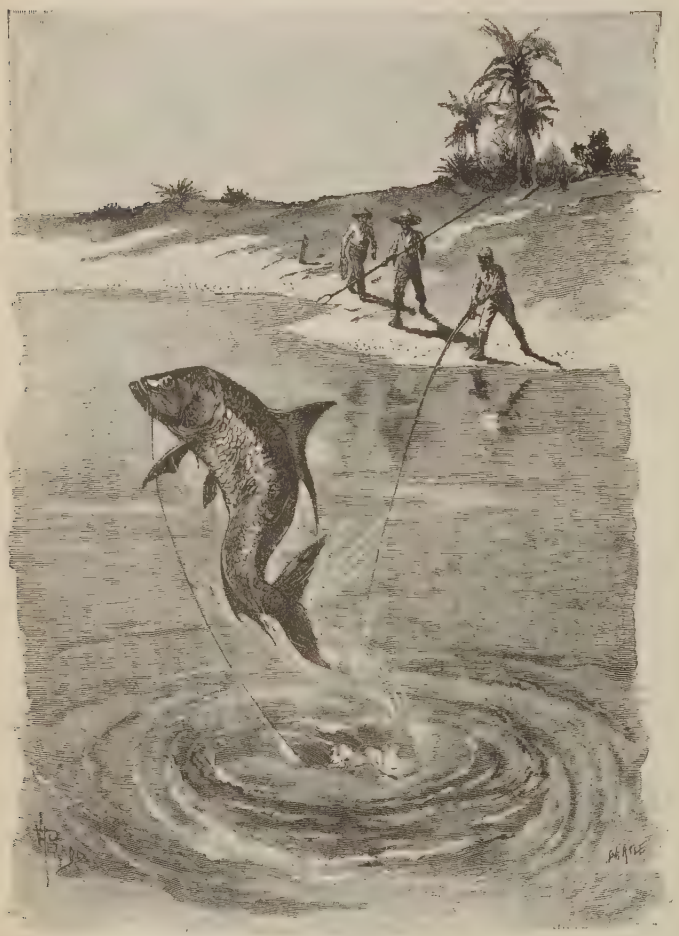
Old skippers, who seem to throng every seaboard town of New England, are fond of telling of the cod's voracity. They will swallow almost anything which attracts their eye; their stomachs are real curiosity shops, where are found, besides great clam shells and occasionally a wild duck, all kinds of wreckage and coast refuse, such as bottles, buttons, finger-rings, pieces of metal, etc. Naturalists have obtained many rare shells from these fish which they, the cod, had swallowed in the deepest parts of ocean. Stones as big as hen's eggs are also found in their stomachs, and fishermen have a theory that these are swallowed on the approach of a storm, to serve as ballast.

One reason of the preponderating importance of the cod-fisheries is that they can be depended on to yield about the same quantity of fish each season; while other fisheries, this being especially true of mackerel, are very uncertain. The cod is not a wandering fish, like the mackerel and herring; the waters where it is found yield about the same number year after year.

The theory of the migration of fishes is one which is now causing much dispute among scientific men; at present the belief is growing that the migratory instinct of fishes has been much exaggerated. At one time it was thought that the herring retired in winter to the Arctic Ocean, whence they migrate in the spring. The better opinion now seems to be that the cod move from the deep water, where they spend the winter, to the shallows, where they spawn in summer. This migration to and from the shore, which is caused chiefly by the instinct that urges the fish to find suitable places for spawning, is called by some authorities the "bathic" migration. The mackerel and menhaden love the bathic migration, and also move north and south along the Atlantic coast. The herring is thought to love extensive migrations north and south, which are

called "littoral" migrations, and only slight bathic migrations. The question of fish migration, however, is still an open one, and nothing definite can be stated on the subject.

Fishermen claim to have found in the course of the past winter (1891-92) that many fish which were supposed to migrate north and south, only retire to deep water and spend the winter there. They are experimenting in the use of nets in deep water; if these experiments prove successful the season, which is now confined to a few months, will last throughout the year, and the supply of fish be greatly increased and cheapened.



TARPON-ANGLING.

The salmon go from the sea up the rivers in spring and early summer to spawn; the manner in which they leap the waterfalls being one of the most marvelous feats of animal life. It is stated on good authority that a salmon will make a perpendicular leap of sixteen feet up through a mass of falling water; sometimes, not having leaped quite far enough, it will rest a moment in the fall and then with a vigorous slap of its tail clear the remaining distance. One old explanation of the salmon's wonderful leaping power says that the fish takes its tail in its teeth, and, springing when bent in this way, straightens itself, and so receives an added impetus, as does a bent wand when allowed to fly loose.

The brook or speckled trout, which abound in the small lakes of Maine

and the Adirondacks, go up the brooks and inlets in the late fall to spawn. Being sluggish, and often pushing their way to very shallow waters, they fall easy victims to mink and otter. At this season the trout is protected by the game laws; but in remote regions, where the law is not enforced, many are destroyed by men who capture them with a noose or by means of hooks fastened to short poles.

The mackerel, a great wanderer, is found in almost all oceans and inland seas, and has always been of great importance to Europe. The European mackerel, a fish weighing about two pounds, appears off the English coast in the months of spring and summer, and is a source of great profit. As an article of food, the Spanish mackerel, common in the Mediterranean, is inferior to the other varieties.

In spite of the uncertainty of the American mackerel fishery, it is growing in importance. As in the case of cod, Massachusetts and Maine lead in this industry. The fish called the Spanish mackerel on the American coast, unlike the real Spanish mackerel, is greatly prized by epicures.

Taking the whole world into consideration, the herring is the most important of fishes. For centuries the Dutch led as fishermen, and the herring caught by these obstinate dissenters supplied the Catholic world with the means of fasting. Like the mackerel, the herring is a wandering fish, appearing and disappearing in vast shoals. Many superstitions are connected with this fish, and its sudden disappearances were attributed to most varied causes, such as cannon and fires on shore. The fishermen long objected to the wheels of steamboats, saying they drove off the herring. When taken from the water this fish dies quickly; hence the expression, "dead as a herring."

The American herring, a fish twelve to fifteen inches long, is common in the waters of the North Atlantic, and is also found on the Pacific coast north of California. Off the shore of New Brunswick they are caught every month in the year, which goes to disprove the migration theory. More attention is being given to American herring fisheries, and doubtless they are destined to become very important.

The menhaden, a North American fish of the herring family, eight to fourteen inches long, is the most abundant fish on the eastern coast of the United States, being found from the British provinces to Chesapeake Bay. It is very rich and oily, and these qualities, together with the large amount of phosphorus it contains, make it a valuable manure. For years before menhaden were used for other purposes, the farmers of the New England seaboard scattered them over their fields; now they are caught in large quantities for their oil, which is used in dressing leather. They are also of great value in the manufacture of fertilizers. To-day the menhaden fisheries furnish its chief industry to Eastern Long Island. They come in remarkably compact shoals, swimming near the

surface, and at night light up the sea with a phosphorescent glow. Their shining color makes them easily found by their enemies, the predaceous fishes; bluefish are fond of them, and they are a favorite dish with the whale. As a bait fish it is of great importance, and it is growing in favor for food. Its value for oil and fertilizers is proved, and some authorities go so far as to predict that the menhaden fisheries will in time rival those of the cod. Though preyed upon to such a large extent by other fishes, its numbers do not decrease.

Another member of the herring family, which of late years has come into notice as a "game" fish, is the great tarpon, or tarpum, a fish found most often in Florida waters, where it is caught weighing two hundred pounds.

The bluefish, which varies in weight from three to twenty pounds, and has been called, not unaptly, the wolf of the sea, is widely distributed, being common in the Malay archipelago, off Australia, and in the Mediterranean. In American waters it roves from Brazil to Nova Scotia, following its favorite prey, the menhaden. It does much harm in disturbing the mackerel, menhaden, and herring fisheries; each day it destroys, as is estimated, its own weight in fish; when it cannot eat any more often biting and mangling like a ferocious wild beast. To prove its gluttony fishermen say that after once filling itself it will disgorge in order to kill and eat more of its victims. It attacks fish of almost its own size, and the trail of a school of bluefish is marked by blood and fragments of fish; often when its prey is too large to swallow whole it will bite off and swallow the posterior half, and leave the other portion. Writers have likened it to a chopping-machine whose business is to cut fish to pieces, as many and as rapidly as possible.

On the coasts of the Southern States and in Central and South America, bluefish are not eaten, but are a staple fish in the Northern markets.

Of late years they have so grown in favor with sportsmen, that to-day they rank first among the game fish of the sea, holding the same place among salt water fishes that the salmon does among river fishes. The most popular mode of angling for bluefish is trolling. There is no more exhilarating sport for those who love the sea than a day spent off the New Jersey coast in a smart cat-boat, with a brisk breeze blowing, good company aboard, and the fat wolves of the sea following the baited hooks. There is nothing shy or modest about the bluefish; he does not need to be daintily lured and pampered, like that other favorite of anglers, the speckled trout.

Undoubtedly the most important of the fresh water fish is the salmon. Not so long ago, this hardy fellow ruled over most of the rivers of Eastern North America; but gradually he has been driven away from his favorite spawning streams, and now is abundant only in the waters of the Pacific seaboard. There he still affords sport and profit; from the Columbia River, the great salmon stream, there were taken, in 1872, salmon which when preserved amounted to

5,300,000 pounds. This canned salmon is exported to all parts of the world.

Of the salmon trouts, near relatives of the salmon, there are three chief species in North America, all belonging to the West: the steel-head, the rainbow, and the black spotted trout. The steel-head belongs to the Pacific watershed of North America, the streams of which it ascends from June to September; often spending nearly the whole year inland and not returning to the sea till May. Full grown steel-head salmon trout average sixteen pounds.

The rainbow salmon trout is a variety found in the streams west of the Sierra Nevada Mountains from old California to the British provinces; it seldom exceeds five or six pounds in weight and is not a gamesome fish.

The black spotted trout inhabits the streams of the Rocky Mountain region. Its size varies greatly, specimens having been caught weighing thirty pounds. Anglers are learning to prize this fish for its game qualities.

The lake trout is another ally of the salmon, taking the place in the East of the salmon trout of the Pacific and Rocky Mountain regions. The lake trout abounds in the Great lakes and in the lakes of New Brunswick, Maine, and Northern New York. Those in the Great lakes are usually called Mackinaw trout and sometimes grow to weigh forty pounds; they are ravenous feeders, and fierce in their attacks on other fish, sometimes swallowing a fish nearly as large as themselves. The siscomet is a variety found only in Lake Superior. Neither of these fish are held in high esteem by anglers; but in the lakes of Maine and the Adirondacks the lake trout, though smaller than their kindred of the Great lakes, are a gamesome fish, and afford an opportunity for the display of all an angler's skill. They are usually caught by trolling with a metal "spoon," attached to a rod similar to those used for trout fly-fishing, but heavier.

The member of the salmon family which is least in size, but by no means last in importance, at any rate, when considered from an angler's standpoint, is the Eastern brook or speckled trout. It is found on the Atlantic seaboard, being, as a rule, confined to within three hundred miles of the coast. Its southern limit is Georgia, and it is found as far north as New Foundland.

Almost every man in the East who has had the good fortune when a boy to live near a trout brook knows something of the habits of these shy, swift creatures. He knows that they do not like sudden changes of temperature; for, if a boy wants to find them in the hot weather he must creep up to deep, cool pools, under some overhanging bank or beneath a mossy half-sunk log. While in cooler weather, especially in the spring, he finds them hunting their food in the shallows where the water is warmer than in deep pools. Perhaps, too, the boy, if he has sharp eyes, has seen them preparing to spawn when autumn has come; and he has been interested in the care shown by the mother-fish. The

speckled trout does not distribute its eggs at random, like the coarser, more stupid fish ; no hen grouse takes more care in preparing her nest than does the mother-trout.

These nests are in the gravel at the bottom of the brook, and she hollows them out with care, smoothing them with her tail, and, as it is asserted, carrying away obstructing pebbles in her mouth. After the eggs are laid, they are covered with gravel and the trout proceeds to make another nest. The fish are said to revisit their nests every season. The spawning time begins in the late autumn and usually lasts about four months.

The trout brook is a thing of joy to the boy. City anglers may come with elaborate tackle, but they can never rival the boy who cuts his pole in a cherry thicket, has a line about two feet long, and carries his bait in an old pepper box. He is near to nature, and the trouts, recognizing his kinship to themselves, prefer to take his angle-worm rather than do anything which will land them in the angler's creel. Perhaps they feel more at home on the boy's "string" in spite of all their flopping, than they would in the sportsman's wicker creel.

City fishermen may monopolize the blue-fishing and take pride in their nicely balanced fly-rods ; but the trout brook belongs to the country boy ; it is a boy's natural property, as much so as a woodchuck hole,—may it never be wrested from him !

As befits its aristocratic nature, the speckled trout is dainty rather than greedy in its food, and the angler has to be careful how he approaches it, and what bait he offers. This daintiness has been exaggerated until some fishermen think they must have a different trout-fly for each week in the season. Most experienced anglers say that a good share of the fly-book lore is mere folly—something invented by dealers in sporting goods and their allies, who wish each fisherman to buy a large assortment of flies. On dark days a noticeable fly is best ; and on bright days, when the trout sees more clearly, a duller one, more life-like, is preferred. It is the writer's experience that, except on very bright, still days, more trout will rise to a small red fly than to any other kind. The fly called a brown hackle is also an old time favorite.

Fly-fishing for trout is the acme of angling ! Given a little Adirondack lake, half hidden by wooded peaks ; the water rippled enough to draw a curtain over the trout's eyes ; a guide at the paddle who knows just by what bunch of lily-pads a "two-pounder" is apt to rise ; good serviceable fishing-tackle—given all these, and the man who stands in the bow and saws (not whips) the air with his long fly-rod ought to be happy ; nature and man are doing much for him !

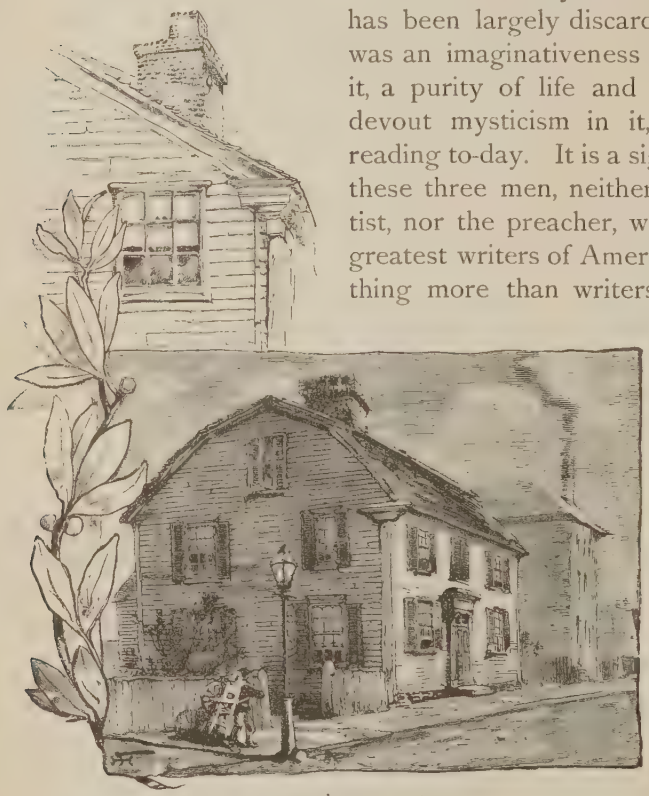
CHAPTER XXXIII.

OUR AMERICAN LITERATURE.

SYSTEMATIC description of American literature is impossible. Our best books cannot be marshaled into one phalanx. They cannot be grouped wholly by time, by place, or by class distinctions. They are the writings of widely different times and of widely different places, if not of different civilizations. Our colonial literature bears no resemblance to that which followed the Revolution, and our present literature grows increasingly different from either. The literature of New England and that of California have little in common, while the literature of the South is in no sense akin to that of the North. Letters have always played a subordinate part in American life, and have been under the influence, not of one impulse, but of many antagonistic impulses. Our people are a heterogeneous people, and their books constitute a heterogeneous literature.

In the times of the colonies, men were too busy in nation-building to acquire the arts of book-making. A few adventurers like the brave gasconader, John Smith, wrote to the Old Country, in a style forcible, but awkward and frequently incorrect, graphic and highly imaginative descriptions of the New; a few painstaking diarists detailed, with a minuteness which can now please only the antiquarian, the daily vicissitudes of the colonists; and, more important than either, a few earnest orators instilled a high-minded patriotism into their countrymen's hearts with an eloquence more remarkable for its genuineness of conviction and ardency of feeling than for its skill in argument or mastery of language. But before the Declaration of Independence America could boast only three men whose writings, in any way, deserve the *name* of literature. There was John Woolman, the gentle-hearted Quaker, like Izaak Walton, a tailor, and like him, also, a lover of man, animal, and plant. Although he was an irrepressible reformer, his writings have none of the pride of opinion and self-righteousness which are the besetting sins of reformers. Catholic, humble, receptive, his words are a benediction. Such Charles Lamb, the purest and manliest of modern English writers, found them, and as such he praised them. Of a very different stamp was "one Mr. Wordly-Wiseman" (as one critic has

well called him) Benjamin Franklin. Well known abroad as a statesman, and still better as a scientist of the first rank, he was equally well known at home for his proverbial wisdom. He had a gift for putting much prudence into few words. His low ideals and the self-complacence which appear in his autobiography do him little credit, but as a counselor in matters of expediency he was much needed by his excitable, extravagant, and often over-sanguine countrymen. As great as either, though his writings are less enduring, was the great Calvinist divine, Jonathan Edwards. His doctrine has been largely discarded since his day, but there was an imaginativeness and clearness in depicting it, a purity of life and character behind it, and a devout mysticism in it, which make it elevating reading to-day. It is a significant fact that neither of these three men, neither the abolitionist, the scientist, nor the preacher, was primarily a writer. The greatest writers of America have always been something more than writers. Irving and Motley were diplomats, Bryant was a journalist, Holmes a physician, and Lowell had something of the statesman in him. All of them found outlets for their energies beyond their books. This circumstance has given to them a breadth of view, a sense of proportion, and a manly reserve which wins the respect of the reader and instills in him self-respect, but it has also deprived them of that intensity, that individuality, that surcharge of meaning and emotion which makes contemporary English books seem at times like the scrolls of prophets.



HAWTHORNE'S BIRTHPLACE.

It was not until after the Revolution that American literature began to take on distinctive national traits. Even then they came gradually. In our modes of thought and expression, we grew away rather than broke away from England. George Washington was more like an Englishman than like a modern Yankee, and Washington Irving, the earliest representative author of the century, was quite as truly a countryman of Addison, Steele, and Goldsmith as he was of the

native American farmer or the Dutch knickerbocker. In his essays the spirit of the eighteenth century revived. He seemed to represent an old England rather than a young America. He formed his style after the models of Queen Anne's day and improved upon them in flexibility. Foreign readers were surprised to find grace and melody in an American book, and yet little has been written in the English language more graceful and melodious, more delicate in its humor, more artistic in its moods and pictures, than the "Legend of Sleepy Hollow." Since its day, grace has become the characteristic virtue of American essays. It was, however, in the rollicking extravaganza of his "Diedrich Knickerbocker's History of New York" that Irving's admirers thought they detected the new nation's peculiar gift to letters. Born in New York city, Irving had from boyhood roamed at will through its woody environs. Though no antiquarian, he was familiar with those details of its local history which could be gleaned only from the traditions of the country-folk. With such unconscious training for it, he wrote his wholesome and hearty burlesque of the phlegmatic old Dutch ancestry of the town. There has been much American extravaganza since his day, but none of it, unless it be Mr. Stockton's fantastic tales, deserves the name of literature. Quite as American as either his gracefulness or his occasionally extravagant spirits was the poetic idealism which makes of his life of Goldsmith at once a delightful idyl and a delicate interpretation of character. He found a place for the imagination in biography, the aim of which, it must be remembered, is primarily to depict character, not to narrate vicissitudes. By his very idealizing he gave his readers a new insight into Goldsmith's heart. Though it contains some pure fiction, his volume has in it much poetic truth. It must be acknowledged, however, that Irving had no such power of impressing his own personality on his reader as some of even the gentlest of English writers have had. He was lacking in originality and personal force. But he was pre-eminently a gentleman. Abroad, his courtesy of manner, his kindness of heart, his thorough genuineness and simplicity of life made him even more welcome than his books, and his books were welcome everywhere. The reputation of American letters was soundly established abroad when the great publisher, Murray, offered him fifteen thousand dollars for the privilege of issuing one of his productions in England, and Campbell, Jeffrey—the English critic of the day,—Moore, and Scott were counted among his friends. The appointment of Irving as our representative at the Court of Madrid proved later a precedent for appointing such scholars as Motley, Bancroft, and Lowell as foreign Ministers.

There was no appearance of extravaganza in any of Irving's literary contemporaries in New York. Except in the "Culprit Fay" of Joseph Rodman Drake, there was no delicate and fanciful idealism. But all who versified, versified with polish. Not always flexible, seldom spirited, never very original,

they were unexceptionably refined. They sedulously imitated classical standards. Chaste diction, soundness of feeling, and manly reserve combined to make some of Fitz-Greene Halleck's poems perfect of their kind. His "Marco Bozzaris" has deservedly come down to our day, though only as a school-boy classic. Even the fop of American letters, shallow, frivolous, clever Willis, always wrote smoothly and with an air of good breeding. The greatest representative of this class of poets, however, was William Cullen Bryant. He was born in Massachusetts, but removed to New York in 1825, when twenty-eight years of age, and a year later became the editor of the New York *Evening*

Post. His vocabulary was limited; his poetry was frigid. To be stirred by it is, in the words of Lowell, "like being stirred up by the very North Pole."* It had little capacity for growth, and was at its best before the poet was out of his teens. But it had great virtues. Written in classic English, imbued with great dignity of thought and feeling, pervaded with what Wordsworth has called the "religion of the woods"—the devout and solemn reverence for the invisible powers of nature—its manly reserve and repose elevated not only his countrymen's ideals of literary excellence, but their ideals of life as well. While he lived, New York city, which usually values only business abilities,

* James Russell Lowell, "Fable for Critics."

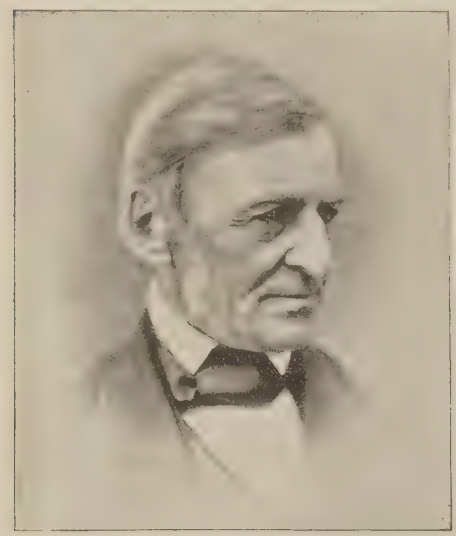
respected his three vocations—that of the poet, that of the conscientious and constructive journalist, and that of the public man who never held office. This last vocation has been a characteristic, if not a peculiarity, of our political life.

Although Bryant contributed no such fund of thought to American literature as did his New England contemporaries, of whom we mean to speak later, his work may be taken as a type of the epoch between the Revolution and the Civil War. But since his prime our writers have come to a parting of the ways. They can no longer be at once publicists and emulators of the English classics. The spirit of democracy, the influence of the masses, is now universally felt, even though not universally welcomed. It is dividing our modern writers into two classes, the *litterateurs*, who enter their studies as a refuge from its noise and self-confident intolerance, and the popular sympathizers, who enter their studies as a vantage-ground from which they may further popular aims and proclaim popular aspirations. The iconoclastic, self-assertive, sanguine characteristics of the masses appear, for instance, in the disordered rhythmic utterances of Walt Whitman. The strength of his lines is their freedom; their weakness is their license. Their author is virile, but not always rational. Too often he opens his eyes wide with amazement at mere matters of quantity and magnitude. He makes extravagant claims for his extravagant muse. He does not appreciate delicate effects and nice distinctions of thought. He has something of mob violence about him, but also much mob power and vehemence. He is the pioneer and extreme of his class, but certain of his traits appear, scattered and incidental, in the work of some of our recent novelists and critics. Mr. Howells' novels, for instance, though they are often delicate and urbane and always conscientious and humanitarian, are occasionally marred by a certain aggressiveness of manner, at times approaching swagger, and by crude treatment of the literary lientage of the past. The present generation has a great conceit of its own powers, and that conceit Mr. Howells does much to cultivate. It is far too ignorant of the heart thoughts of the past, and Mr. Howells has done much to make that ignorance complacent. But among the cultured he is a strenuous proselyter for popular thought, and deserves to be counted a tribune of the people.

Over against Mr. Howells must be set the preëminent litterateur of our times, Mr. Henry James. The principal characters of his novels are Anglicized Americans of leisure; his principal scenes are European. He exercises in his readers those scholastic qualities of mind to which the great mass of his readers are supremely indifferent. Both Mr. Howells and Mr. James, however, have one important characteristic in common. They believe that fiction should vigorously reproduce and dissect the ordinary phenomena. They would use neither Shakespeare's dramatic power of compressing some great truth of daily life into little compass, nor Hawthorne's power of gaining insight into the human heart through the use of the supernatural. They construct their novels according to

an earnest, scientific theory, and so occasionally pain and perplex the reader with problems for which they offer no solution. They are attempting to acclimatize in American letters foreign methods ; already they have not a few disciples, but whether they will finally succeed or not is still an open question.

Superior to both Mr. Howells and Mr. James in versatility, in creative power, in catholicity of sympathy, and in insight into the basal principles of art and of human nature is the novelist, Mr. F. Marion Crawford, though he is their inferior in conscientiousness of purpose, in evenness of execution, and in delicacy of expression. Mr. Crawford is cosmopolitan. There is hardly a country of importance that has not furnished him with a scene for a novel, and of every country he gives a view from within. It is the secret, however, both of Mr. Crawford's power and of his limitations that he is unique and stands outside the line of our literary development. He is in no sense a typical American novelist. Neither the democratic movement nor the aristocratic reaction measurably affects him. A class even more free from the influence of either current survives in such writers as "Ike Marvel," Charles Dudley Warner, and George William Curtis, who belong to an older school of American essayists and have the courtly graces of Irving with the practical interests of Steele and Addison. Roughly speaking, however, American literature may be divided into three periods, the colonial, the classic, and the modern ; and this last period is marked by two contradictory forces, aggressive democracy on the one hand and the appearance of caste-spirit on the other.



R. WALDO EMERSON.

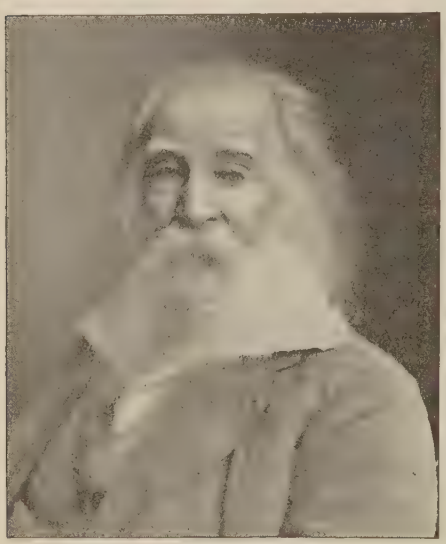
Thus far we have treated chiefly of the literature of New York, for it is the least provincial, and therefore, in a sense, the most representative of the nation at large. The so-called Empire State, however, has played but a small part in American letters as compared with New England. Our greatest novelist, Hawthorne ; our greatest orator, Webster, and our greatest essayists, historians, and poets, are all New Englanders. The literature of Massachusetts and its adjacent States has a flavor of its own. It is always provincial, often narrow, occasionally fanatical, occasionally patronizing, but its voice is always the voice of conscience. It is preëminently the literature of the Puritan. Its Webster and its Wendell Phillips appeal to the sense of justice in their hearers and to that strenuous desire to maintain their individual responsibilities which is the

New Englander's idea of liberty. Its Prescott and Motley trace not the material, but the moral progress of the peoples whose development they chronicle. Its Hawthorne dramatizes the deepest problem of the conscience. The themes of its Emerson are always of natural religion. Its Longfellow, Lowell, and Whittier look almost exclusively on the moral aspects of even literature and romance. There is "no art for art's sake" in Massachusetts. We can never "escape from the diocese of a strict conscience." No book furnishes mere amusement or recreation. The sense of duty sometimes inspires the New Englander with eloquence, sometimes elicits the beauties of mystical imagination sometimes presents itself in a play of wit, as in the Biglow Papers of James Russell Lowell, sometimes is made almost winsome, as in the poems of Longfellow, but it is never totally forgotten.

New Englander of New Englanders is the Quaker poet of Massachusetts, John Greenleaf Whittier. Although not a Puritan, he is the most typical of the New England poets. His early life was that of a farmer's boy, and his poems are full of farm scenes and homestead incidents. His "Snow Bound" pictures the cheer within and the cold without of a New England winter. He makes graphic the sturdy qualities of the old New England settlers. The reminiscences of his early days, picturing, as they do, a stalwart human nature, confirm the conscience of his readers against present temptations. His rhymes are often faulty, his metre sometimes rough, his spirit too surcharged with local feeling to be called national, his verse falls just short of inspiration, but what he has added to the moral worth of American letters is invaluable. He has given to American poetry a dignity of its own—the dignity of unaffected but undaunted manhood. A poet of conscience, courage, and fervor is sure to do earnest work in the world, and Whittier was among the first to throw himself into the anti-slavery cause. His anti-slavery poems, Quaker though he is, ring with a martial vigor. He has never made any peace with sin. Yet with all his warmth of temperament, often waxing hot with indignation, he has also that benignity, that gentleness, that purity of motive, that sense of peace which belong to the disciples of the "Society of Friends." He is the representative poet of his fellow Christians as well as of his State. His poems breathe the religious spirit.

The anti-slavery cause had an advocate of a very different temperament, but quite as earnest and quite as poetic, in James Russell Lowell. It was the love of letters, not the love of the muse, which first started him on his literary career. He was in his early tastes primarily a critic. To careless readers his earliest poems seemed the work of a dainty and graceful amateur, and gave no promise of his future powers. His gift of criticism, his love of verbal by-play, his enjoyment and mastery of the lighter veins in literature he did not lose as he grew older, and showed his ability as well to encounter the dangers and responsibilities

of active American citizenship and energetic public life. He was the most scholarly and most original of American critics to the end. Familiar with all the literatures of Europe, ancient and modern, at home in all the by-paths of English letters, he was yet no pedant and no traditionalist. He seemed to enter as an equal the Elysium of the poets. He was so keen and appreciative an observer of every aspect of nature that Charles Darwin said that he was born to be a naturalist. He was so alive to the world of to-day, that another friend early prophesied of him that "he would never dally with his muse when he could invite her aid in the cause of the oppressed and suffering." His literary essays revivified whatever they touched upon, because they themselves were vital with the modern spirit. His earnestness never prevented him from enjoying the quaint charms of the past. He would not have been so great a critic, however, had he not been much more than a critic. Even though his powers of execution were not equal to his powers of conception, he was a genuine poet. "He has the eye and mind of a poet," says one critic, "but wants the plastic touch which turns to shape the forms of things unknown." In his verse there was much poetry, though it was often in the rough. He was sometimes careless. He was sometimes so clever as to seem forced, and he was sometimes forced without being at all clever. But his "Commemoration Ode," his "Cathedral," and his "Vision of Sir Launfal," not to mention many minor poems, are full of poetic beauty and strong with poetic truth. It was the shame of slavery, however, that kindled his powers into flame. It was characteristic of his Yankee blood that he used not mere argument as his weapon, but wit and conscience fused by his hot indignation into a blade as keen as Damascus steel. His "Biglow Papers" are the keenest, the most racial, the most national of all American satires. The first of them appeared in 1846. In its Yankee hero, concealing not one drop of his Yankee blood, abating not one jot of his Yankee pride or Yankee manners, and softening by not one touch his Yankee wit, appeared a new figure in American life. It was a figure around which the Puritan elements of the community could rally. Lowell had awakened the dormant conscience of the nation. He fiercely ridiculed the hypocrisies and glossed-over selfishness of the slave-power and the still more contemptible cowardice of the silent and the "prudent" in the North.



WALT. WHITMAN.

He fairly defied ridicule in return, for what the drawl and dialect of his hero could not make ridiculous nothing could make ridiculous. To-day its wit still retains its freshness, and its satire of pretentiousness, demagogy, and false standards of honor in American politics has unfortunately not lost its seasonableness. His "Fable for Critics," a running comment of clever, good-natured, unfinished epigrams on his literary contemporaries, showed Lowell to be a wit, but his "Biglow Papers" showed him to be a genius and not a little of a statesman. In the words of George William Curtis, literature was Lowell's pursuit, but patriotism was his passion. He was the more patriotic that he never fought over old battles. He was too busy fighting new ones for that. Sent as our Minister to England, he represented us abroad courteously but unswervingly, nor concealed for a moment his faith in the republican constitution and democratic principles of his native country. If occasionally a democratic self-assertiveness mars the general dignity of his writings, it marks him as the more typically a modern American. No other writer represents so many and so varied phases of American life as does this wit, gentleman, publicist, critic, scholar, and poet.

LONGFELLOW.

More representative of American poetry, though not of American life, than Lowell, and more national than Whittier, and more popular than either, is our household poet, Longfellow. Originality of thought has not been a notable characteristic of American poetry, and Longfellow was not markedly original. But what he lacked in originality he supplied with scholarship. He was versed in both the Norse and the Romance languages and literatures. His mind was stored with poetic traditions. He popularized the literary heritage of Europe. Clearness of thought, precise perception, transparent expression, that definiteness and accuracy which give force, have not been notable characteristics of American poetry, and Longfellow often wrote vaguely because he saw vaguely. At times he lacked definite meaning, though the sense of the hearers is dulled to the loss by the pleasant sound of his verse. But his words are always gracious, gentle, manly, unsophisticated, melodious, and full of catholicity and contentment. They are written to comfort the sorrowing, to give courage to the toiling, or to add happiness to the youthful. The moods which he evolves from his readers are tranquil, innocent, reverent, purifying. American readers, living as they do in the stress of competition, with little in their lives to give rest to their eyes or satisfaction to their æsthetic nature, turn to poetry not so much for truths as for beauty. Since life furnishes them with vigor, but with little that is delicate or graceful, they treasure most in poetry, ease, dignity, simplicity, chasteness of diction, the quiet flow of sound on sound and mood on mood. Such qualities they find in this scholarly laureate of the people. Though Longfellow is the favorite poet of young girlhood, womanhood and the home,

there is no sentimentality and no melancholy in his personality. His pastorals are full of picturesque figures of speech, and are imbued with a love of nature and a genial love of man. The poet has done much to create among his countrymen a love of European literature and to instill the beginnings of what may prove a mellowing culture, while, in his Hiawatha and Evangeline, he has given to the world two classics, distinctively American.

There is a certain barrenness to the eye in plain American life, which we lose sight of when enjoying the scholarship and poetic imaginations of Longfellow. The same sense of barrenness, his friend and contemporary, Ralph Waldo Emerson, the "philosopher of Concord," relieves in a characteristically different way. He gratifies and charms his readers with the beauties of an idealistic, vague and pantheistic philosophy, surcharged with his own poetic and imaginative individuality. His idealism was often curiously inappropriate to his circumstances and surroundings. There was an impervious self-complacence in his writings which gave to them that gravity and that appearance of wisdom and authority which are characteristic of the Oriental seer. He was sometimes superficial, but never flippant. He never argued; he never even unfolded truths; he formulated and declared *ex cathedra* dogmas, and gathered together, without sequence or system, a number of apposite apothegms in a single theme. In common with Longfellow, he was often led to say what sounded well and meant little, but unlike Longfellow he was seldom commonplace at once in manner and matter. Although no writer is in reality more provincial than Emerson, no writer has such a semblance of superiority to all prejudices of race, nation, religion and home training as he. But if there was much that was factitious in Emerson, there was also much that was genuine. He had at times an illuminating insight into the heart. His essays are elevating and suggestive. He was gifted with great powers of imagination. His severity had its source in his innermost character, and was more effectual against the storms of life than was the stoicism of the Romans, or the light-headedness of the Greeks. He was so free from all worldliness in motives or in tastes that he seemed immaculate. He had that courage in his faiths which only purity can give. He lived as in another world. If not quite the seer he purports to be, he was unquestionably a genius.

LOWELL.

But far greater in genius than the idealist Emerson was the mystic and recluse, Nathaniel Hawthorne. His actual life was of the simplest. He was born in quaint Salem, Massachusetts, in 1804; he graduated from Bowdoin College, held in the course of his career two political offices, shunned publicity and wrote novels which met at the time with no remarkable sale. But from this simple career came the wierdest, most imaginative and most profound tales in American, if not in all Anglo-Saxon literature. His novels are essentially Puritan. Their scenes, their men and women, their weird traditions, their sombre creeds are unmistakably native to New England, though to a New England under the spell of the supernatural. In his own neighborhood, he found enough to feed his love of antiquity and of the legendary. His novels imbue the reader with a reverential awe for the Puritan fathers. No cavalier in Scott's novels ever seemed more romantic than do the stern and gloomy Calvinists of the "Scarlet Letter" and the "House of Seven Gables." Tales of witchcraft, of ill-starred lovers, of hereditary taints, of sin and its awful consequences, fascinated Hawthorne, and under his artistry became often fantastic, occasionally morbid, but always impressive. Never avoiding provincialism, he was always something more than provincial, for his themes dealt with human problems of universal significance. Unlike most mystics his style was transparently clear and exceedingly graceful. In those delicate, varied and impalpable but permanent effects which are gained by a happy arrangement of words in their sentences, no modern writer surpasses him, while no American writer equals him in that unerring directness and unswerving force which come from the exact use of words. To the rhetorician, his style is a study; to the lay reader a delight that eludes analysis. There is also much humor and satire in Hawthorne, so delicate as to escape the observation of the careless and the obtuse.

MINOR NOVELISTS.

That the love of mystery, which found its perfect expansion in Hawthorne, was something of a national art, not merely a personal trait, is evident after reading the crude, but effective and highly original tales of our first American novelist, Charles Brockden Brown, who wrote impossible but impassioned stories of the supernatural and pseudo-supernatural. Edgar Allan Poe, a much better known writer of the same school, delighted in working out the horrible fancies of his brain in graphic and often artistic forms. His tales suffer, however, from their total lack of moral substance. It is a significant fact, testifying, possibly to the sense of freedom and therefore the contentment which our national writers feel, that Poe was the only American author of any prominence to wreck his happiness and his character from sheer perversity and love of extravagance. He was the only one in this country to fling himself, as did Marlowe, Byron, and many others in England, so willfully against the conventional standards of his

environment as to destroy himself. His plots are so sensational and his dramatic efforts so bold and unnatural that we seldom give their author sufficient credit for his polished and careful workmanship. Though there was a certain flashiness in his art which cheapens it, he was both an artist and a genius. "There comes Poe," says Lowell, in his "Fable for Critics,"

> "With his raven, like Barnaby Rudge,
> Three-fifths of him genius, and two-fifths sheer fudge."

A romancist of a very different type was James Fenimore Cooper, sometimes diffuse and sometimes stilted, but more frequently an exciting narrator of Indian tales and pioneer adventures. The power of his stories is due not to any noticeable gifts of style or to any remarkable originality or profundity of thought, but to the wild prairie life or as wild sea life which they minutely depict, and to the romantic types of Indian, trapper and sailor, which they have created. They are written in an honest, hearty and patriotic spirit, and the "Spy," the "Pilot," and the "Leather-Stocking Tales" are still the delight of boys. Manly tales of pure adventure are rare in American literature. Our romance is usually didactic, sentimental, supernatural or retrospective. Didactic romance has attained its best expression and gained the greatest results in the "Uncle Tom's Cabin," of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe—a tale full of dramatic situations, written with Yankee directness and Puritan sympathy for the oppressed, and by its very bias and idealism of invaluable service to the anti-Slavery cause. Pathetic romance is best typified by the Romona of Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson—a tale full of poetic insight as well as of poetic beauty, in behalf of the Indian. Its author is the greatest representative of a large school of modern writers, characterized by extreme sensitiveness, artistic perception, poetic aspirations and a somewhat sentimental but a very genuine love for the suffering and the oppressed. Their chief fault is, that while they soften the heart they never invigorate the will.

LOUISA MAY ALCOTT.
(*After a Photograph by Notman, Boston.*)

It is to the South that we must turn for the best examples of retrospective romance. Idealizing has always been the Southerner's peculiar gift; in the com-

paratively successful days before the war, it usually ran into bombast and grandiloquence, but the disasters of invasion and conquest have subdued it to the pastoral, the pathetic, the retrospective. In the days of slavery politics absorbed all the best energies and intellect of the South, but since the days of reconstruction, more than one Southerner of promise has found in literature an attractive career. In a number of short dialect stories of plantation days, as well as in the tender, musical, visionary poems of Sidney Lanier, the South has contributed new and artistic elements to American literature. Indeed, the South is the home of our most characteristic short stories. The typical Southerner is still imbued with an intense local patriotism. Every village under his native skies is a little world to him. He finds compacted within its narrow limits many a theme for a brief romance, full of human interest. The romance of its vicissitudes in war, the romance of its love scenes—where love is still looked upon as the grand passion—the pathos of the disasters it suffered in the South's defeat, and the quaint humor of its colored folk, make a union of elements favorable to the story-teller's art. The South has produced at least two authors to do justice to these gifts of circumstance. Mr. Thomas Nelson Page depicts in his pages the South before the war. Under his hand, an idealizing regret beautifies the past till it seems a golden age. A half vicarious boastfulness, a meagre achievement and a genuine poetic aspiration blend in the true Southerner's temperament. Mr. Page has nothing of the boastfulness; he seldom, if ever, depicts the meagre externals, but he does exquisite justice to the poetic aspirations of his countrymen. His tales are pathetic, romantic, picturesque, catholic, and toward both races sympathetic and appreciative. Of very different temperament is his compeer, Mr. Joel Chandler Harris. Mr. Harris's sketches are artistically true, not, as is the case with Mr. Page, because they reveal the aspirations of the old-time Southern temperament, but because of their author's alert observations of life as it is. He is alive with a vitality which makes for cheerfulness, quickness, deftness, appreciativeness. Though he deals with a passing, if not a past, civilization, he looks back to it neither regretfully, nor inimically, nor indifferently. He even goes to it for invigoration. Though there is pathos in his stories, they are full of hope and freshness of life. On the one hand he does not touch such deep chords as does Mr. Page; on the other, he is more vivacious and stimulating.

Successful studies in provincial life, however, are not limited to the South. Every distinctive region in the United States can claim its distinctive literature. To-day Miss Wilkins and Miss Jewett, of a decade or so ago, Saxe Holme, and to go back much earlier, Hawthorne, are the names which naturally occur to us, when we turn to New England. Of these, Miss Wilkins' painstaking and often painfully conscientious sketches are the most trustworthy, though not always the pleasantest depictions of Puritan manners, customs, and habits of utter-

ance. Not only to the meagre, rigid and self-repressive lives of these village Calvinists, but as well to their earnest purposes, their loyal consecration to duty and their genuine reverence for the home, the church and the state, Miss Wilkins is just. Her studies—stories they can hardly be called—are perhaps works of science rather than works of art, but in either case, they are literature.

That cosmopolitan New York should furnish material for the same scientific study in provincialism would seem to involve a contradiction in terms. Yet

WHITTIER'S BIRTHPLACE.

that city has an individuality of its own, difficult as it is to depict. Mr. Janvier has done something for its art studios and its French colonies. Mr. Howells, in his "Hazard of New Fortunes," has done something for its streets and houses, but it is to Mr. Hamlin Garland and to Mr. Richard Harding Davis that we are indebted for the introduction of typical New Yorkers to American readers. Bach, in his different view, gives a hint of the literary possibilities to be found in what has heretofore seemed commonplace New York. In Mr. Eugene Field's grotesque commingling of New England reminiscence, the love of exaggeration to be found all over the western plains, and the quips of

humor and turns of tenderness which are closely associated with the Pacific coast, we find writing appropriate to Chicago, while further west, Arkansas finds utterance in the sympathetic studies of Octan Thauet. The early mining excitement of the Californian coast had its own peculiar literature in the racy sketches of Bret Harte—a skillful pupil of Dickens in his mingled humor and pathos, grotesqueness and idealism, and in his depiction of acts of gentleness in lives of hardship. His pictures of mining-life, however, have in them an originality which makes him something more than a mere pupil. He has made a distinct, though a provincial contribution to letters.

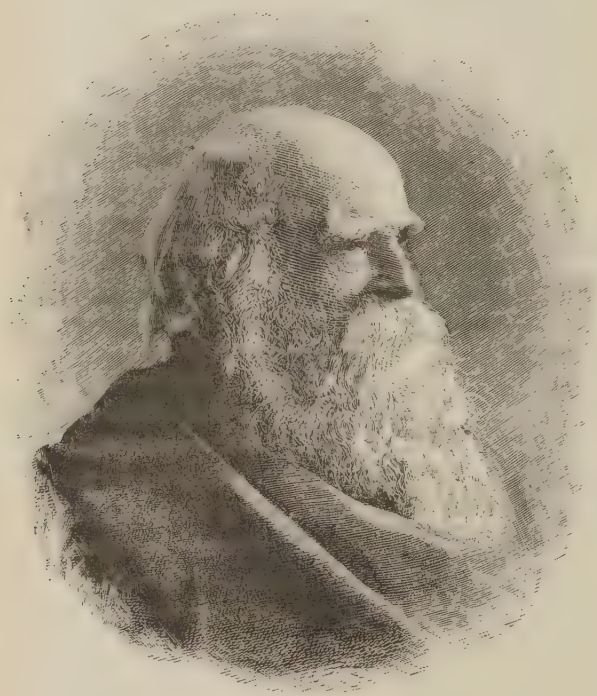
Outside of these sketches there is little genuine humor in American literature. We have many writers of extravagant burlesque ; we have in Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes a kindly, brilliant, scintillating, suggestive wit ; but we can find nowhere in American letters that delicate and quizzical self-revelation, that pathetic oddness, those fantastically expressed confidences, those self-amused idiosyncracies which constitute humor and which flavored the conversations of Abraham Lincoln. There is a reserve in American writers which prevents such humor. To find it we must go to the English Charles Lamb, Thomas Fuller, and Sir Thomas Browne. Few nations, however, have produced any wittier books than Dr. Holmes' Breakfast Table Series, or more laughable extravagances than Mark Twain's, while more quiet and more graceful, though less original than either, are the shorter sketches of Charles Dudley Warner and "Ike Marvel."

Scientific observation and poetic insight united in Thoreau to give him a familiar acquaintance with the shy beauties of nature. His writings are marred by infelicities and affectations in expression, but they are the work of a genuine lover and interpreter of the woods and streams. He is the master in a school which includes an increasing number of writers every decade.

At least those American historians, Prescott, Parkman, and Motley, have gained a transatlantic reputation for the eloquence of their style, the beauty of their description, and the artistic power of their presentations of historic movements. All three were careful scholars, though idealists, vigorous, and clear writers, and sanguine Americans. To those at all seriously inclined their histories are as absorbing as fiction, and, if too enthusiastic to be accurate in all their details, are unquestionably true in general outline. They have made use of the imagination as an aid to scholarship, not as a substitute for it, and they have used it chiefly, if not solely, to elucidate truth.

There is nothing in oratory more profoundly eloquent than the two addresses of Abraham Lincoln on the field of Gettysburg. They are the simple and devout expressions of a national patriotism, purged of all worldly passion. The chasteness, the harmony, the marvelous beauty of their language is, however, forgotten in the sublimer beauty of their thought and spirit. They are so sacred

to something higher than literature that we never think of them as literature. The clear and animating orations of the chivalric, visionary Wendell Phillips deserve a passing mention for their beauty of form and transparency of argument. But our one great orator is the Whig statesman, Daniel Webster. He was educated in New Hampshire, under that vigorous discipline which only the hardships of poverty can give, and showed the value of his training in the stalwartness of his after-life, when he stood for a conscientious adherence to the Union and to the Constitution liberally interpreted. To this day, his sonorous, significant, and impressive utterances must be studied for any thorough appreciation of the responsibilities of American citizenship and the genius of American institutions. By his inherent dignity he long maintained against the encroachments of the modern politician our forefathers' standard of dignity in American public life. Unquestionably the inferior of the great English statesman, Edmund Burke, in beauties of imagination, precision and incisiveness of language, and in profundity of statesmanship, he was at least more smooth, more even, and more self-controlled.



WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.
(*From a Photograph by Sarony, New York.*)

The contrast between the two well illustrates the contrast between England and America in every department of literature. The typical English writer shows the greater mastery of the powers and striking beauties of language. The American is the smoother and the more polished. The English is the more intense, and the more self-expressive, and the more powerful; the American the more guarded and the more contented. America has produced as yet no literature comparable to the greater classics of England, but she has produced much worthy to be found in every Anglo-Saxon household, and capable of cheering and strengthening in his work and hardships every Anglo-Saxon reader.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALISM.

HERE are, a latter-day philosopher has said, no such things as inventions; all we have are discoveries. Without dwelling upon the identity of the two terms, it may be added that nearly all our modern arts and sciences are not even discoveries, but mere evolutions. Away back in antiquity, perhaps among the cave-dwellers, men observed certain facts and practically applied them to the satisfaction of their needs. And the bulk of human progress in all the centuries since has been chiefly development and elaboration of those primitive ideas. It is really startling to notice how many fundamental principles, of architecture, of engineering, of mechanics, date back to or before the earliest historic times; and to notice, moreover, how largely the really new discoveries have been utilized only in application to ancient processes. The steam engine, for example, is a modern device. Yet it scarcely gives us one new process, but is harnessed to the work that was formerly done by wind or water, or brute or man. The steamship is an evolution from the galley, the railroad train from the ox-cart. The Springfield rifle and the Krupp gun are only new means for doing the same old work that was done by the "cloth-yard shaft" and the catapult. "Modern improvements" is a literally accurate term.

Some few features of nineteenth century civilization, however, are altogether new, and have not even a prototype in ancient history. And among these, perhaps, the most conspicuous is the newspaper. If printing itself be only a development of the old idea of writing and engraving, the newspaper still stands unique. Neither in the posted bulletin nor in the herald's proclamation can we find a trace of the essential idea of the modern journal; nor in any other feature of ancient life. The newspaper belongs, both in spirit and in substance, to the modern world. Nor can this fact be made more evident, and the necessitous value of the thing be made more apparent, than by imagining ourselves suddenly and entirely deprived of it. Were the steamship and railroad abolished, we could still get on with the sailing-ship and stage-coach; without the telegraph, we could still depend upon the mails; with no electric lamps or gas, we could make use of oil or candles; without steam-power, we could

employ the earlier and simpler motor-forces. But were the newspaper swept out of existence, absolutely nothing would be left to take its place, in kind or in degree; and it seems not extravagant to say that its absence would be more keenly felt than that of almost any, and perhaps of any, other device of modern ingenuity.

Well did Jefferson say, "I would rather live in a country with newspapers and without a government, than in a country with a government but without newspapers;" and Bonaparte: "Four hostile newspapers are more to be dreaded than a hundred thousand bayonets."

It is beyond the purpose of this essay to review the whole history of the printing art, from the Chinese blacksmith, Pi Ching, in 1041, and Gutenberg and Schoeffer four hundred years later; an art that at the discovery of America was still regarded as somewhat akin to sorcery. Nor can we even summarize the record of the newspaper press of the world, with its uncertain origin. Apart from the *Pekin Gazette*, the Chinese Government organ, said to have been founded about 1200, there are varying claims for priority in newspaper work. About 1240, the Venetian Government issued its famous *Gazette*, but this was merely a series of manuscript war bulletins, scarcely to be reckoned as a newspaper. There is a legend of a printed journal at Nuremberg, in 1457, but scarcely authenticated. In much dispute, also, is the story of the *English Mercury*, said to have been founded by Queen Elizabeth and Lord Burleigh, in 1588, to disseminate true tidings of the Spanish war, though it seems certain that such an occasional printed bulletin, at least, was issued. But the first real journal published in Europe was probably *Die Frankfurter Oberpostamts Zeitung*, a daily, founded in 1615 and still in existence. The first English newspaper appeared on October 9, 1621, when Nathaniel Butter, of London, began publishing his *Courant;* on May 23, 1622, Thomas Archer and Nicholas Bourne first issued their *Weekly News;* and on August 23 of the same year Butter gave to the public his *Certain News of the Present Week*. It is interesting to observe, from these dates, that the origin of the English newspaper press and the foundation of the New England colonies were practically simultaneous. Our task now is to trace the progress of the press in the great nation of which these colonies were the germ.

The Massachusetts settlers were the first to introduce the printer's art into North America, though Mendoza had set up a press in Mexico in 1535. It was in 1639 that printing was begun at Cambridge, Massachusetts. The year before, Jesse Glover, an English clergyman, had reverently packed up press and types and set sail with them for the colony. He died on the voyage; but the precious freight reached its destination and was unpacked and set up in the house of Nathaniel Eaton, the head of the famous school founded by John Harvard. There American literature had its birth.

The first attempt to publish a newspaper was made by Benjamin Harris, in Boston. On September 25, 1690, he issued, from the press of Richard Pierce, a paper called *Public Occurrences, both Foreign and Domestic*. It was a sheet fourteen by twenty-two inches in size, folded into four pages, with two columns to a page, and with the fourth page blank. Only one number, however, came out, the Government forbidding a second issue. More fortunate was the next attempt, also in Boston, in 1704. On Monday, April 24, Bartholomew Green began printing *The Boston News Letter*, and Nicholas Boone began selling it at his shop. It was a sheet of coarse paper, eight by twelve inches in size, not folded, with two columns on each of the two pages. Chief Justice Sewall had the historic honor of taking the first copy from the press. There was just one advertisement in that initial number, its own, and it read as follows :—

"This News-Letter is to be continued Weekly ; and all persons who have any Houses, Lands, Tenements, Farms, Ships, Vessels, Goods, Wares, or Merchandise, etc., to be Sold or Let ; or Servants, Runaway, or Goods Stole or Lost ; may have the same inserted at a Reasonable Rate, from Twelve Pence to Five Shillings, and not to exceed : Who may agree with John Campbell, Postmaster of Boston. All persons in Town or Country may have the News-Letter every Week, Yearly, upon reasonable terms, agreeing with John Campbell, Postmaster, for the same."

This journal endured for seventy-two years. Bartholomew Green, the printer, succeeded Campbell as proprietor in 1722 ; he was succeeded by his son-in-law, John Draper, in 1733, and he by his son, Richard Draper, in 1762. The last-named changed its title to *The Weekly News Letter and New England Chronicle ;* then to *The Massachusetts Gazette and Boston News Letter ;* then, in 1768, united it with *The Boston Post-Boy ;* and finally, in 1769, restored the original name. Its publication ceased in March, 1776. Its rival, *The Boston Gazette*, was started on December 21, 1719, and some years later was printed by James Franklin, elder brother of Benjamin Franklin, of whom we shall presently hear much more. *The Gazette* died in 1752. The third American paper appeared one day after the second, on December 22, 1719. It was *The American Weekly Mercury*, issued by Andrew Bradford, in Philadelphia. The fourth was *The New England Courant*, brought out by James Franklin, at Boston, on August 7, 1721. Its aggressive tone kept it in a state of warfare with the Government, and it died in 1727. James Franklin then went to Rhode Island in quest of greater liberty—as Roger Williams had done—and started *The Gazette*, at Newport, in 1732.

New York's first paper was *The New York Gazette*, issued by the illustrious

William Bradford on October 23, 1725. Boston's fourth paper, *The New England Weekly Journal*, appeared on March 20, 1727, and enjoyed the editorial inspiration of Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield. *The Maryland Gazette* appeared at Annapolis in 1727. *The South Carolina Gazette* at Charleston, in 1731, and *The Virginia Gazette* at Williamsburg, in 1736. The first American paper in a foreign language was a German journal printed at Germantown, Pa., in 1739.

The first libel suit in the history of American journalism occurred in 1734–35, and commands our interested attention. John Peter Zenger, who had been in the employ of William Bradford, began on November 5, 1733, publishing *The New York Weekly Journal* as a rival to Bradford's *New York Gazette*. It became the organ of the political party opposed to the Colonial Government, and was vigorous and outspoken in its criticisms. This warfare culminated, on November 17, 1734, in Zenger's arrest on the charge of libel. The eloquent Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia, was engaged to defend him, and a most exciting and impressive trial ensued. Finally, in August, 1735, Zenger was triumphantly acquitted. He and Hamilton were loaded with honors by the sympathetic public, and the principle of the freedom of the press was established.

Reference has already been made to Benjamin Franklin, who was preëminently the most commanding figure in American journalism in the last century. He was born in Boston in 1706 and died in 1790, and his history, as a patriot, diplomat, statesman, moralist, and man of letters, is familiar to the world. His first work was done for his brother, in Boston. He soon, however, made his way to Philadelphia, entering that city a penniless young man. For a time he worked for Bradford and for Samuel Keimer. The latter had a paper called *The Universal Instructor in All the Arts and Sciences, and Pennsylvania Gazette*, which languished on the verge of dissolution. He sold it in 1729, to Franklin, who at once reduced its portentous title to *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, and instilled into it so much editorial vigor that it quickly became the most noteworthy and most noted journal in America. Scholarly, enterprising, and progressive, Franklin did more than any and all of his contemporaries for the advancement of journalism and of printing in general, and has ever been fittingly regarded as the "patron saint" of typography in America.

Patriotism early found voice in the press. At the beginning of 1748 *The Independent Advertiser*, of Boston, spoke boldly for freedom from British rule, and its printer, Daniel Fowle, was imprisoned therefor, though the writers of the revolutionary articles, Samuel Adams and Jonathan Mayhew, escaped. On regaining his liberty Fowle went to Portsmouth, and in 1756 founded *The New Hampshire Gazette*. Isaiah Thomas, of Worcester, Mass., on May 3, 1774, began publishing a revolutionary sheet. So Whig papers were started in many

places throughout the colonies, and gave incalculable aid to the cause of American Independence. *The Hartford Courant* dates from 1764, *The New Haven Journal* from 1767, *The Salem Gazette* from 1768, *The Worcester Spy* from 1770, *The Baltimore American* from 1773, and *The American Advertiser*, of Philadelphia, the first daily in the country, from 1784. We may close the record of the colonial and revolutionary press with the statement that in 1789, in the whole United States, the gross number of papers printed every month was 298,000. In later years the daily issue of a single journal has exceeded those figures!

With the beginning of our national life, territorial expansion and industrial growth set in at an amazing pace, and the multiplication of newspapers did not lag behind. In 1810 the State of New York had sixty-six papers, fourteen of them being in New York city. Of the latter, two are still in existence, *The Commercial Advertiser*, founded in 1794, and *The Evening Post*, 1801. In 1827 *The Journal of Commerce* was started in that city, and it is still published. *The Courier and Enquirer* appeared in the same year, and, after running a brilliant course under the editorship of James Watson Webb, was merged into *The World* when that paper was established, in 1860. In 1833 *The Sun* was started, in 1835 *The Herald*, in 1841 *The Tribune*, and in 1851 *The Times*, thus establishing the present era in metropolitan journalism. The simple mention of these papers recalls the entire history of the past half century, starred with a galaxy of illustrious names. When newspapers were first issued in England they were the object of all the scorn and contempt that literary men could pour upon them. Ben Jonson, Fletcher, and others made them the target for their most envenomed shafts. But now the foremost men of letters were glad to seek the favor of the press, to contribute to its columns, to be known as editors. The name of William Cullen Bryant is only one on a long roll of the best in American literature, of men and women who have been identified with the newspaper press, and to it have given the best efforts of their lives.

In the past generation of editors, it is not invidious to say, two great names stand forth preëminent. They are those of James Gordon Bennett and Horace Greeley, the founders and editors respectively of *The New York Herald* and *The New York Tribune*. The former was the incarnation of the news-gathering instinct. He sought to make his paper the completest possible record of daily events in all parts of the globe. His reporters and correspondents seemed literally ubiquitous. No labor or expense was spared in getting the fullest possible accounts of every event, at the earliest possible moment, and in placing it before the readers of *The Herald* in the most attractive, and often most sensational, form. The ruling passion of the great man, and the dominant note of his great organ, was "News! News! News!" Greeley was in many respects the antithesis of Bennett. Coming to New York a penniless youth, strikingly like Franklin in Philadelphia, he worked as a jour-

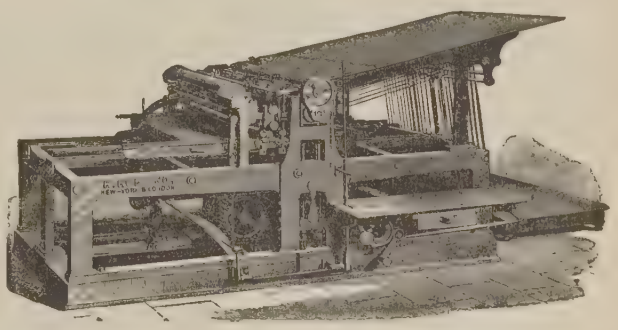
neyman printer until he was able, on a most meagre capital, to start *The Tribune.* From the outset his idea was to appeal to the intellect of the people, to make his paper the organ of thought, of principle, of literature, science, and invention. He would not neglect the news, but he would devote most attention to editorial comment and discussion. While Bennett sought to record history in *The Herald*, Greeley strove to make history in *The Tribune.* While as a news-gatherer, business man, and managing editor, Greeley was far inferior not only to the colossal genius of Bennett, but to the majority of his contemporaries, as an editorial writer and political controversialist he was absolutely and incomparably supreme. By the sole virtue of its editorial columns he made *The Tribune* the greatest journalistic force of the times.

In the early years of these great papers, when steamboats and railroads were new and few, the telegraph in embryo, and the submarine cable scarcely dreamed of, news-gathering was far different from what it is to-day. Perhaps the competition between rival papers was even keener than now. Certainly it was more picturesque. Special swift-sailing boats were chartered, pony expresses and mounted couriers, carrier-pigeons, signal flags, and beacon fires—all were impressed into the service. One of many classic incidents may be cited. Two rival correspondents went to a town far distant from the railroad to report some momentous occurrence. Their work done, they hired a man to convey them back to the railroad with his horse and wagon, just in time to catch the last train to the city. On the way, in a spot remote from any house, one slyly bargained with the driver for the purchase of the horse, closed the bargain on the spot, unhitched, mounted and galloped off to the railroad, leaving his discomfited rival hopelessly stranded! All European news came by steamer, of course, and "Four Days Later from Europe" was a familiar caption over a column or two of gleanings from English papers just received. After a time the principal New York papers agreed to unite in the general work of news-gathering, dividing among themselves the cost of telegraph tolls, and cable tolls when the Atlantic cable was laid, and using the news received in common. Thus the Associated Press was formed, a combination of *The Courier and Enquirer*, *The Herald*, *The Sun*, *The Tribune*, *The Times*, *The Express*, and *The Journal of Commerce.* The first named was afterward succeeded by *The World*, and *The Express* by *The Mail and Express.* And thus was formed the greatest news-gathering corporation in the world.

The papers still, of course, employed many special correspondents, and these became more numerous as, year by year, the cost of telegraphing became less. Volumes of authentic stories of the enterprise and adventure of these correspondents, in peace and war, might be told, surpassing in thrilling or amusing interest most tales of fiction. The competition between them has been most keen. A very important event, for example, was to be reported at a dis-

tant country town where there was only one telegraph operator, and he a slow one, who would only be able, during the whole evening, to send the "copy" of one of the half-dozen correspondents. So the one who first got him at work on his manuscript and kept him busy would "have a beat" on all the others. And one of them did so. Hours before the event occurred and the news could be written, he gave the operator a Bible and told him to telegraph it to his paper. The operator obeyed, and sent chapter after chapter of Genesis over the wires until the shrewd correspondent could get his manuscript ready and substitute it for the sacred volume. When the Atlantic cable came into use the cost of telegraphing was so great that the papers employed it very sparingly. But during the Franco-German war of 1870–71, *The Tribune* (New York) startled the world and opened a new era in journalism by receiving by cable from its correspondents column after column of news, at a cost of thousands of dollars.

Fully commensurate with the growth of the newspaper press in numbers and influence has been the progress made in the mechanical equipment of the offices. The superiority of the telegraph over the mail coach as a news carrier is no more marked than that of the composing and press rooms of to-day over those of Franklin's time. The first paper mill in America was established at Philadelphia more than a century ago, and soon after printing ink was made and type was cast equal to any in the world. The primitive hand-press was, however, still in use. That on which Franklin first worked is yet preserved in Boston. It was brought from England, and was like those used by the Bradfords, Keimer, and others in those days. It consisted of a horizontal table, on which the "form" of type was placed. Ink was spread on the type with a cabbage-shaped "ball," the sheet of paper was laid on, a blanket placed over it, and then, by means of a lever, a heavy iron plate was brought down upon it, pressing the paper evenly upon the inked type and printing one side of the sheet. The paper was then taken off, and another sheet used in the same way, and so on. By this tedious and laborious method only a few hundred impressions, at best, could be made in an hour. Ramage, a Philadelphia press-maker, and Clymer, his business rival, designed new presses at the beginning of the

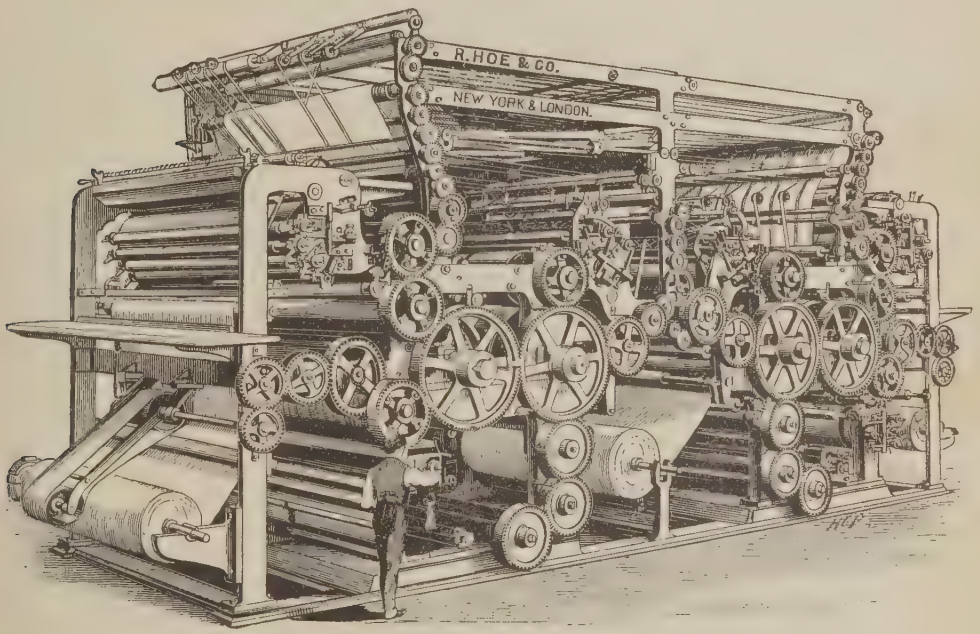


PATENT SINGLE SMALL CYLINDER PRESS.

present century, which differed from the former only in having a sliding bed for the type to rest on, so that it could be brought out from under the platen for inking and laying on the paper. But steam-power soon came into use, and inventors began to meditate its application to the printing of newspapers. The first power-press in America was made by Daniel Treadwell, of Boston, in 1822. Like the old hand-presses, it had a flat type bed and a flat platen coming down upon it. But a new principle, that of the cylinder press, had been conceived by English machinists, and it soon found its way hither. Richard M. Hoe, in 1828, first put into operation in America a successful cylinder press. In it the type lay on a flat sliding bed, while the paper was pressed upon it by a large cylinder revolving above the type, the ink being put upon the type by rollers. This single cylinder press would turn off a thousand impressions an hour. In improved form it is at the present day one of the most widely used of presses for book and job work and small newspaper offices. Two years later Mr. Hoe brought out a double cylinder press, working on the same general principle, but with two small cylinders instead of one large one, and capable of doing twice as much work. Another still more striking innovation appeared in 1846—the most important improvement that had yet been made in presses. Mr. Hoe brought out a "four cylinder type-revolving" printing machine. In it the forms of type, instead of lying on a flat bed, were fastened on the outside of a huge revolving cylinder, while four small cylinders pressed the sheets of paper against it. Thus four sheets were running through the press at once. Its capacity was 8000 sheets, printed on one side, an hour. *The Philadelphia Ledger* bought and used the first one, and soon other great papers in America and Europe adopted this press. But with that Mr. Hoe was not content. He developed the same principle, adding more feed rollers, till at last he constructed a mammoth ten-cylinder press. This was operated by eleven men, and printed 20,000 sheets an hour, on one side. *The New York Tribune* bought the first one, in 1855, and *The London Times* sent to America for two more in 1857. It was supposed that this marvelous engine represented the highest possible achievement of inventive skill in that direction. And then, when machines for folding the printed sheets were also invented, men thought the perfection of newspaper making had been attained.

Not all men thought so, however. William A. Bullock, of Philadelphia, did not. Already stereotype plates were used on the great cylinders instead of the forms of type. Mr. Bullock determined to do away with the feeders, also. He put the stereotype plates on the surfaces of small cylinders, made his paper in a continuous strip a mile or so long, and passed it continuously over the inked plates; and thus the web-perfecting press of to-day came into being. In this ingenious machine, as now used, there are two cylinders covered with stereotype plates, one for each side of the sheet. The huge roll of paper,

moistened with water beforehand while being unwound from one spindle and wound upon another, is put in place at one end of the press. The machinery is started. The paper unwinds and enters the press. Sheet by sheet is cut off with mathematical accuracy by a knife worked by the press. The sheet passes over one cylinder and is printed on one side, then under the other and is printed on the other side. Then it is cut into two, the two halves pasted together at the centre, folded into convenient form, and delivered at the other end of the press ready for the newsboy! The machine does all this automatically, at the rate of from fifteen to twenty thousand copies an hour, the pressman having



THE BULLOCK-HOE PERFECTING PRESS.

nothing to do after starting the press, but to sit in his easy chair and watch it work, and to put in a new roll of paper when the first three-mile roll is exhausted. The patents on this press were purchased by Mr. Hoe, and he became perhaps the best known maker of it. There are various other modifications of the same ingenious principle, in the Walter, "Victory," Campbell, Scott, Marinoni, Derriery, and other web-perfecting presses. In the latest Hoe presses rolls of paper five miles long are used, the sheets are printed on both sides before they are cut off, four duplicate sets of stereotype plates are used, and fifty thousand papers an hour have been turned out.

For many years the composing-room lagged far behind the press-room.

Many attempts were made to set type by machinery, but without great success, and down to a dozen years ago the old system generally prevailed. A separate metal type was used for each character, and these types were picked by hand, one by one, from compartments in a tray, and placed in a composing-stick, thence to be transferred to the galley and the form. But about 1880 a Mr. Mergenthaler, of Baltimore, brought into practical working an entirely new device, which did away with ordinary types altogether. The operator of this machine sits at and works upon a key-board, which has one key for each character used. When a key is touched there drops from a tube a brass plate with the character engraved on one of its edges. These plates fall side by side in a trough, with spacings between the words. When enough are in place to fill a line they are passed by the, machine underneath a tank of melted metal and a thin bar cast, with the impression from the brass matrices in raised letters upon one edge of it. It is, in fact, a line of type cast in one solid piece, and it takes its place in the galley and in the form, and from a page-form, thus made up, a stereotype plate is made. These machines, and others of similar construction, are rapidly coming into general use. Their saving in labor, time, and expense over the old system of hand type-setting is enormous. The cost of type-founding is dispensed with; so is the labor of redistribution of type, for the machine automatically returns the brass matrices to their proper receptacles as soon as the casting of the line is completed; the metal is remelted and used over and over again, the type-bars being always new and clean; and in making up the forms the bars are much easier to handle than separate types, and there is practically no danger of "pi."

The operations of the stereotyping-room are so simple as scarcely to need mention here. The form, or page, of type is placed on an iron table; sheets of damp paper are spread upon it and thoroughly beaten down upon it with huge brushes, so as to take an exact impression of the face of the type; then the form, with the paper lying on it, is placed in a drying machine; when dry, the paper is taken from the type and is found to have become a single heavy sheet of card-board, with a deep, sharp impression of the type on one side; it is put into a mould, curved to fit the press cylinders, and melted type-metal poured in; this makes the plate, and when cool it is taken out, trimmed, and sent to the press-room. The entire operation takes only four or five minutes.

In the morning the reporters and correspondents begin the work of observing events and collecting news. All day long they are busy; and the editorial writers also are busy, writing their articles. During the evening the news pours in, reporters come into the office to write their "stories," and other matter comes by mail, by messenger, by telegraph, by telephone. The news editors receive it, correct it, cut it down according to the exigencies of space, and send it to the composing-room. There it is put in type, and the forms are one by one made

up and sent to the stereotyping-room. The plates are cast and sent down to the press-room, where they are put on the cylinders, and the vast rolls of paper are moistened ready for printing. An hour or so after midnight the last dispatch is put in type, the last form made up, the plate cast, sent down, and put on the press. The pressman pulls a lever, the cylinders revolve, and the printed record of the world's latest day, compiled by a hundred historians, is reeled off at the rate of tens of thousands of copies an hour.

Printing has been called the art preservative of arts. It is also the art to which all others are tributary. Steam and electricity have been brought to the service of the newspaper. So, too, has photography, of late years, in a wonderful manner. Formerly, illustrations were used in books and magazines, engraved by slow and costly processes. A few weekly papers used them, but daily papers almost never. The first attempts at illustrations in the daily press were rude and uncouth in the extreme. Some efforts were made to publish distinctively illustrated daily papers, but their success was not great. If the pictures were cheaply made, they were unattractive; if they were well made, they were too costly. But with the development of photography, new, cheap, and admirable processes of engraving came forward. Instead of laboriously sketching a scene with pencil and paper, the artist now secures it in an instant with his camera; the plate is developed in a few minutes, printed, and engraved. And thus the event of one day is photographed, engraved, and the picture printed in the next morning's daily paper in much better style than many book illustrations could boast a generation ago.

The Sunday newspaper is another "modern improvement." It became a popular institution during the War of the Rebellion, when the public insisted on having a newspaper every day of the week. Year by year since then it has been elaborated and improved, until now it is one of the literary wonders of the world. It is much larger than the daily issue, consisting of from sixteen to thirty-six or forty pages. Besides the news of the day, it contains special correspondence, criticisms, reviews, sketches, biographies, fiction, departments of science and art, and, indeed, a whole magazine of varied literature. There are, probably, special contributions from half a dozen of the most eminent writers in the world; all sold for five cents!

These sheets, however, with their hundreds of thousands of circulation, have by no means driven the magazines and weekly papers from the field. On the contrary, these latter enjoy a constantly increasing prosperity. The great illustrated weeklies enjoy vast patronage, and merit it by producing pages that, in respect of matter and mechanical execution, rival the best book-work. The world has seen no finer specimens of illustrated weekly journalism than such periodicals as *Harper's Weekly*, *Frank Leslie's*, and *The Illustrated American*. The non-illustrated periodicals, too, have attained an enviable rank. Many

members of the religious and semi-religious press, such as *The Independent*, *The Christian Union*, *The Congregationalist*, *The Interior*, *The Christian at Work*, *The Examiner*, *The Evangelist*, *The Churchman*, etc., present each week not merely ephemeral notes and comments, but a great mass of permanent, original literature, of the highest class, from the best minds of the age. Every religious sect now has its organ; most of them several. Every trade and business calling, every profession, every department of human activity and interest, has its periodical. The result is such a minute and detailed preservation, in paper and type, of the records of the world, and such an interchange of thought and diffusion of information, as without the press never could have been approximated to and never would have been dreamed of.

How great a part all this has played and is playing in the colossal drama of human progress is scarcely to be estimated. No estimate can seem extravagant, not even that of Wendell Phillips when he said: "The newspaper is parent, school, college, pulpit, theatre, example, counselor, all in one. Every drop of our blood is colored by it. Let me make the newspapers, and I care not who makes the religion or the laws." The magnitude of this institution is now almost beyond appreciation. In 1814 the whole United States contained only 280 weekly, thirty semi-weekly, eighteen tri-weekly, and twenty-eight daily papers, with an aggregate yearly issue of 23,000,000 copies. To-day New York alone far surpasses those figures, and any single one of a number of daily papers far exceeds in aggregate yearly issue the whole list of those named above. Our paper mills produce a quarter of a million tons of stock each year. A single newspaper in New York City uses every week a strip of paper five feet three inches wide and more than a thousand miles long. More than a thousand daily papers are printed in the United States, with a gross circulation of four million copies a day, and the people pay for them, in cents to newsboys, and in larger sums for monthly or yearly subscriptions, more than $30,000,000 a year. New York still leads the country in the number and importance of its periodicals, but a dozen other cities have great dailies rivaling in size and ability those of the metropolis; while every city and large town has at least one daily, and almost every village and hamlet its weekly paper. Whatever work is to be done, whatever reform wrought, be it the exploration of an unknown land, the reorganization of the country's fiscal system or the righting of great social wrongs, the building of a new political party or the crushing of a corrupt political ring—it is the press that takes the initiative, it is through the press that the task is accomplished.

CHAPTER XXXV.

HOW WE GOVERN OURSELVES.

BY MISS ANNA L. DAWES,

Author of Life of Sumner, etc.

HE Government of the United States is unique in three respects: It is the largest and most successful democracy that has ever existed, it is a federal system, and it has a written Constitution. Perhaps it may be called unique in its methods also, for no other government is made up of three separate and yet equal branches, each in some sense the Government, but all necessary to any complete action of the nation; and still again those departments, the Legislative, the Executive, and the Judiciary, have each their own peculiar and distinctive features. Legislation is representative and not democratic. The Executive has not only the duty of executing the laws, but a power of veto over them, and the Supreme Court stands alone in all the world in its place and importance.

The Government of the United States, in the expressive phrase of Abraham Lincoln, is "A government by the people, of the people, and for the people." It is this which is the great glory of our nation, and it must not be forgotten in comparing it with others. It is often claimed that England is more democratic in fact, Germany more attentive to the needs of the people; but these advantages ignore the great fundamental distinction of this republic, the fact that all power is derived from the people. Briton and Germany alike hold that power comes from the throne and its reserved rights remain with the throne. But every American believes that power comes from the people, the Executive is in some sense an agent, and the reserved rights remain with the people. The difference is not only fundamental, but there result from it doctrines and relations which run through all our system and our methods as well. No amount of superficial flexibility, as in England, or of temporary advantage, as in Germany, can at all compensate for this great and far-reaching distinction, this confidence in and dependence upon the people. Again, we have two kinds of law—that made by Congress as the needs of the time require, law which may be altered according to

occasion, and the great permanent Constitution, which only the people and the States acting together can alter, and that after long and careful process, and to which all other law must conform. This Constitution is truly enough the bulwark of our liberties; no sudden whims or changing passions can deprive us of the fundamental rights guaranteed by it; the storm of battle has proved it strong enough to stand against all assaults, and the stress of unequaled growth has shown it broad enough for all demands. It seems, indeed, as if a superhuman wisdom was given to the forefathers. Molded by Hamilton, and Franklin, and the Adamses, and Madison, and Ellsworth, and many another great man, it drew its inspiration from French philosophers and Dutch methods, and the mingled love and hate for English practice. The government of a little Baptist church in Pennsylvania, and the Connecticut town-meeting, and the conflicting interests of different sections, and many other elements entered in to make this great instrument what it is. Under it we have lived for one hundred years, and have stretched our boundaries from one ocean to the other, from the frozen seas of the Arctic Circle to the tropical waters of the Gulf. We have endured three wars, and are grown so strong that the great governments of Europe hesitate to encounter us, and sit by our side in equal honor; we have become sixty million people, and our riches are matched with imperial treasuries, but our doors are ever open to the laborer and we give him all opportunity, until he shall stand at the top if it pleases him. Side by side the rich and the poor, the learned and the unlearned, the chief among us and the least of all, hold the great gift of governing, and we count them each a man; and the whole great and glorious structure rests on the firm and enduring rock of the Constitution.

The Government is carried on, according to the terms of this Constitution and under its provisions, by three great branches: Congress, which makes the laws; the Judiciary, which interprets these laws and decides whether they agree with the Constitution; and the Executive, which carries them out. And since this is a government of the people, Congress, which represents the people and expresses their will, is the centre around which the whole government turns.

Congress is composed of two houses, the House of Representatives and the Senate. The House of Representatives is elected every two years, and each member of it represents somewhat more than 150,000 people. Each State sends as many Congressmen as are necessary to represent its whole population, being divided into districts containing each a population of 150,000, from among which the members of Congress are chosen. The requirement that the representative shall live within the State is an important distinction between our system and that of England. An English district or borough may elect a member of Parliament from any part of the nation, and thus it is believed the House of Commons will be composed of the best men in the country; but it is our purpose to have every part of the country represented, and, therefore,

by an unwritten law, never disregarded, we require that each Congressman shall reside in the district which chooses him. Thus, so far as possible, every man in the country is represented. It must always be remembered, however, that the government of the United States is not a pure democracy, but a republic. It is first and foremost a *representative* government. In every possible way endeavor is made that each man shall be represented, but he must act through a representative. The short term of service insures that these representatives shall reflect the changing will of the people, and furnishes a remedy for all unjust or foolish action. He shows an entire ignorance of our system who complains of the tyranny of government in the United States. The House of Representatives is its chief governing power, and, remade as it is by the people themselves once in two years, it is constantly controlled by the will of the people.

JAMES G. BLAINE, EX-SECRETARY OF STATE.

This very fact, the fact that the House of Representatives can be altered so readily, and always will reflect every passing change of public sentiment, made it necessary and highly desirable to add some more permanent element to Congress. For this, among other reasons, a Senate was created. Senators are elected once in six years, and represent the people of a whole State. Thus, because he is more permanent, and because he is chosen by a larger constituency, a senator represents the more stable elements of political thought, not so much the passing feeling of the moment, but the deep underlying opinions and wishes of a large number of people. Moreover, as the Senate is so arranged that only one senator from a State is elected at a time, and only one-third of the senators go out of office on any given year, it becomes in some sense a stable body, and acts as a check upon the excitements and lack of wisdom natural to such a body as the House.

Still another reason, and that of great importance, marks the value of the Senate to the people. It is, in fact, more necessary to the preservation of our system than the House itself. The senators represent the States directly, and each State has two senators, no more and no less. This places each State on an equal footing with every other, a result obviously an important element in our political system, and of the greatest practical importance to our liberties. By reason of this provision in our Constitution, Delaware or Rhode Island are of equal power in the Senate with Texas or New York, furnishing a check upon the unregulated control of any one section. If the Senate, like the House,

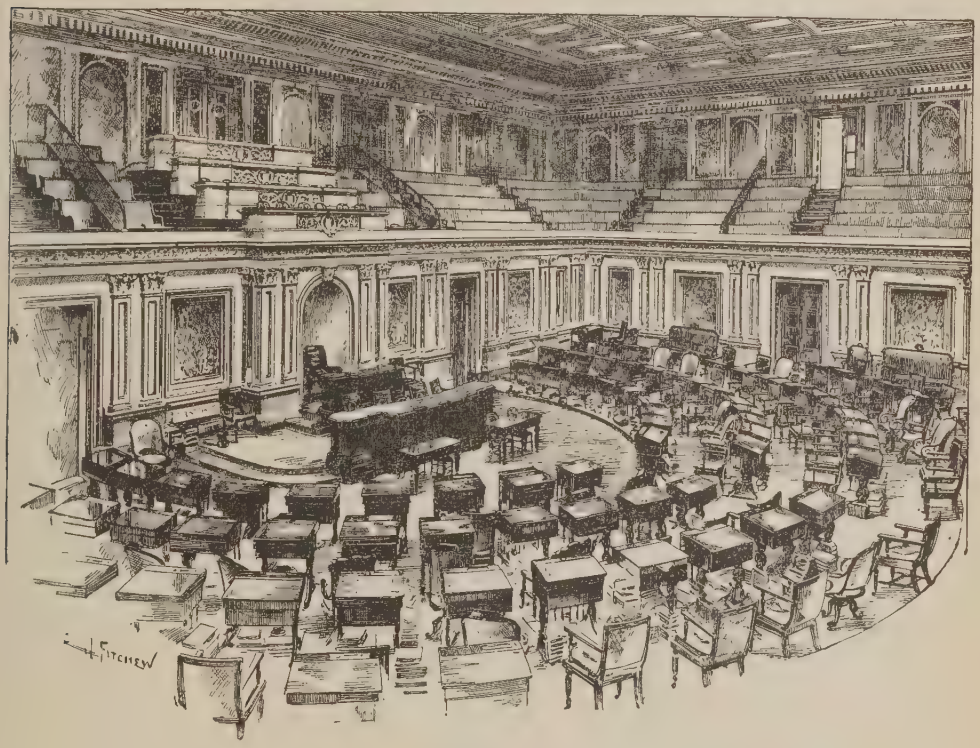
represented the population and not the States, shortly enough Congress would be controlled by the great cities, or, perhaps, by the great States. The tyranny of New York or Chicago would be replaced by the tyranny of California or Texas. The immense mass of their people would always control the country, and we should be at the mercy of a practical monarchy. The equal power of the small States in the Senate goes far to prevent this result and to preserve the rule of the whole people, an actual as well as a nominal democracy. The Senate is altogether necessary to the country, and he is a false friend who would persuade the country to undermine it or destroy its relations to the States by making it a popular body. So thoroughly was this understood by the men who made the Constitution that a unique provision was inserted forbidding any amendment which should deprive the States of their equal representation in the Senate without their own consent, practically a prohibition of such an amendment.

Congress has power to raise funds for our necessities by taxes, to borrow money, if necessary, to establish postal facilities, to coin or print our money, to regulate our foreign affairs, to make war, to control many other matters, and to make all the laws relative to these concerns.

It requires both houses of Congress to pass the laws that govern us. A bill originates in the House or the Senate, according to its nature, is debated and passed by that body, sent to the other, debated and passed by that, and then sent to the President, who signs it, and thereby it becomes a law. If any of these conditions fail it falls to the ground. Either branch can refuse to pass a measure, and the President may refuse to sign, or veto it. But in this latter case, since the will of the people is the supreme power, the vetoed bill may be passed again, over the head of the President, as the phrase goes, if two-thirds of each house of Congress can be thereafter induced to vote for it. All bills for furnishing money must originate in the House of Representatives, that the people, by controlling the purse strings, may still more thoroughly control the Government. The Senate, on the other hand, has the power to consider and pass upon our treaties, and has also the duty of confirming or refusing all appointments of any importance.

The officers of the House of Representatives are a Speaker, elected from among its members, who presides over its deliberations, a Clerk, a Sergeant-at-Arms, a Doorkeeper, and several smaller officers necessary to carry on its business. The Senate is presided over by the Vice-President of the United States, and in his absence by one of the senators, chosen by themselves for that duty, and known as the President *pro tempore*. This body has also a Clerk and Sergeant-at-Arms and minor officials. The business of Congress is largely done by its committees, which consider all important subjects before they are brought to the attention of either house. These committees are appointed by

the Speaker in the House of Representatives, and in the Senate are selected by a committee of the senators. Each Congress lasts for two years, although not in session all of the time. Congress meets in the Capitol at Washington on the first Monday in December of every year. The first year the session lasts until both houses can agree to adjourn, thus giving time for free and ample discussion of every subject. These "long sessions" usually continue until July or August, and sometimes until October. On the alternate years Congress is directed by the Constitution to adjourn on the fourth day of March, thus pre-



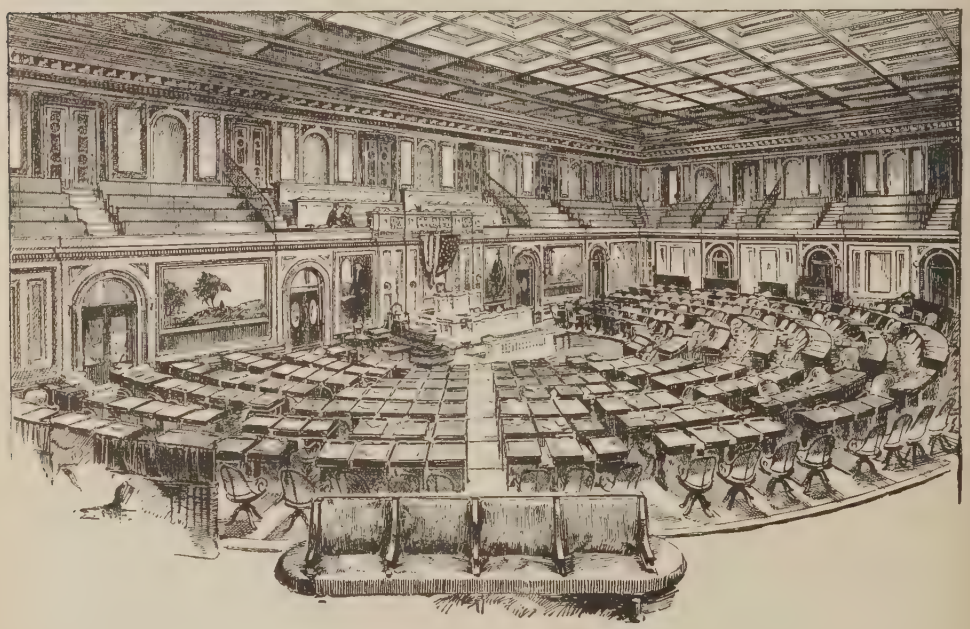
SENATE CHAMBER.

venting the attempt to make any one Congress permanent. All Congressmen are paid a salary, in order that poor men may have an equal chance with the rich. This salary is $5000 for both senators and representatives, except in the case of the Speaker and President of the Senate, who each of them receive $8000. No religious tests are allowed, and any man may belong to either house who is a citizen of the United States, who resides in the State which elects him, and who is of suitable age, twenty-five years in the House and thirty years in the Senate.

When the laws are made they must be carried out; and this is the busi-

ness of the Executive department of the Government, a co-equal branch with the Legislative department. The President is the chief executive officer of the nation, and as such is properly the chief personage and principal officer in the land. It is no mistake to style him the "chief ruler" of the United States, for, although the people are our only rulers, they do this ruling through and by means of the President and Congress, and thus depute him to rule over them for the time being. The President is only in a limited sense the agent of the people, but he is their chosen, although temporary, ruler, who is to carry out their laws.

The President and Vice-President are chosen once in four years and elected

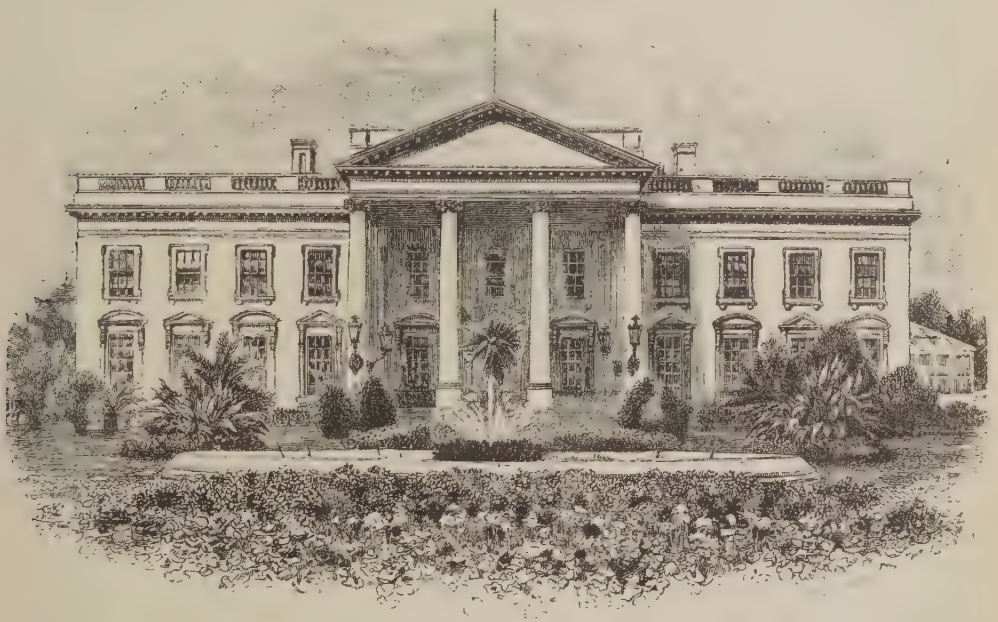


HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

by the people, who vote by States and not directly as a nation. The citizens of each State vote for a body of men called electors, equal in number to their Congressmen, who in turn choose the President a few weeks later. As a matter of fact, their choice is always known beforehand, as they are elected on the distinct understanding of their preference. Although the method is somewhat clumsy, the principle is most necessary. In all our affairs, so far as possible, we must continue to act by States. It is only thus that our federal system can be preserved, and in that lies our safety and success.

The qualifications for President are that he shall be a native-born American, who has resided in the country for fourteen years, and who is thirty-five

years old. He is inaugurated with much pomp and ceremony on the fourth of March, every four years, and resides at the Executive Mansion, or White House, in Washington, during his term of office. He is paid a salary of $50,000, that he may keep up a suitable state and dignity as our chief ruler. If he is guilty of treason, or other "high crimes and misdemeanors," of such importance that his continuance in office is dangerous to our liberties, he may be impeached by the House of Representatives, tried by the Senate, and, if found guilty, deposed, in which case his office would fall to the Vice-President. An effort was made to impeach President Johnson in 1866, but there being no adequate ground for such action, he was acquitted.



THE WHITE HOUSE—MAIN ENTRANCE.

The duties of the Executive department are mostly connected with the administration of the laws. The President is Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, and he also represents the nation in matters connected with foreign governments. To that end he sends out foreign ministers to other governments, and consuls, to conduct our business affairs in foreign ports. A large body of foreign ministers sent from other countries for a similar purpose reside at Washington, and throughout our cities are scattered foreign consuls for the transaction of commercial business.

The President is assisted in his duties by a body of advisers, known as the

Cabinet. This consists of eight officers of great importance, of his own selection and appointment, each of whom has control of affairs of the Government in his particular department. The Secretary of State conducts our foreign relations; the Secretary of the Treasury our financial affairs; the Secretary of War is over our armies; the Attorney General is the law officer of the Government; the Postmaster General superintends the postal service; the Secretary of the Navy commands our navy; the Secretary of the Interior is concerned with patents, the Indians, the public lands, and many other important matters; and the Secretary of Agriculture promotes the farming interests of the country. Each of these Secretaries has his office in Washington, where he attends to the enormous business of his department. Under him are an immense number of officers and clerks, all appointed either by the President or the head of the department, to carry on the business of Government. Each department is divided into bureaus, and much of the work is of the highest value and importance.

In case of the death or inability of the President, the duties of his office devolve upon the Vice-President, and after him would fall to the Cabinet successively, in the order already named. But should any member of the Cabinet be obliged to take this office, he would fill it only until a new election could be held.

We have had a long and remarkable list of Presidents, beginning with George Washington himself. There have been in all twenty-three different Presidents, by a curious coincidence covering twenty-four terms, and distributed among various political parties. Many of them were men of extraordinary ability. They have been strangely representative, some, like Washington and the Adamses being men of the aristocratic class, while others, like Jackson, and Lincoln, and Garfield, were proud of their origin from among the poorest of the people. Twice the descendant of a President has filled that high place—John Quincy Adams being the son of John Adams, and Benjamin Harrison the grandson of Wm. Henry Harrison. Two Presidents have brought beautiful and charming brides to the White House during their term of office—President Tyler, who married Miss Julia Gardner, and President Cleveland, who married Miss Frances Folsom. Many times the people have delighted to honor the heroes of our wars. As one epoch after another passed in our history the laurels of war were placed upon the heads of Washington, of Andrew Jackson, of Wm. Henry Harrison, of Taylor, of Grant, and Hayes, and Garfield, and the second Harrison. Many different States have claimed the honor of the Presidency, but we have never yet had an Executive from the great Western States. Several Presidents have been re-elected, but by an unwritten law no man ever serves but two terms. Four have died in office, two of them, Lincoln and Garfield, having been assassinated. There have been many great men and many wise men in this office, but among them all there are three who stand out beyond their fellows,

creators of history—George Washington, who founded the Republic; Abraham Lincoln, the greatest of all our great men in any time, and Ulysses S. Grant, the chief among our generals.

An elaborate system of courts make up our national judiciary, and secure to the citizens protection and justice. In some respects the most extraordinary feature of our Government is the Supreme Court, which is unique in its power and importance. It is the business of this tribunal to construe the laws, to decide whether they agree with the Constitution, to settle any question as to

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTE.

whether the Constitution has been violated in deed, to decide upon suits between the States and the nation, and to determine legal questions between this and other countries. It is co-ordinate with Congress and the Executive, and yet the highest power in the land, for both bow to its decisions. Law and justice are preserved in its keeping, lest either of the other two great branches of the Government usurp the power, or transcend the Constitution. Any law the constitutionality of which is questioned, may be brought before this court, and its decision is final, confirming it against all opposition, or making it null

and void, and thus of no effect whatever. This court consists of nine judges, or justices as they are called, appointed for life or good behavior, by the President, and confirmed by the Senate. They are paid $10,000 a year, with a pension after they become too old for longer service. The head of the court, or the Chief Justice, administers the oath to the President on his inauguration, and many times stands next him in rank and position. Certainly no nobler illustration of the might and majesty of law can be given than this court, adjusting the affairs of the nation itself, to which President and people alike bow, in token that righteousness and justice are greater than power.

No account of our Government would be in any sense complete, nor indeed would it be intelligible, that did not take into account our Federal system. The whole country is divided into States, and each State is a separate and distinct government, having control of its local affairs, and responsible to its own people. In all those larger affairs which concern the whole country, it joins with its fellows in the general Government, but the power of this general Government comes from the States. The States are not given more or less power *by* the United States, but the States give more or less power *to* the United States and reserve the other rights to themselves. The United States, however, has supreme control over all matters relating to the nation, and will not allow any State to infringe upon the rights or jeopardize the safety of any other. For that reason it will not permit any State or States to secede, because the coöperation of them all is necessary to the safety of the Union. We are States united into a nation, but we are a nation, one and indissoluble.

The history of the country makes plain these relations. Thirteen colonies, settled by different peoples of different origins and for widely different reasons, joined each other for the sake of common safety and national prosperity. Practical necessity and political wisdom alike dictated that local affairs should continue under the control of each colony or State, while matters of general interest were decided by the whole acting together. To this end each colony gave up to the nation its general rights but reserved the power over its internal affairs. It is this federal system which makes it possible for a democratic government to rule such an immense country, and it is only this. Therefore, while we are careful to retain the supreme control to the general Government, we must more and more relegate sectional concerns, however large and important, to the States ; and we must guard against the centralizing of our affairs in the hands of the national Government, however much to our temporary advantage it may be. In the nature of the case we cannot govern territory of such enormous extent, with so various a population and such varying interest, by democratic methods unless we keep strictly to the federal idea. It is our only safety.

Each State has a Governor, Legislature, and Supreme Court of its own ;

the Governor, Legislature, and, in some States, the Supreme Court, being elected by its own people. Different States require different qualifications in their voters; in some a man must be able to read and write; in some be possessed of certain property; in one there is no distinction between men and women; and various other requirements are found in the different States. Whatever makes a man a voter in his own State allows him to vote in that State in national elections also.

The term of office of State officers varies greatly, some States holding their Legislatures annually, and some biennially; some Governors being elected for one year and some for longer terms. In all these, its own affairs, the State is supreme. Each has its own courts, under its Supreme Court, for the furtherance of justice. Local affairs also are very variously administered, by townships, counties, parishes, and other subdivisions, many of them very ancient, and in like manner cities are governed in different ways. All this diversity in unity serves to make one homogeneous nation of this heterogeneous multitude of sixty million people.

The original thirteen States, little as they dreamed of the great territory over which the flag of the United States floats so proudly to-day, had no narrow idea of a nation, and provided for its expansion even better than they knew. The common land belonging to the nation, and as yet largely unsettled, is held by the common Government, in Territories. These are governed by officers appointed by the President, and are subject to United States laws only. Their own Legislatures arrange their local affairs, and each sends a delegate to Congress to look after its interests, but the law does not allow him to vote. As soon as any Territory contains a population large enough, Congress admits it to the Union as a State, with all the rights and privileges of its older sisters, the President proclaims that fact to the world, and a new commonwealth is added to the sisterhood, marked by the new star in the flag we honor. Thus one after another we have already seen thirty-one new States added to that little band of thirteen, some of them great and rich realms many times as large as the whole nation at its beginning.

The United States is indeed a land of the free, and its great written charter, the Constitution, itself protects the freedom of her citizens. The right to worship God as he will, the right to assemble when and where he will, freedom of speech and press, and of petition, the right to keep and bear arms—all these great gifts the United States gives to every person in all her broad borders. Nor is this enough; she preserves his house inviolate from search and seizure, and everywhere in all his relations throws the shield of the law over his person and possessions. If indeed he be accused of crime, she makes certain that he shall have justice, for by the right to a trial by jury and by many other careful provisions she protects both his person and property, and in the last and greatest articles

of her great Magna Charta—articles for which she spent blood and treasure beyond the telling—she forbids all slavery within all her borders, and guarantees to every citizen his right to vote without regard to "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." For this is the duty which the United States asks of every man-child within her borders, to help her govern herself. This is his proud privilege—to choose her officers, to control her policy, to sustain her laws, and through his representatives to make them; to develop the Nation, and govern her. This is what it is to vote in the United States of America.

BAILEY'S DAM ON THE RED RIVER.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

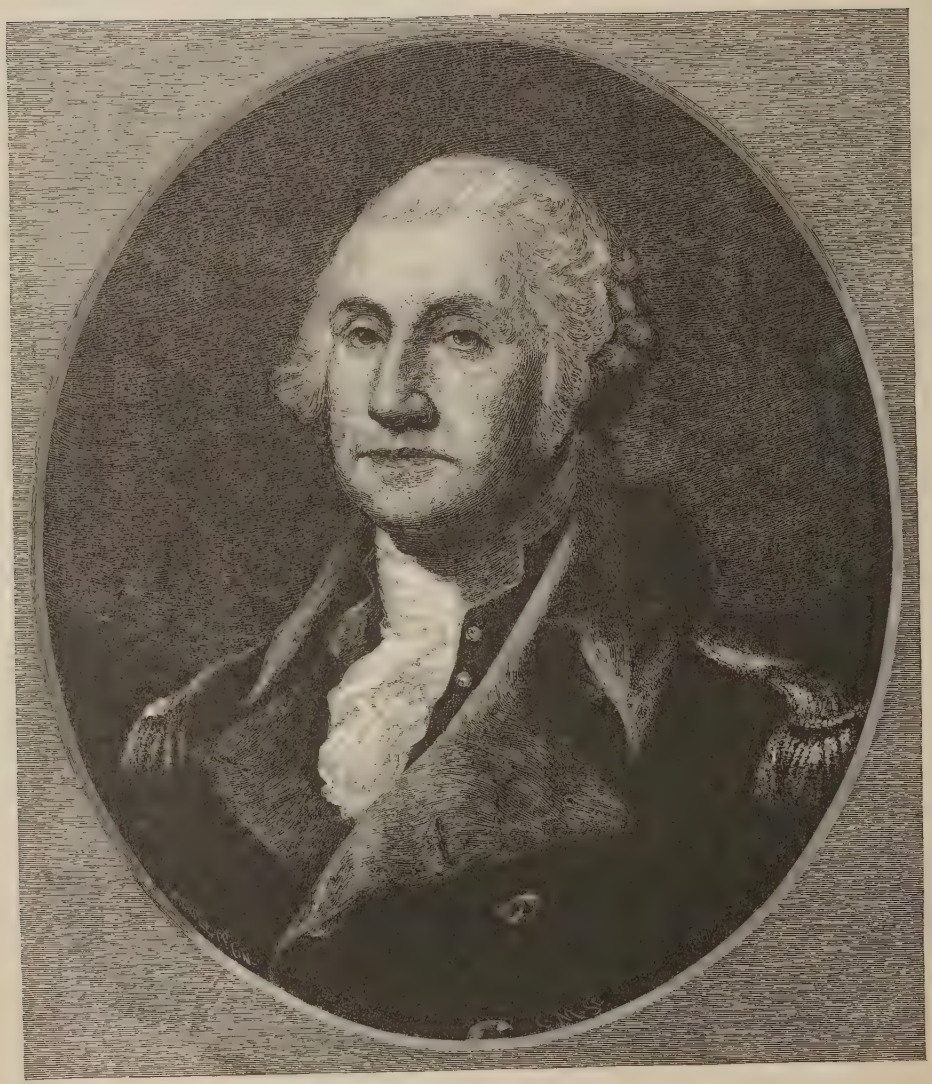
OUR PRESIDENTS.

HEN the office of President was to be filled for the first time, grave problems were to be solved. The hardship and suffering of the struggle for independence were yet present in the minds of all men; the weakness and failure of the Government instituted by the Articles of Confederation had compelled an attempt "to form a more perfect Union;" the eyes of the civilized world were upon the struggling people, and to men who had not an abiding faith in the principles for which the battles of the Revolution had been fought, it seemed that the experiment of popular Government was to end in early, complete, and appropriate catastrophe.

In such circumstances it was well that the public needs were so great and so immediate as to make men willing to forget their differences and consider measures for the common good; and particularly was it well for the future of our country, that there was one man upon whom all could agree as uniting the wisdom, the moderation, the experience, the dignity necessary to the first President of the United States.

George Washington was the only man ever unanimously elected President. Of his personal history and of his character, enough has been said in another place. He undertook the duties of the Chief Magistracy with a deep sense of their importance, and their difficulty, but with the courage and devotion which characterized all his conduct. He selected for his Cabinet men of widely different political views, but men whose names were not new to Americans, men whose past services justified the belief that they would find means of leading the country out of its present difficulties, and of setting the affairs of the Government on a sure foundation. Jefferson, Hamilton, Knox and Randolph, might well be trusted to concert wise measures.

Washington's second election was, like the first, without opposition, and for four years more he continued to guide the affairs of State. A national bank had been established early in his first term, and also the Philadelphia Mint, and the currency of the country was now on a fairly satisfactory basis; a census had



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GEORGE WASHINGTON.
1732–1799.
Two Terms, 1789–1797.

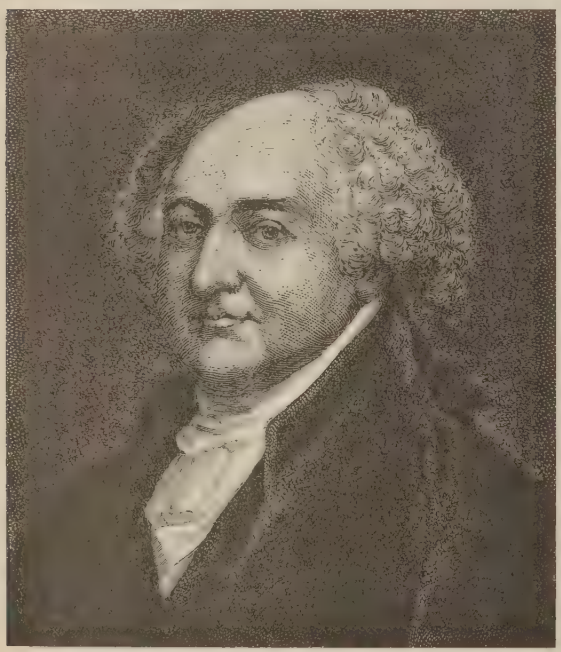
been taken in 1790 and showed that the country had already begun to grow in population, and the outlook was much more favorable than four years earlier.

Upon the announcement of Washington's retirement, the two parties, which had been gradually developing an organization, prepared to contest the election of the second President. The Federalists, who advocated a strong central Government, favored John Adams, and the Republicans, who "claimed to be the friends of liberty and the rights of man, the advocates of economy, and of the rights of the States," desired the election of Thomas Jefferson. The Federalists were in a slight majority, and Mr. Adams was elected. He was a native of Massachusetts, and had borne a leading part in the struggle for independence and the development of the Government. He was one of the leaders in Massachusetts in resisting the oppressive measures which brought on the Revolution; he seconded the resolution for the Declaration of Independence, and assisted in framing that remarkable document; with Franklin and Jay, he negotiated the treaty which established our independence; he had represented his country as Minister to France, and to Holland, and was the first United States Minister to England; he had been Vice President during Washington's two administrations, and was now to assume office as the second President.

His Presidency opened with every prospect of war with the French. That nation had taken offense because we preserved an attitude of neutrality in their contest with Great Britian. They actually began war by capturing our merchant ships, and the French Directory refused to receive the new United States Minister, while three commissioners, who were sent to make one more effort for peace, were insulted. Under the influence of the war spirit thus excited, the Federalists in Congress passed two acts, known as the Alien and Sedition Laws, which resulted in the downfall of their party. The former gave the President authority to order out of the country any alien whom he considered dangerous to its welfare, and the latter was intended to suppress conspiracies and malicious abuse of the government. They excited great opposition and were almost immediately repealed. The war had already been terminated on the accession of Napoleon Bonaparte to power in France.

Mr. Adams failed of re-election, largely because of the division of sentiment in regard to the French war. His great patriotism, high moral courage, and his ability as a statesman, were somewhat marred by a strange lack of tact, and a stupendous vanity, which sometimes made him ridiculous, but his countrymen could well afford to forget such minor faults, and remember only his manifold services in their common cause. He was succeeded by a man no less great. Thomas Jefferson was the son of a Virginia planter, received his education at William and Mary College, studied law and engaged in its practice. He resolved, on entering public life, never to engage, while in public office, in any kind of

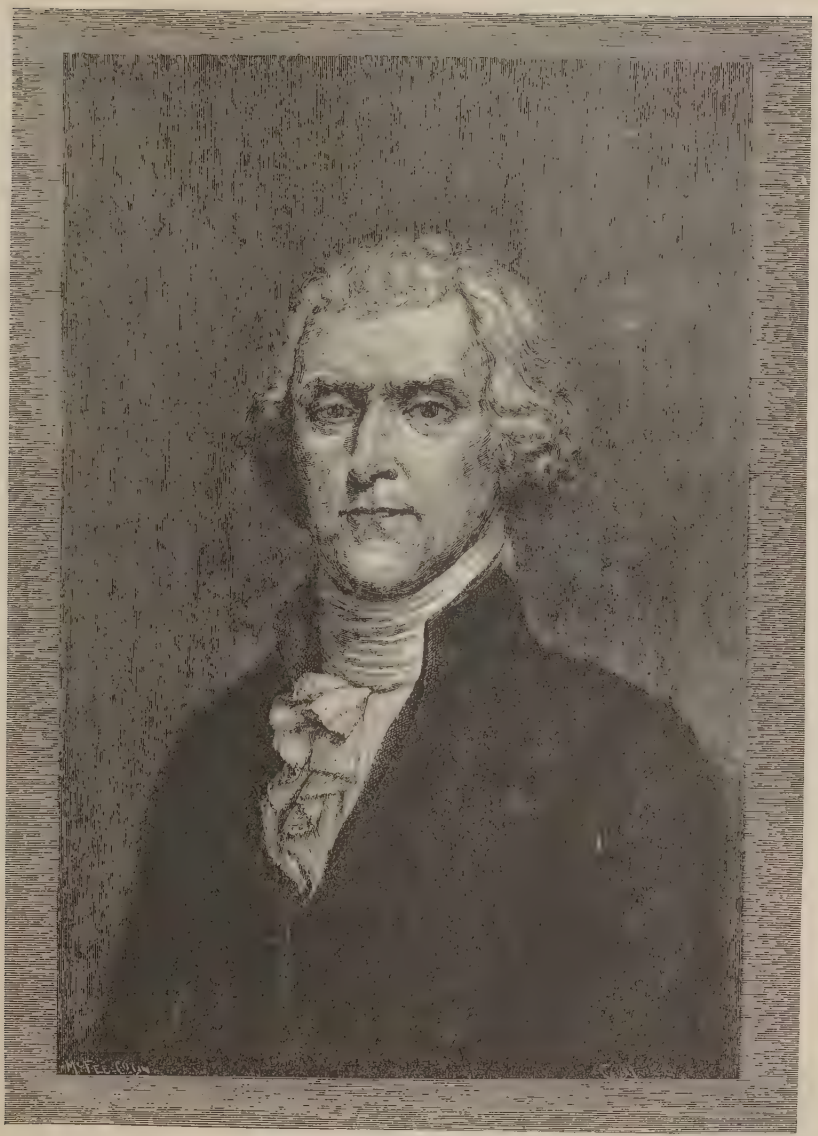
enterprise for the improvement of his fortune, nor to wear any other character than that of a farmer. When he came to the Presidency his country already owed him much. As a member of the Continental Congress he wrote the draft of the Declaration of Independence; returning to Virginia, he inaugurated a reformed system of laws in that State, and becoming its Governor rendered invaluable aid to the armies during the closing years of the Revolution; he shared with Gouverneur Morris the credit of devising our decimal system of money; he succeeded Franklin as Minister to France, and on his return from that post, was informed that Washington had chosen him for the first Secretary of State.



JOHN ADAMS.
1735–1826.
One Term, 1797–1801.

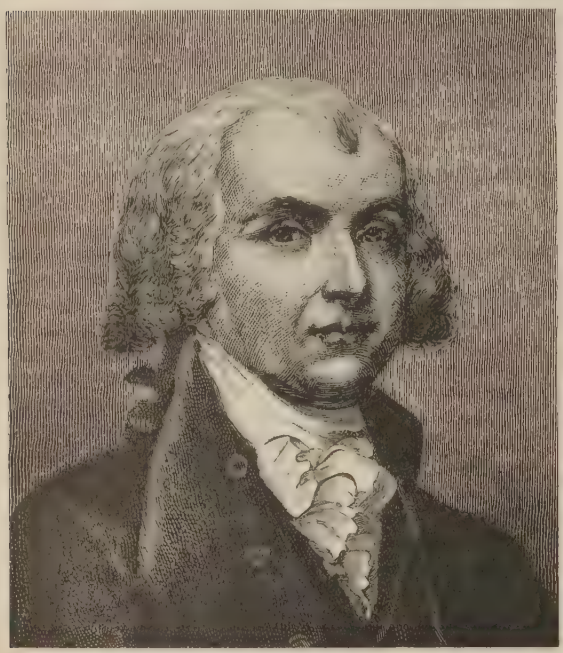
He wished to decline further public service, but "It is not for an individual," said he to the President, "to choose his post; you are to marshal us as may be best for the public good." A difference of three electoral votes made Adams President and Jefferson Vice President, but in 1800, a political revolution reversed the majority and made him the third President. Although a leader of a party, he exerted himself to allay partisan rancor, and he resolutely refused to make official positions for his political friends, by removing from office men whose only offense was a difference of political opinion.

Jefferson was re-elected by a largely increased majority. During his administration, the territory of Louisiana was purchased from France; the famous expedition of Lewis and Clarke set out to explore this new domain; the importation of slaves was forbidden; the pirates of Tripoli and Algiers were suppressed; the first steamboat began to navigate the Hudson, and the growing troubles with Great Britain and France caused the enactment of laws called the Embargo and Non-intercourse Acts, intended, by cutting off our commerce with those countries, to compel them to respect our neutrality. These two measures resulted in little but failure, as they caused great distress at home, and were repealed before they could have much effect abroad.



THOMAS JEFFERSON. 629
1743–1826.
Two Terms, 1801–1809.

When James Madison came to be the fourth President, he found the difficulties with England and France still unsettled. These countries being ancient enemies, and being almost continually at war, it was almost impossible to be on friendly terms with one without making an enemy of the other; neither would respect our rights as a neutral nation; each was in the habit of seizing and selling our ships and cargoes bound for the ports of the other, and England, in addition, assumed the right to search our vessels, examine their crews, and compel to enter her service any sailor who had been an English subject. These troubles were not new. Jay's treaty, in 1795, had vainly attempted to adjust a part of them, and as our country grew in strength it gradually became impossible for the people longer to submit.



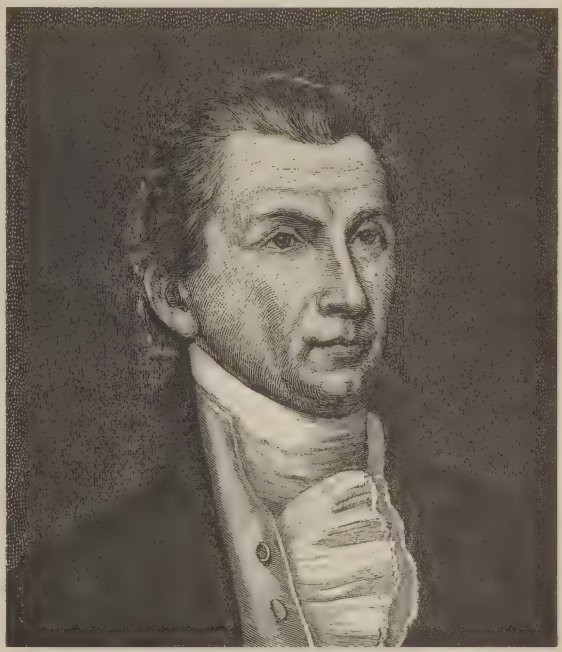
JAMES MADISON.
1751–1836.
Two Terms, 1809–1817.

The War of 1812, the "Second War for Independence," has been treated in another chapter. It occupied most of Madison's administration, and though not vigorously conducted, it demonstrated the military and naval resources of the country and caused the American flag to be respected all over the world; and by cutting off the supply of foreign goods it compelled the starting of cotton and woollen mills in this country, and this resulted in the building up of home manufactures.

The presidency of Mr. Madison is not the portion of his career upon which his fame rests; his best services to his country were in his work as a constructive statesman. In the shaping of the Constitution and in securing its adoption he shared with Hamilton the chief honors. He was, doubtless, happy when, at the close of his second administration, he could retire to his Virginia estate and spend the remaining twenty years of his life in scholarly ease.

Madison was succeeded by another Virginian, a gallant soldier of the Revolution, who had laid down his books at William and Mary College to complete his education in the Continental army. James Monroe was eighteen years old when he took part in the battle of Trenton, and his record justified the confi-

dence with which his countrymen universally regarded him. In his inaugural address he took as a symbol of the enduring character of the Union, the foundation of the Capitol, near which he stood to deliver the address, and which had survived the ruins of the beautiful building recently burnt by the British. So popular was President Monroe, and so wisely did he administer the affairs of State that on his re-election there was no opposing candidate, and he lacked but one of a unanimous vote in the electoral college. This vote was cast for John Quincy Adams, simply in order "that no later mortal should stand in Washington's shoes" in being unanimously elected. Monroe's two terms comprise an eventful period in our history; the Government pensioned its Revolutionary soldiers and their widows, spending in all sixty-five million dollars in this noble work; Florida was purchased from Spain; the National Road was begun at Cumberland, Md., finally to extend as far as Illinois, and to be of inestimable service in the opening and development of the West; but the subject which took the deepest hold upon the minds of the people was that of the extension of slavery. Following the "Era of Good Feeling" ushered in by Monroe's administration, came a serious division in public feeling as to whether slavery should be permitted in the northern part of the territory west of the Mississippi. The question arose so suddenly and was so fiercely debated that Jefferson declared that it terrified him, "like a fire-bell in the night," and he feared serious trouble between the States, the actual outbreak of which was postponed, by a series of compromises, for a period of forty years. Henry Clay's Missouri Compromise quieted the quarrel for some twenty-five years.

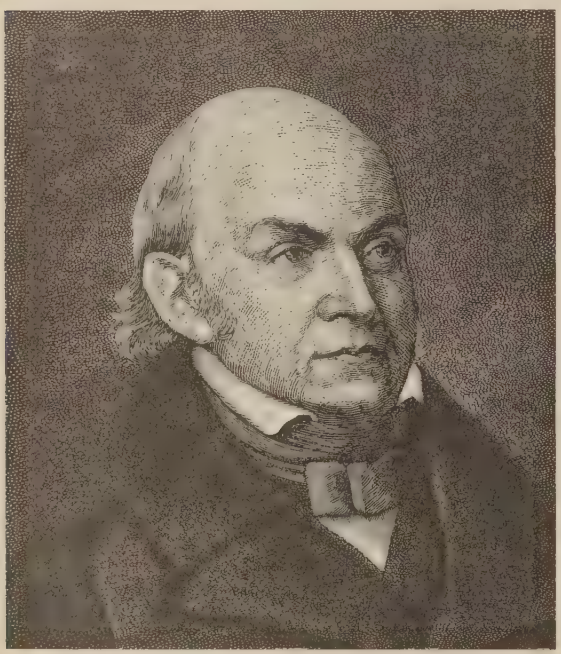


JAMES MONROE.
1758–1831.
Two Terms, 1817–1825.

President Monroe is perhaps most widely renowned as the author of the "Monroe Doctrine"—that no European nation has a right to interfere with the affairs of any American State—a doctrine to which our Government has steadily

adhered. It is interesting to note that the man who had served his country so well in the high position of its Chief Magistrate was willing, after the close of his second term, to accept so humble a post as that of Justice of the Peace, and so continue a public servant; but it is sad to relate that Mr. Monroe's great generosity and public spirit left him, in his old age, embarrassed by debt, and necessitated the giving up of his residence at Oak Hill, in Virginia, to end his days in the home of a son-in-law, in New York.

The "Era of Good Feeling" had left no organized national parties in politics, and there were four candidates voted for to succeed Monroe. This resulted in there being no majority in the electoral college, and the final choice was therefore made by the House of Representatives, John Quincy Adams thus becoming the sixth President. He was, perhaps, as well equipped for the position, at least in breadth of information, knowledge of state-craft, and experience in political affairs, as any man who has ever filled it. At the age of fifteen he was secretary to the Minister to Russia; after graduating at Harvard, and practicing law for a few years, he became United States Minister at the Hague, and afterwards at Berlin, St. Petersburg and London; he had represented Massachusettes in the National Senate, and during the Presidency of Mr. Monroe he had been Secretary of State. His administration was not marked by any measure of national importance, but is notable as the era in which a number of projects for the promotion of commercial intercourse met with the success they deserved.



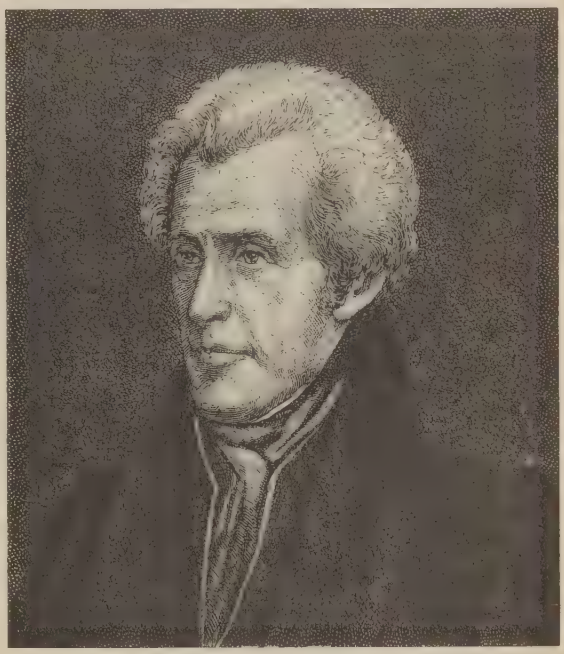
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.
1767–1848.
One Term, 1825–1829.

We have already mentioned the National Road. It was no more important than the Erie Canal, "Clinton's Big Ditch," as it was derisively called, which was opened in 1825; and the experiments with "steam wagons" resulted, in 1828, in the opening of a line of railroad which now forms part of the Baltimore & Ohio system. The first spadeful of earth was turned by the venerable Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, the only survivor of the signers of the

Declaration of Independence, who remarked in so doing, that he considered this among the most important acts of his life, "second only to that of signing the Declaration of Independence, if second to that."

It is also to be noted that this era marks the beginning of that social movement, which in less than seventy years has resulted in so marked a change in the views of Americans regarding the use of intoxicants.

Andrew Jackson, the seventh President, was the first who was not a citizen either of Massachusetts or Virginia. He was also the first who was not already known to his countrymen as a distinguished statesman. He was exceedingly popular, however, owing to his military services and to his energetic, honest and fearless, though headstrong, character. He had led a strange and eventful life. In his boyhood he had known all the hardships and privations of absolute poverty; at the age of fourteen he was a prisoner of war, and nearly starved by his British captors. He studied law and emigrated from North Carolina to Tennessee. After that territory became a State he represented it in Congress, and for a short time in the Senate. He was continually involved in quarrels, fought several duels and made many bitter enemies as well as many warm friends. His success in leading the Tennessee militia against the Indians gained for him the reputation which caused his appointment to command in the Southwest near the close of the war of 1812, and his brilliant defence of New Orleans gave "Old Hickory" a place in the hearts of his countrymen which resulted in their electing him to succeed John Quincy Adams as President, and his ability and integrity were so manifest that he was re-elected in 1832 by the electoral votes of all the States except seven.

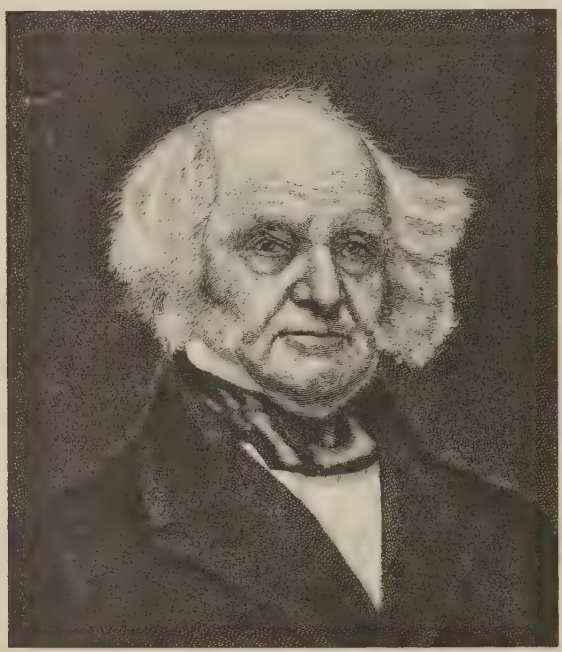


ANDREW JACKSON.
1767–1845.
Two Terms, 1829–1837

No period of our history is more interesting than the eight years of Jackson's administration. He was the first President to dismiss large numbers of officials in order to replace them by his own partisans. The anti-slavery

movement took definite shape during this time, and William Lloyd Garrison began the publication of the famous *Liberator*, and American literature had its beginnings.

At this time came the first serious danger of a rupture between the States. It grew out of the tariff legislation, which South Carolina, under the lead of John C. Calhoun, undertook to nullify. The payment of the duties was refused, but the President sent General Scott to Charleston to enforce the law, and under the advice of Henry Clay a new and more satisfactory tariff was adopted. This difficulty and Jackson's determined opposition to the United States Bank, his fight against it, resulting in its destruction, are the events of this administration which produced the most marked and lasting effect upon our national history. After the close of his second term he lived in retirement at his home, the famous "Hermitage," near Nashville, until his death, eight years later.



MARTIN VAN BUREN.
1782–1862.
One Term, 1837–1841.

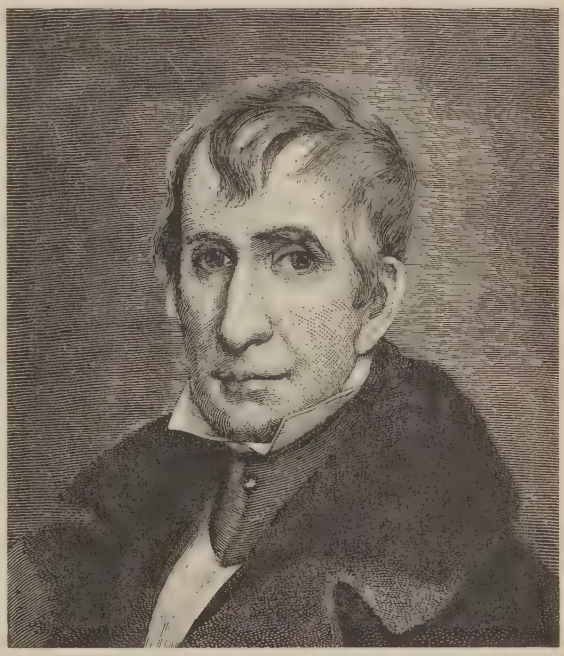
Martin Van Buren had hardly entered upon the duties of the presidency when the great panic of 1837 occurred. It resulted from a variety of causes, among which may be mentioned the great number of worthless banks which sprang up after the discontinuance of the United States Bank; the prevalence of wild speculation, particularly in land, and the action of the Government in demanding that the banks should repay its deposits in coin. One good effect of this great public calamity was the establishment of a Treasury of the United States, independent of any bank or system of banks.

It was during this administration that the Mormons formed their settlement in Nauvoo, Illinois, and in 1840 a regular line of steamships was established between Liverpool and Boston.

Mr. Van Buren was a native of New York, had served his State in various offces of trust, including that of Governor, had been its Representative in the United States Senate, had been Minister to England, Secretary of State during

most of Jackson's first administration, and Vice-President during his second. He continued, for several years after the close of his terms as President, to take an active part in politics, and in 1848 he was the candidate of the anti-slavery Democrats, or "Free Democracy," for President, after which he took no part in public affairs, though he lived at his native place, in Columbia County, New York, until nearly the middle of the war of the Rebellion.

For forty years the Democrats had retained control of the national government, but the administration of Van Buren had not been popular, and the change in public sentiment was so great that in the election of 1840 he was defeated by General William Henry Harrison, who had been the unsuccessful candidate four years before. The political campaign was the most exciting that had yet occurred; the enthusiasm for the Whig candidate was very great, and the "Log-cabin and Hard Cider" campaign will be long remembered.

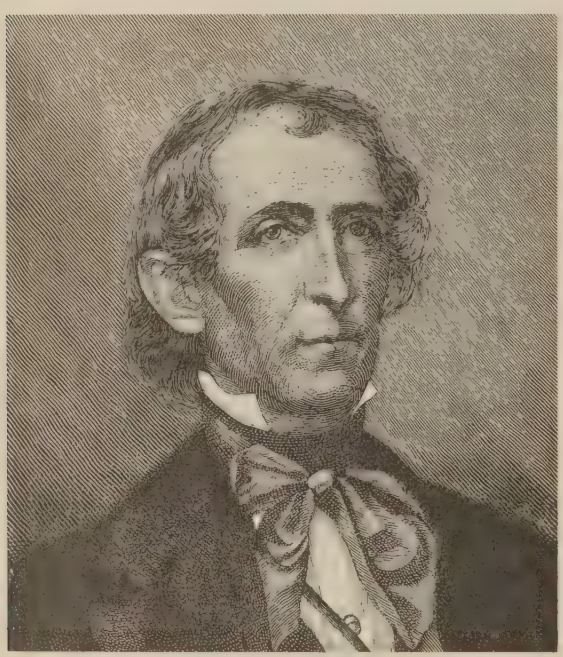


WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.
1773–1841.
One Month, 1841.

The character of the successful candidate justified high expectations of his administration. Left at an early age to depend upon himself, he had entered the army and won distinction under General Wayne, in the Indian wars; he had been long identified with the development of what is now Indiana and Ohio; had represented Ohio in the United States Senate, and filled several other offices of more or less note, and was living, when elected, on his farm, not far from Cincinnati. He made a judicious selection of Cabinet officers, but within a month after his inauguration, and before any definite line of policy had been established, he died, after a very brief illness, probably caused by the fatigue and excitement of his inauguration.

John Tyler was the first Vice President of the United States to become President. He had been made the Whig candidate largely from motives of policy, as he had been an active Democrat, and as a member of that party had been elected Governor of Virginia, and had represented that State in the

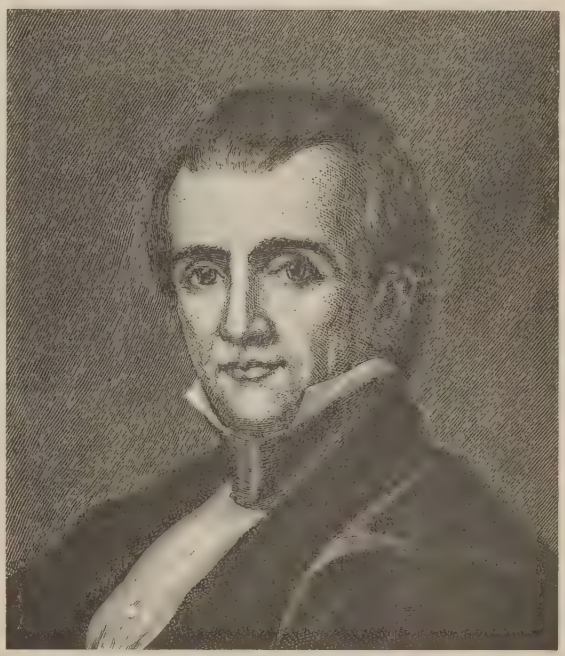
United States Senate. He had, however, been opposed to both Jackson and Van Buren, and had for some time been acting with the Whigs. He soon quarreled, however, with the Whig Congress, the subject of contention being the proposed revival of the United States Bank. This quarrel continued throughout the Presidential term, to the great hindrance of public business. Two events which marked a new era, the one in our methods of communication, the other in the relief of human suffering, took place during this time; they were the invention of the electric telegraph, and the use of ether in surgery. The events of greatest political importance were the settlement, by the Ashburton treaty, of a troublesome dispute with Great Britain, concerning the northeastern boundary of the United States, and just at the close of Tyler's administration, the annexation of Texas. The latter was a step which had for some time been under discussion, it being advocated by the South as a pro-slavery measure, and opposed by the anti-slavery party. Texas had made itself independent of Mexico, and asked to be annexed to the United States, a request which was thus finally granted. Mr. Tyler returned to private life at the close of his Presidential term, and took little part in public affairs until the breaking out of the Civil War. At the time of his death he was a member of the Confederate Congress.



JOHN TYLER.
1790–1862.
One Partial Term, 1841–1845.

The Democrats were again successful in 1844, and on March 4th, 1845, James K. Polk became the eleventh President. He was a native of North Carolina, but in boyhood had removed with his father to Tennessee. He was well educated, and was unusually successful in his profession of the law. He was for fourteen years a member of Congress and was Speaker of the House for five consecutive sessions. On his declining a re-election to Congress he was made Governor of Tennessee, and as a candidate for the Presidency in 1844 was successful in uniting the warring factions of the Democrats. He came to the Presidency at a critical time. The annexation of Texas had

involved the country in difficulties with Mexico, and the question of the northern boundary west of the Rocky Mountains threatened to interrupt the cordial relations between the United States and England. The latter question was settled by accepting the parallel of forty-nine degrees of north latitude, thus making the boundary continuous with that east of the mountains, but the trouble with Mexico culminated in war, which resulted, in less than two years, in the complete conquest of that country. California and New Mexico were ceded to the United States on the payment of fifteen millions of dollars and the assumption of certain debts of Mexico. It was just at this time that gold was discovered in California, and the wonderful emigration to that territory began. Mr. Polk survived his Presidential term only some three months.



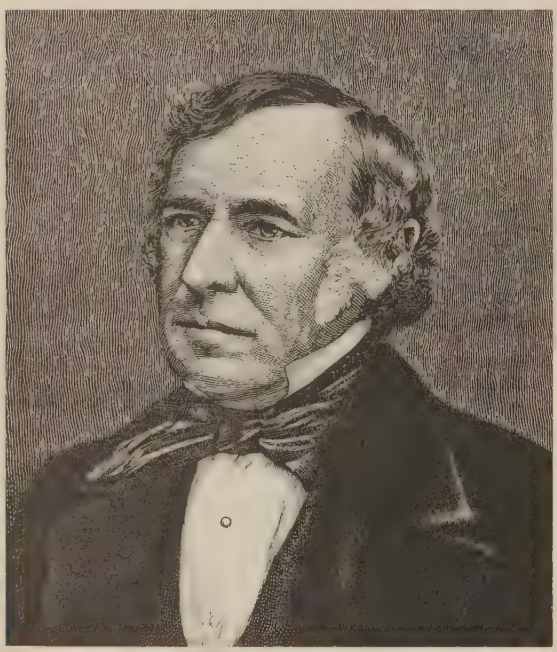
JAMES KNOX POLK.
1795–1849.
One Term, 1845–1849.

The pendulum of popular favor had again swung over to the side of the Whigs, and their candidate was elected the twelfth President. General Zachary Taylor had grown up amid the privation and difficulties of frontier life in Kentucky. By the influence of Madison, the then Secretary of State, who was a relative of the family, he received an appointment as lieutenant in the United States army, and served with great distinction in the Indian wars which then harassed our frontiers. At the time of the annexation of Texas he was in command of the army in the Southwest, with the rank of Brigadier-General. His management of affairs during the time which preceded the Mexican War was marked by great discretion, and his brilliant conduct of the opening campaign brought him great popularity and led to his nomination for the Presidency by the Whigs, to the great chagrin of some of the leaders of the party, who saw in his success the disappointment of their own ambition, and who distrusted a candidate who had no experience in legislative or executive affairs. This distrust, however, has not been shared by the majority of the people, either in the case of General Taylor, or of other Presidential

candidates of purely military renown, and such a candidate has usually been sure of success.

The question of the extension of slavery was again being fiercely agitated, and seemed once more likely to disrupt the country. General Taylor lived only some sixteen months after his inauguration, dying before the heat of the debate in Congress had abated.

The Vice-President who by the death of General Taylor came to be the Chief Magistrate of the country, was Millard Fillmore, of New York. He was an admirable type of the American citizen, owing this high position to his own attainments, and to his own unaided exertions. He received no pecuniary assistance after his fourteenth year, except a small loan, which he punctually repaid. With exceedingly little previous education, he began, at the age of nineteen, the study of law, which he prosecuted under the most adverse circumstances, but so successfully as to place him in the front rank of the lawyers of the State of New York. He was for several terms a member of the lower house of Congress, where he distinguished himself as a wise, prudent, honest legislator. He was Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means which framed the tariff of 1842, and although he claimed no originality for the principles on which it was based, he is justly entitled to be considered its author.

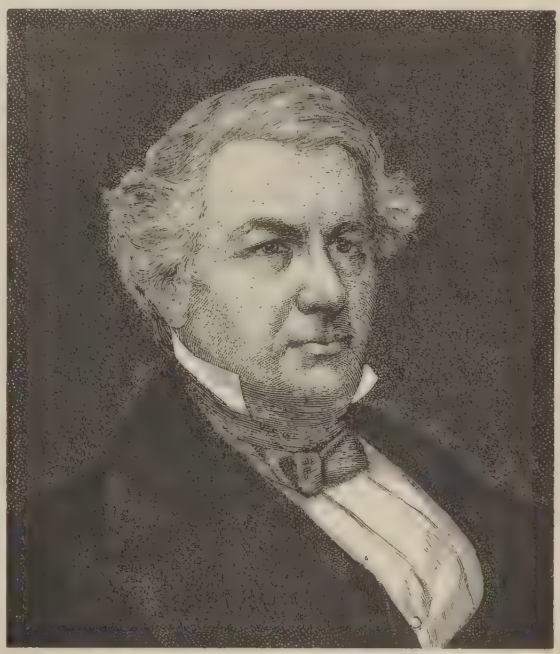


ZACHARY TAYLOR.
1784–1850.
One Partial Term, 1849–1850.

His Presidential term is chiefly remembered by the debate in Congress on the extension of slavery in the territory gained by the Mexican War, resulting in the adoption of the compromise measures proposed by Henry Clay, including the Fugitive Slave Law. This law, which gave the owners of runaway slaves the right to call on all citizens to assist in arresting and restoring them to their owners, was exceedingly unpopular in the North, and did much to prevent Mr. Fillmore's renomination, and to increase anti-slavery sentiment in the North.

Mrs. Stowe's famous story, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," was published in 1852, and had a great influence in hastening the impending conflict. At the close of his term Mr. Fillmore retired to Buffalo, where he resided until his death, in 1874.

Again the Whigs were retired from control of the national government and a Democratic President elected. Franklin Pierce had been a life-long resident of New Hampshire. He was a graduate of Bowdoin College, was widely known as an able and successful lawyer, and though his name is not especially connected with any great measure, he had represented his State in both Houses of Congress. He expressed in his inaugural address the belief that all questions concerning slavery should be considered settled by the compromise measures of 1850, and the hope that "no sectional or ambitious, or fanatical excitement might again threaten the durability of our institutions or obscure the light of our prosperity."

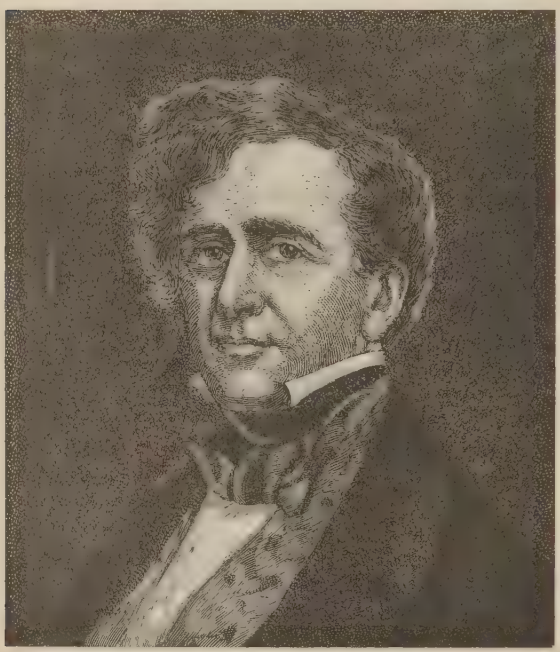


MILLARD FILLMORE.
1800–1874.
One Partial Term, 1850–1853

Among the notable events of his administration may be mentioned the international exhibition in the "Crystal Palace" in New York, in 1853, in which the pre-eminence of Americans in the invention of labor-saving machinery was manifested; the expedition of Commodore Perry to Japan, which resulted in opening to American commerce the ports of that interesting country, which no foreigners had previously been allowed to enter; and the adjustment of a dispute with Mexico concerning the western portion of the boundary between the two countries, resulting in the purchase by the United States of a considerable district, included in the present territories of Arizona and New Mexico. But the facts which chiefly characterize this administration concern the irrepressible conflict about slavery. The Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 repealed the Missouri Compromise, and made the question of slavery in all the Territories optional with the people of the Territories, as had been done by the Compromise of 1850, for the

territory acquired from Mexico. The passage of this law led to much ill-feeling and to great efforts by both Northern abolitionists and Southern slaveholders to encourage the emigration of their sympathizers to Kansas, in order to govern the decision in regard to slavery. The strife of these opposing parties became so serious as to result in much bloodshed, and from 1854 to 1859 that territory deserved the name of "Bleeding Kansas," and during much of that time it was in a state of civil war.

Mr. Pierce took no prominent part in public affairs after his retirement from the Presidency. The Whig party had now finally disappeared, and in the election of 1856 the Democrats were once more successful. James Buchanan was a Pennsylvania lawyer, a graduate of Dickinson College, and so prominent in his profession that his name appears in the "Pennsylvania Reports" between 1812 and 1831 more frequently than that of any other lawyer. He had served ten years in Congress, had represented his country as Minister to Russia and to England, and as Secretary of State under President Polk had been called upon to adjust questions of the gravest and most delicate character.



FRANKLIN PIERCE.
1804–1868.
One Term, 1853–1857

At the opening of his Administration the public strife was greatly allayed by the general confidence in the ability and the high patriotism of the President; but the announcement of the "Dred Scott Decision," which had been deferred so as not to give new cause for excitement during a Presidential campaign, stirred the nation to a degree before unknown. This decision declared the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional, and therefore void, that Congress had no right to forbid the carrying of slaves into any State or Territory, and opened all the Free States to at least a temporary establishment of slavery. This was the beginning of the end of the contest. The attempt of John Brown, a citizen of Kansas, with about twenty men, to liberate the slaves in Virginia, their seizure of the Government buildings at Harper's

Ferry, their capture, and the hanging of the leader, with six of his men, only hastened the final conflict.

A great business panic occurred in 1857, and the discovery of silver in Nevada and Colorado the following year; the no less important discovery of petroleum and natural gas in Pennsylvania occurred in 1859.

After the Presidential election of 1860 it became evident that the South would not quietly submit to the defeat which they had received, and South Carolina, followed by six other Southern States, adopted "ordinances of secession," assuming to dissolve their union with the other States, and declaring themselves free and independent nations. The President took no action to prevent secession, and most of the forts, arsenals, and other national property within these States were seized. Mr. Buchanan retired to private life at the close of his term as President.

JAMES BUCHANAN.
1791–1868.
One Term, 1857–1861.

Of all the men, since Washington, who have been Presidents of the United States, Abraham Lincoln holds the largest share in the affections of the people. His lowly origin, his early poverty and privation, the never-failing kindness with which throughout his life he met all classes of men, and the homely and genial wit which enlivened his discussion of grave matters of State as well as his casual and friendly conversation, gave him a place in the hearts of the common people not held by any other American, while his unequaled knowledge of men, his ability to cope with unforeseen difficulties, his lofty purpose and perfect honesty, together with his practical good sense, not only brought him the respect and esteem of all who came to know him, but place him among the greatest statesmen, not of America alone, but of all countries in all times.

Born and reared in the backwoods, with nothing in his surroundings to stimulate ambition, chopping wood and splitting rails, learning to read from the spelling-book and the Bible, sitting up half the night to read Pilgrim's Progress

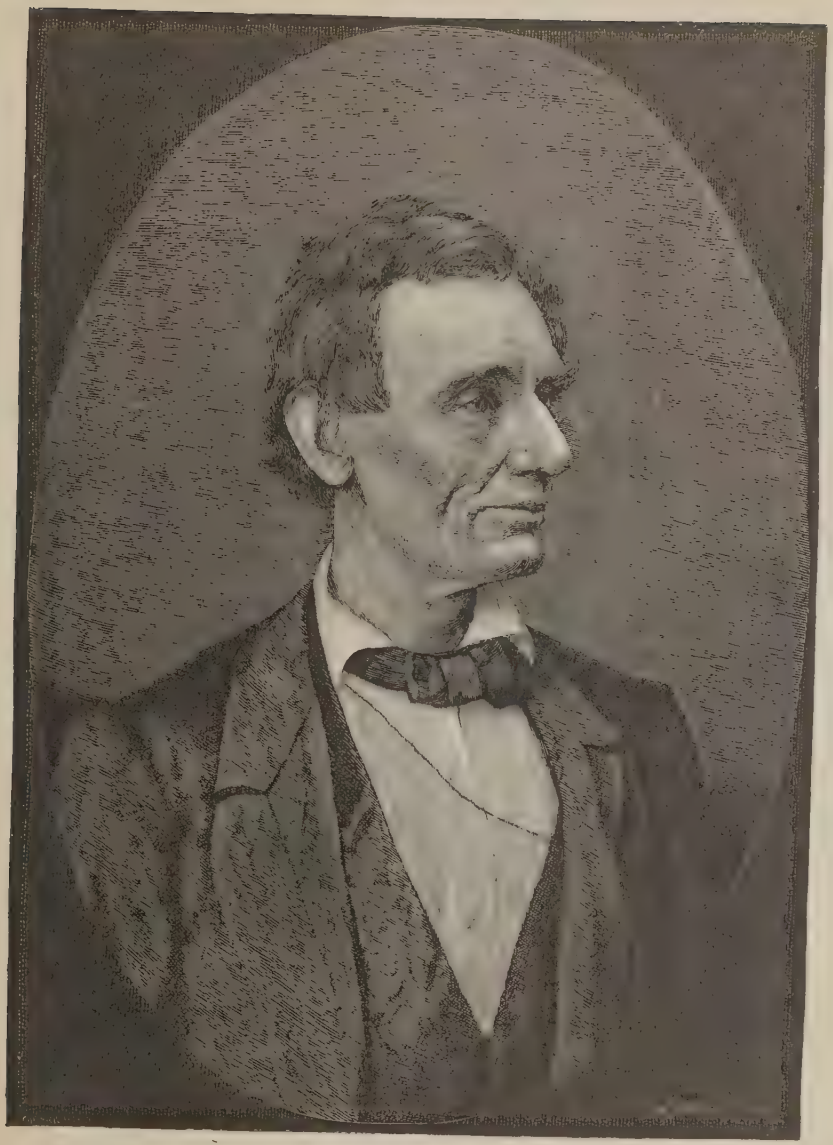
and Æsop's Fables "by the blaze of the logs his own axe had split," he came to manhood with little education, but with perfect health and gigantic strength. At the age of twenty-five he took up the study of law, and early began to take part in the local political movements. He had represented his district in Congress, but at the time of his nomination for President had little reputation outside of Illinois.

He came to the Presidency amid a multitude of adverse circumstances. With seven States already seceded, the border States apparently ready to follow, with the capital surrounded by a hostile population, and without the confidence of the leaders of his own party, his would indeed seem a difficult task. His first measures were intended to convince the people of the South, if they were willing to be convinced, that he had no hostile intention, but at the same time that he proposed to "preserve, protect, and defend" the Union and to maintain the rights and the authority of the Government. The story of the War of the Rebellion cannot be told here. It is a story the like of which forms part of the history of no other nation—the story of a war engaging at one time 1,700,000 men, the war debt of the North, representing but a part of the cost of the war, amounting to $3,000,000,000, and the expense frequently exceeding $3,500,000 a day.

Aside from the essentially military features of the war, the most notable event of Mr. Lincoln's Administration was the freeing of the slaves, which was done as a war measure, by the Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863, thus finally, after the expiration of nearly a hundred years, making good in our country the words of the Declaration of Independence, that "all men are created equal."

It can be truthfully said that President Lincoln carried the administration of the Government in this troublous time, not only as a load upon his brain, but as a burden in his heart; a united country was the object of all his efforts, and when, only a month after his second inauguration, he was assassinated by a misguided and mistaken Southern sympathizer, the bullet of the murderer removed as true a friend as the South possessed. The war was already at an end, and had Abraham Lincoln lived to rebuild and reconstruct the Union he had saved, many of the difficulties of the era of reconstruction might have been avoided—difficulties whose evil effects have not yet disappeared from our national politics.

No fact in our history demonstrates more fully the perfection of our system of government and the hold which it has upon the confidence of our people than the quiet change of Chief Magistrates at the close of a Presidential term. Four times in our history this change has been caused by death, and now, when the beloved President had been assassinated, when the whole country was excited and alarmed, when grave questions were pending and matters of the



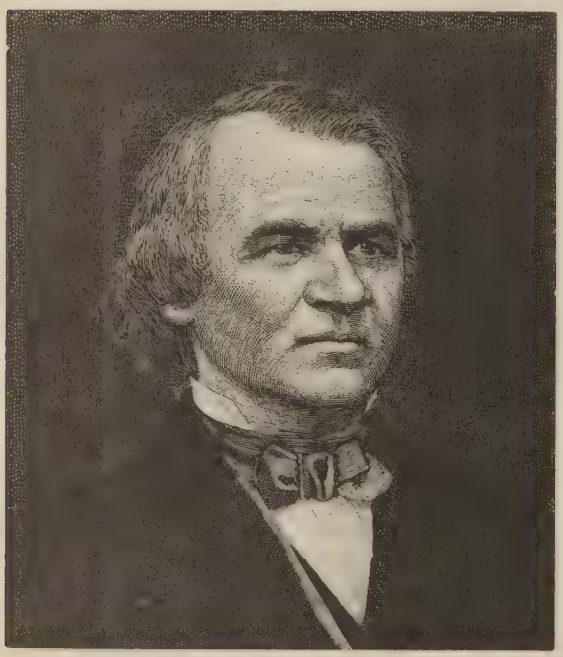
ABRAHAM LINCOLN. 643

1809–1865.

Two Terms (*Died in Office*), 1861–1865.

utmost delicacy required adjustment, the Vice-President quietly assumed the office, and the routine of government proceeded as before.

Andrew Johnson was a native of North Carolina. He was the son of poor parents, and, learning the tailor's trade, he earned his living for a number of years as a journeyman. He taught himself to read, and after emigrating to Tennessee he learned from his wife to write and cipher. He represented his district for several terms in Congress, and was chosen United States Senator in 1857. He was nominated for Vice-President by the Republicans in 1864, mainly to invite votes from the opposite party, as until the war he had been a consistent Democrat. Unfortunately, he differed with the leading Republicans in Congress on the question of the manner in which the States lately in rebellion were to resume their places in the Government, and the difference grew into a violent quarrel, which lasted till the close of his term, and resulted, in 1868, in the impeachment of the President by Congress. He was acquitted, however, the vote in the Senate lacking one of the two-thirds necessary to convict. The chief political events of the Administration were the readmission of six of the seceded States and the adoption of three amendments to the Constitution —the Thirteenth, abolishing slavery; the Fourteenth, making the negro a citizen, and the Fifteenth, giving him the right to vote. (See Chapter on Negro.)



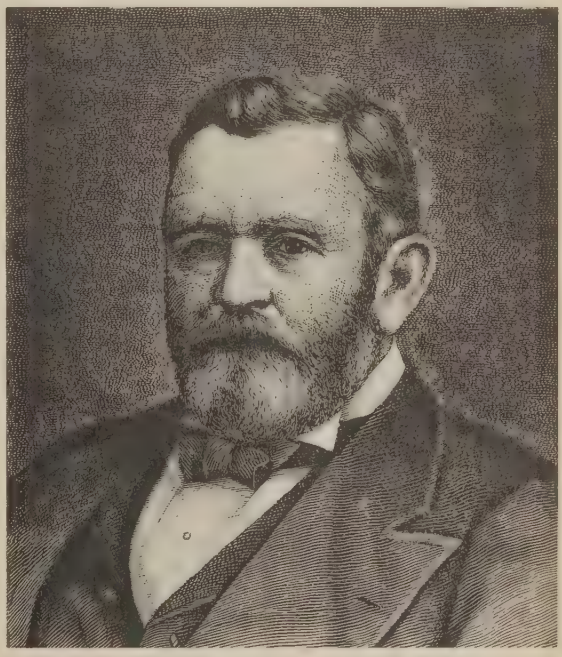
ANDREW JOHNSON.
1808–1875.
One Partial Term, 1865–1869.

During this time, also, the Government began the payment of the war debt, the first Atlantic cable was laid, and Alaska was added to our national domain.

The success which had attended the Union armies after they passed under the command of General Ulysses S. Grant made him the popular idol, and obviously the most available candidate for President. He was a native of Ohio, a graduate of West Point, and had served in the Mexican War, where he was promoted for meritorious conduct in battle. At the opening of the Civil War

he raised a company of volunteers in Illinois, of which State he was then a citizen, was soon made a brigadier general, and from that point the story of his life is a part of the history of the war.

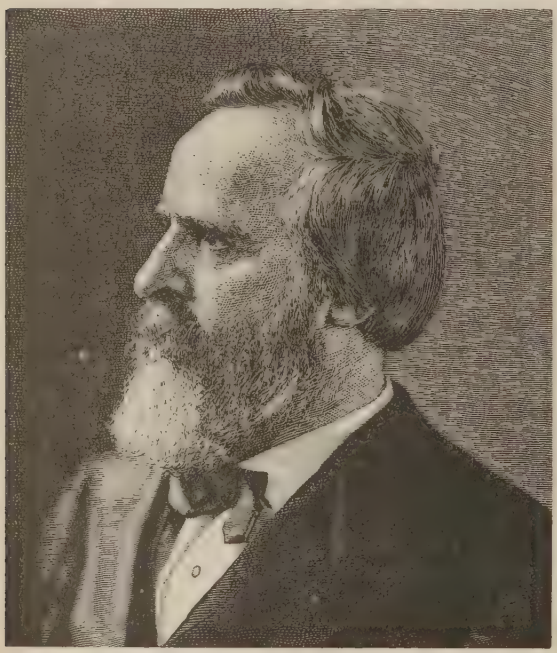
General Grant was the recipient of honors from foreign rulers and governments such as have been bestowed upon no other American President. His fame as a general was recognized throughout the world, and although he had no experience in civil affairs, he had the tact to call into his Cabinet men of great ability, and while he may have been sometimes misled by designing men, his Administration was so popular that he was re-elected by a greatly-increased majority, and indeed might have been chosen for a third term had not the public feeling been found so strongly opposed to violating the custom inaugurated by Washington of giving to no President more than two terms of office. During these two terms the first Pacific railway was completed; representatives from all the remaining seceded States were admitted to Congress; a treaty was concluded with England providing for the arbitration of the Alabama and other claims, which seemed at one time likely to involve the two countries in war; the great fires in Chicago and Boston destroyed many millions of property; a panic of almost unprecedented severity occurred (1873), and the Centennial Exhibition took place at Philadelphia. After the close of his term as President, General Grant made a tour of the world, being everywhere received with the greatest honor, after which he resided in New York until attacked by the disease which ended his life on Mt. MacGregor, in 1885.



ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT.
1822–1885.
Two Terms, 1869–1877.

It has frequently happened that when several rival leaders of the same political party have been candidates for President, the Presidential Convention has found it wisest to nominate some less prominent man, thus avoiding the loss which might result from the choice of either of the more conspicuous aspirants for the office, and the consequent offense to the supporters of the

others. This was the case when a successor to General Grant was to be chosen. While Rutherford B. Hayes had been a Brigadier-general in the Union army, and had twice been elected Governor of Ohio, he was by no means conspicuous as a national leader. There was great dissatisfaction with the course of the men who had obtained control of the political machinery of the Republican party, and the election depended on the counting of the electoral votes of Louisiana and Florida. To settle the legality of these votes, the famous Electoral Commission was appointed by Congress, and decided in favor of General Hayes as against his competitor, Samuel J. Tilden.



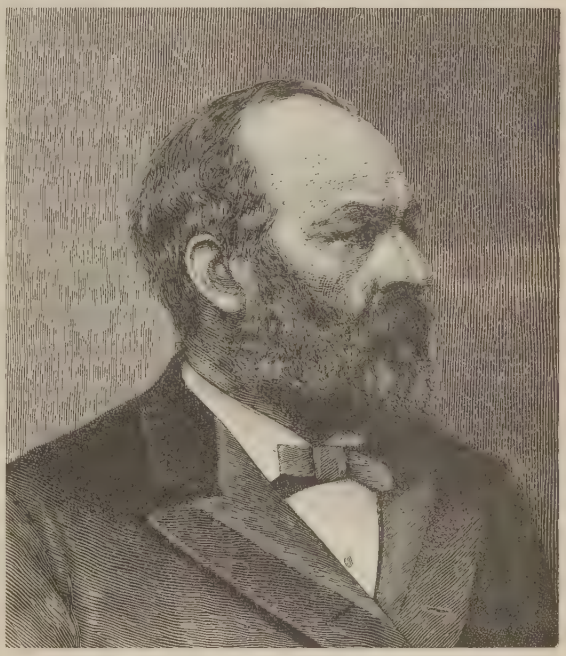
RUTHERFORD BURCHARD HAYES.
1822——
One Term, 1877–1881.

The quiet and peaceful solution of this dispute is one of the greatest triumphs of our system of Government. The Republican party had been in office for four Presidential terms, had successfully conducted the affairs of the nation during the trying and dangerous periods of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Many of the measures which had been during this time adopted as a part of our system had been consistently and strenuously opposed by the Democrats. Under these circumstances the Republicans viewed the possible accession to power of the Democratic party with a degree of alarm, which has since proved to be unjustifiable. Each party claimed, and probably believed, that its candidate had been elected, and each was disposed to insist on its rights under the Constitution. Such a dispute in a country where men's passions are less under the control of their reason, would inevitably have led to civil war. The two Houses of Congress were of different politics, and their agreement upon what seemed an equitable method of adjusting the dispute, together with the acquiescence of all parties in the decision of the tribunal thus created, make it a remarkable instance of the adaptability of our institutions, and go far to justify the most complete faith in their permanence. General Hayes was a successful lawyer, a lifelong citizen of Ohio, and while his administration gave great offense to

many political leaders, it was generally satisfactory to the people. At the close of his term he retired to his native State, where he still resides.

The chief events of his Presidency were: his withdrawal of troops from the South, thus leaving the people of that section to settle their own questions in their own way; the great railroad and coal strikes, during which United States troops had to be employed to suppress violence at Pittsburgh, and the resumption of specie payments, in 1879. (See Chapter on Finance.)

The twentieth President was likewise a citizen of Ohio. The early life of James A. Garfield was somewhat similar to that of Abraham Lincoln. He had, however, the advantage of early contact with cultivated people, and while he at one time drove mules upon the tow-path of a canal, and paid for his tuition by acting as janitor of the school-house, he had opportunities for education of which he availed himself to the utmost, paying his own way through school and finally graduating at Williams College. At the opening of the war he entered the Union army, and was promoted, for his services at the battle of Chickamauga, to the rank of Major-general. He left the army to enter Congress, where he took a leading part, and was chosen Senator for Ohio, but before taking his seat was elected President. He surrounded himself with able advisers, and high hopes were entertained of a notably successful Administration, when he was shot by a disappointed office-seeker, dying after two months of suffering, during which the public sympathy was excited to an extraordinary degree and was manifested in every possible way.

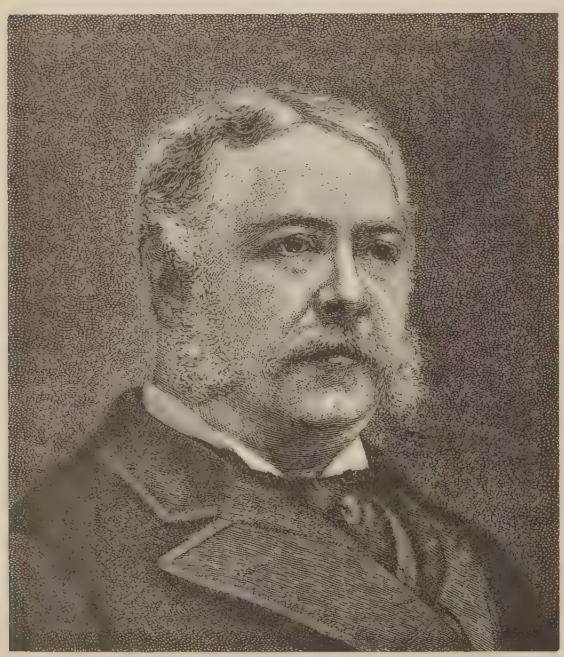


JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD.
1831–1881.
One Partial Term, 1881.

The single event for which the few months of his Presidency are remarkable is the quarrel between the President and Senator Conkling, of New York, as to some of the Federal appointments in that State. The Senator from New York resigned, and the difficulty was not adjusted at the time of the President's death.

The Vice-President elected with Garfield was Chester A. Arthur, of New York. He was not widely known outside his own State before his nomination, and he was made the candidate in order to retain the favor of a large portion of the Republican party in New York which had advocated the claims of another candidate, and it was feared would not otherwise assist in the election of Garfield.

Mr. Arthur had great experience as a political manager, but little knowledge of the manner in which the Government is conducted; but he proved a careful, conscientious President, and the country was well satisfied with his administration. As he had been an adherent of the political faction with which President Garfield, at the time of his assassination, was at war, he was placed in an exceedingly delicate position, and grave fears were entertained by many people that backward steps would be taken; but the new President extricated himself from his difficulties with a dignity and a tact which astonished even those who knew him best, and which gained for him the respect of the entire country.



CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR.
1830–1886.
One Partial Term, 1881–1885.

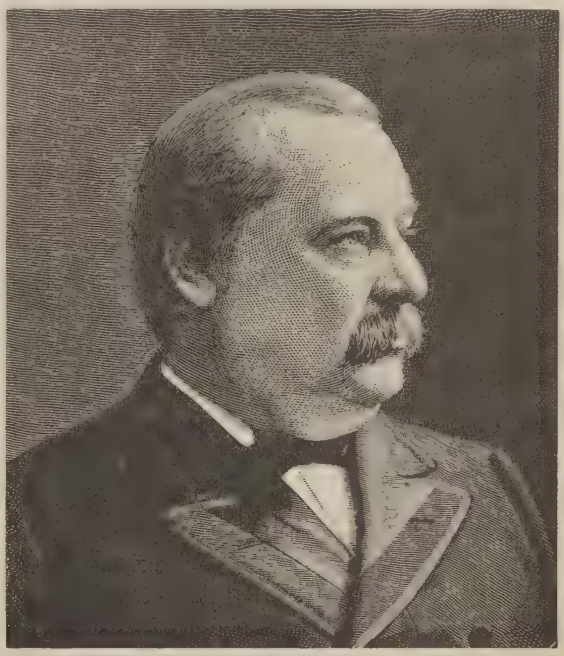
During the term of President Arthur, Congress passed the Civil Service Act, providing for the appointment of subordinate employees of the Government on the basis of merit rather than that of political influence; the completion of the great East River Bridge united the cities of New York and Brooklyn, and the immense growth and prosperity of the New South justified the brightest anticipations for the future of that section. Mr. Arthur died in New York a few months after the close of his term.

The Republican party had now held control of the Government for twenty-five years, and Grover Cleveland was the first Democratic President since Buchanan. Although a native of New Jersey, he has been since boyhood a citizen of New York. He began the study of law in Buffalo at the age of eighteen, and early took an active part in politics. Having filled several local

offices, he was, in 1882, elected Governor of the State by a phenomenal majority, and in 1884 was the successful candidate for President.

The transfer of the Government from the hands of one political party to its opponent resulted in no disturbance to the business or social relations of the people, and although a large number of office-holders were replaced by men of the opposite political faith, the business of the Government went on as before.

During Cleveland's administration laws were enacted providing for the succession to the Presidency of the various members of the Cabinet in case of the death or disability of the President and Vice-President; laying down rules for the counting of the electoral votes, thus supplying the strange deficiency of the Constitution in this respect; regulating inter-State commerce, and forbidding Chinese laborers to emigrate to this country. Events of great importance were the extended labor strikes, which occurred in 1886, and the Anarchist riot in Chicago in May of that year. Although his administration had been very satisfactory to the country at large, Mr. Cleveland failed of re-election, the principal question at issue being that of a protective tariff. He left Washington to take up the practice of law in New York city.

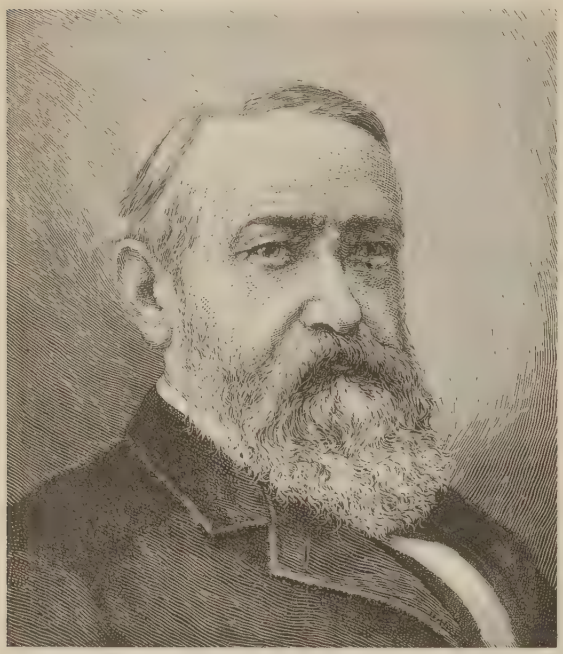


STEPHEN GROVER CLEVELAND.
1837——
One Term, 1885–1889.

Mr. Cleveland was succeeded by General Benjamin Harrison, who secured 233 electoral votes to 168 cast for Mr. Cleveland. Mr. Harrison is the grandson of the ninth President, and the great-grandson of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He is a native of Ohio, is well educated, and was for many years one of the leading lawyers of Indiana. He entered the Union army in 1862, and was promoted until, near the close of the war, he reached the rank of Brigadier-general. He was made a United States Senator in 1880, and came to the Presidency well equipped for the discharge of its duties.

During his four years of service many events have taken place which

promise to have great weight in moulding the future of the country. A Congress of the American Republics met in Washington, in 1889, and devised measures by which it is hoped to bring about a closer commercial union between the Americas; six new States have been added to the Union; the tariff laws have been revised and clauses added granting to such nations as offer us reciprocal advantages free admission for certain of their exports; the country is being rapidly furnished with a new and efficient navy; the long-standing difficulty with England concerning seal fishing in Behring Sea has been adjusted by a treaty providing for arbitration, and annoying difficulties with Germany, Italy and Chili have been happily settled.



BENJAMIN HARRISON.
1833——
One Term, 1889——

The twenty-three men who have filled the Presidential chair have varied in ability; they have represented all classes of our American people and widely different schools of political thought, but in the century of their aggregate terms no country of the world has had better men as chief executives.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

TRAVEL IN OLD TIMES AND NEW.

THE history of steam is the story of American progress,—a story, it can be truly said, in no wise devoid of historic and dramatic interest. The difference between the records and statistics of travel and its narrative, is the difference between a map and a picture. But before steam, came the slower methods of our fathers, who were content to travel at the snail's pace of five miles an hour, while we rush through the world at the rate of fifty-five miles an hour. This statement is like a bit of string; you may tie up a bundle of figures or a bundle of romances with it, as you please; it will cover them both. People's journeys, whether they be journeys across the street or across the ocean, are among the facts that make human life interesting. Few of us care to remember the exact width of the street or of the ocean. We ask about the haps and mishaps by the way,—especially the mishaps—and value most that adventure which we are least likely to care to repeat.

THE TURNPIKE.

Highways and turnpikes alone connected inland settlements in earlier times, when American towns were scattered and small, and sober citizens made their wills before they would venture a hundred miles from home. Those who had coaches made their tours in patrician fashion, disdaining the common vehicles of ordinary people; but for the most the great lumbering stage-coach, modeled somewhat after the English style, was luxury enough. It carried a motley assembly. Demure little maids, with their knitted hands properly crossed on their neat little aprons, and excitement on their fresh, young faces hidden by the overshadowing poke bonnets, made long holiday pilgrimages of fifty miles or so with more trepidation than their granddaughters would betray in crossing the continent. Young men bound for Harvard or Princeton; old men, betraying by the color or cut of coat or breadth of brim the lawyer, clergyman, or merchant, exchanged their little store of news as they met in travel. Few but gentlefolk made journeys in those days, so that the amenities of travel might be safely indulged in.

Nearly every house passed on the way in those times was the scene of some tale more or less thrilling, or suggested some episode of a former journey. There were excitements to break the monotony of travel. There were the snow block in winter, the broken bridges, the floods that rendered the highway impassable, or the accident that left the company stranded between inns, a prey to anxious fears lest some Dick Turpin of the locality would end the adventure for them; for sometimes the stage coach would come to a sudden halt.

Some bold highwayman, who could fire just as many shots as he had

TURNPIKE IN THE BLUE GRASS REGION OF KENTUCKY.

pistols, would put the travelers to the trouble of disembarking and delivering over their valuables. An old flint-lock horse-pistol does not look like a formidable weapon, as we, who have been educated up to the modern revolver, examine it in a case of some museum, but to our fathers it must have appeared, when seen in the dusk of the evening, in the hands of some desperate robber, as large as a cannon and liable to scatter death and destruction, even if it did have a way of flashing in the pan at times.

Many a tale of a wayside inn has come down to us from the stage-coach days, of eccentric inn-keepers, strange encounters, whimsical travelers. War

stories, love stories, ghost stories, all have had their scenes laid in some old inn. No modern hotel, with its conveniences and comforts, its perfect service and great size, its elevators, electric bells, and appliances of later civilization, can equal in importance the little inn by the side of the turnpike.

The tavern-keeper was an autocrat. His opinion it was never safe to cross. The tap-room of the inn was to the villager of long ago what a daily paper is to us, for into it flowed the latest advices, political or social gossip from remote regions, or whatever intelligence the traveler of the stage-coach might bring. It was no uncommon thing for intelligence of important matters, such as the removal of a Governor or the election of a President, to travel a hundred miles in a week. As already intimated, the traveler was the great vehicle for the communication of news, as well as of ideas.

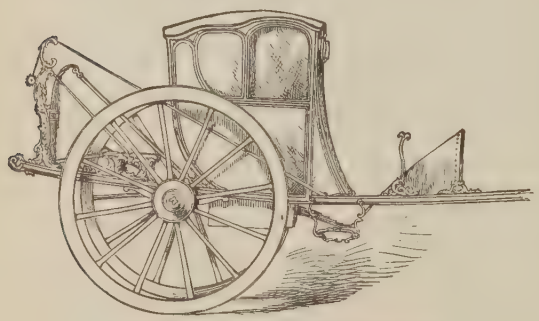
ISOLATED CONDITION OF COUNTRY PLACES.

It is difficult for us to conceive of the loneliness and stagnation of many country places. Those which were away from the main thoroughfares were more isolated than are the far frontier settlements of our Western country to-day. The village in which Rip Van Winkle passed his days before he went to sleep in the mountains is not at all an exaggerated picture. The average village possessed few advantages for its youth. Educational facilities were very meagre, and intellectual life was resolved to its simplest elements. The village church, the winter school, the rare books and rarer pictures, the chance traveler, who told wonderful tales of city life and the great world across the sea, and who was remembered for years, even as Hawthorne remembered in his old age the chance guests at his father's house, these were all. And when one of the boys left home he must, indeed, have been of small account for whom each neighbor did not have a word of advice, or the pastor forgot to offer prayer in the meeting house.

From "A Girl's Life Eighty Years Ago," published in *Scribner's Magazine* in 1887, a letter is quoted which describes the carriage drive from Salem to Francistown, New Hampshire, *en route* to Saratoga Springs. "We are now on a new turnpike road from Amherst to Dartmouth," the writer says. "We passed through several pretty villages on coming here, though it is almost a new country, hardly cleared up, except a small village every six or seven miles. Here, as I look around me, I see nothing but enormous hills, covered with trees and almost mingling with the clouds." In another place the narrator refers to one of the public works of the day in the following terms: "We had a fine view of the famous Middlesex canal, which in future ages must do honor to our country. Such monuments of industry and perseverance raise our opinion of our countrymen. It will be twenty-five miles in length when completed,

running from Deckkel to Medford River. Boats pass every day and parties of pleasure are always sailing on it."

No man knew more of the difficulties of travel than the old post-rider, and it may be conceded that no one knew more about the comforts of the stopping places along the route, for, by virtue of his calling, he was everywhere a welcome comer. He carried not only the mail, but messages that were often of far greater importance; he was at once confidant, reporter, detective, and news purveyor for his district. We who clamor for a mail delivery at least twice a day, may ponder on the situation of those who looked for the post's steady nag once a week, or perhaps twice a month. He had important letters to transport. It would not do for him to show any unseemly haste in attending to his duties. While we speak in the past tense of the post-rider, and are apt to poke fun at his slow ways, let us say in parenthesis that even to-day, in parts of our country remote from the great centres of life, and especially in certain portions of the far South, there are hundreds of people who live at a distance of ten, fifteen, or twenty miles from any post-office, who sometimes do not receive a mail more than once in a fortnight, and who have to depend upon the services of some irresponsible boy to get their letters and papers even then. A case which recently came to the notice of the writer, in South Carolina, is to the point. In one district, covering a radius of eighteen or twenty miles from the post-office, the mail delivery was entrusted to negroes principally, and one of these, a boy of about fifteen years of age, habitually drove the little bullock which served him for a steed into the woods, where he would enjoy a siesta, until some of his waiting patrons became anxious at the delay and went to hunt him up.



A CHAISE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.
(*From "L'Art du Menuisier-Carrossier."* 1771.)

Here seems a fitting place for recording the story of Jacob the Roman, in which the post-rider figures as a sort of Dutch Hermes. The story is told by the Rev. Dr. John Knox Allen, of Tarrytown.

"Just at the foot of the high point called *Kyk-uit*,* there long ago dwelt a man who was called *Jacob the Roman*. He was a German by birth, and in the

* "Lookout," now mispronounced *Kake-out;* a name given to a sharply defined hill at Tarrytown, on the Hudson, rising about 500 feet above the river, and situated about three-quarters of a mile due east from the river. It was once a coast-survey station, and was used in early times by the Indians as a signal hill.

centuries past his ancestors had come, perhaps with Julius Cæsar, from Rome, and after the conclusion of the war with the Gauls had settled among the now friendly *War-men*, whom we to-day call German. Living in the highlands of Southern Germany, the old name still clung to them. "Jacob the Roman" was well educated, but he was poor. He was respected in his native town and had won the affection of the Herr Obermeister's lovely daughter—her name Judah Trénagh. But poverty hindered the progress of his suit, and he determined to try his fortunes in this new world. Judah would not be left behind. By night they left the town, and traveling by unfrequented paths at last reached the coast. But now their money was exhausted. Nothing daunted, they secured their passage across the ocean by articles of agreement with the captain of a vessel, which articles allowed him to sell the two for a term of years to whoever in this land would pay the price of their passage, and secure it from the proceeds of their labor. This was no unusual thing in that day. Those thus sold were called *Redemptioners*, because the price of their redemption from bondage was fixed at so much labor, or its equivalent in money. A calamity not anticipated befell them on arrival—they were sold away from each other. Exchanging vows of eternal fidelity, they parted.

"In time Jacob worked his freedom, and on the east side of Kyk-uit, near a little brook, bought a little homestead and built for himself a house. He had learned to speak the Low Dutch of the people, and as he was a tailor by trade they came to him to make their garments and to listen to his many stories of life in the old world. He was respected by all; he increased in goods, but was not happy. It was years since he had seen Judah. Where was she? Was she living? How should he ever find her? His former master told him he had heard she had been sold somewhere west of the river. His love stimulated his wits. Anthony Segere was *der Post-reiter*, and made his monthly circuit with the colonial mail from New Amsterdam to Fort Orange, going up the west side of the river and down the east. Jacob confided in him, and the postman espoused his cause with sympathy, and promised to inquire in every village for "one Trénagh," according to the description Jacob gave him; and if he found her, and she were willing, he promised to bring her back with him on his horse. For this service Jacob was to give him seven dollars in New York currency. Jacob showed him the money, and laid it away against the demand. The postman went and made inquiry, returning month after month on his steady old horse, and brought no news. Jacob's heart sank within him, just as do the hearts of people in more splendid romances.

"At last the old postman met a man who thought he knew a woman who answered the description. He would see her, and if she were the one would bring her to Fort Orange against the time of the next circuit. Jacob was wild with excitement. Was this the woman or not? What joy or sorrow would the

postman bring him next month? The month rolled round. The slow steed came ambling down the river-roads and up the hills, and bore Anthony and his saddle-bags, and on the pillion was seated Judah too. Any good novel will tell what they did when they met.

"One incident is to be added. Judah often told how she attracted the attention of whole villages on the first day's ride on horseback from Fort Orange. She wondered why the people stared and smiled as they saw her, for she was a comely woman, and decently dressed. She asked the old postman why they were amused. He smiled. She was not an equestrian, and in her innocence supposed it was not possible to ride a horse

AMERICAN STAGE-COACH OF 1795, FROM "WELD'S TRAVELS."
(*Probably Similar in Form to those of the Later Colonial Period*)

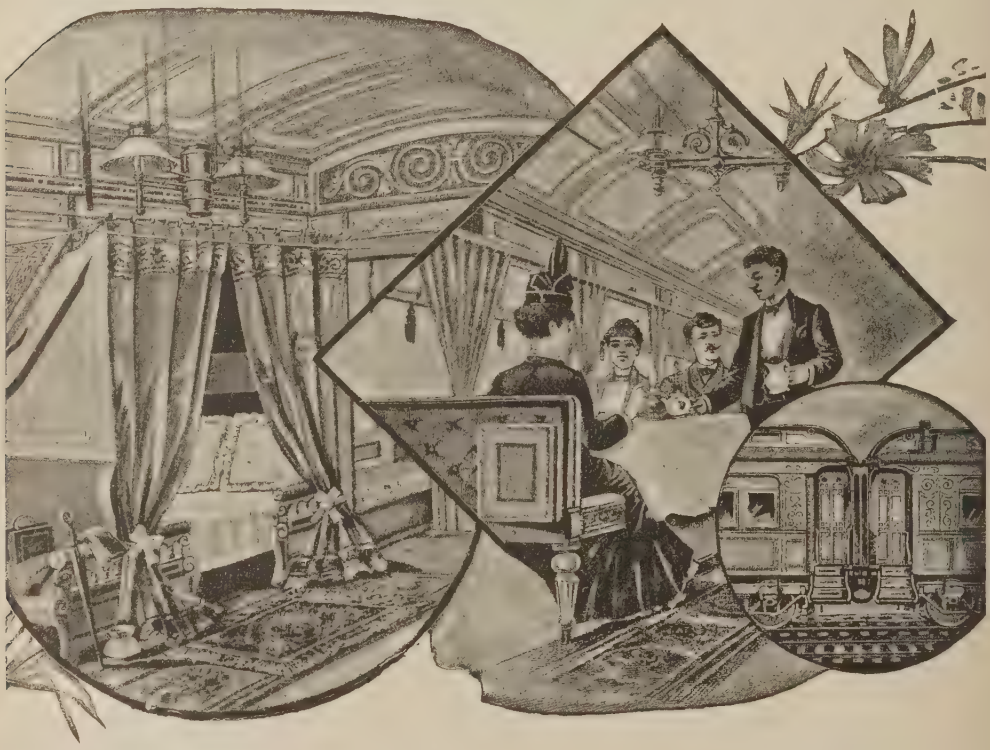
safely except astride. And she had not liked to embrace the old man, and so had mounted looking the other way. It was hardly to be wondered at that the people smiled as they saw her clinging to the saddle-bags, and with her face turned toward the scenes they were fast, or rather slowly, leaving. The old postman showed her how to ride upon the pillion, and their journey ceased to attract especial attention. There was, of course, love in a cottage, though the furniture at first was little, one old chest, containing crockery and utensils, serving also as tailor's bench and table. Eight children were born to them. In his old age the good Jacob said one day: 'I prays mine Cott, I never knows a sick ped.' That very evening, as his wife approached to help him to

bed, he met her with the old look of love, stretched out his hands to her, tried to speak, and was gone." *

Not less remarkable than the primitive methods of the highway were those of the water-ways. On all the old crossings on small rivers the ford came first, the course of the road being made to accommodate itself to the shallows of the stream. After the ford was the bridge or the ferry, and the first ferries in use were simply large scows, such as we see in the old pictures of Washington crossing the Delaware. They were made strong enough to stand the buffeting of ice and to bear the weight of horses or cattle as well as people and freight. Usually these early ferry-boats were propelled by poles or sweeps, but sometimes an inventive genius would run them by an endless cable, or even with paddle wheels that were turned by horse-power. Although the most important river crossings are now provided with comfortable steam ferry-boats, yet we still find in some out-of-the-way places contrivances that make one think the world is taking a few revolutions backward. There is a ferry, for instance, in an upper county of New Jersey where the ferry-boat consists of a square-ended and flat-bottomed craft, that is connected by guide-lines to a rope that reaches from shore to shore. The rope is to prevent the scow from going down the stream, but, as the guide-lines are slack, each thrust of the poles that propel it turns it half way round, to the discomfort of those who cross on it and the increase of the ferryman's vocabulary. On another stream, in one of the Southern States, there is an old ferry-boat no less singular in its methods of propulsion. Like the one already described, the craft itself is simply a very large scow; the flat ends are so constructed that they meet and fit exactly the ends of the wharf on either side, so that a team may be driven to the boat without alarming the horses. The unusual feature of this ferry is the way in which the boat with its cargo is moved across the rather rapid stream. A taut wire stretches from one shore to the other, a distance, perhaps, of a thousand feet, and the ferryman, clutching the wire with a notched stick, pulls the boat, load and all, across by main strength. What made this ferry still more interesting was the fact that the ferryman was always somewhere else when wanted, and it usually took half an hour of shouting and whistling and the assistance of half the people in the neighborhood to attract his attention and induce him to approach the landing place.

* Rev. Dr. John K. Allen, the author of the above sketch, is at the present time pastor of the First Reformed Church, Tarrytown, N. Y., which includes the historic "Old Church of Sleepy Hollow," so widely made known by Washington Irving's description of the venerable pile in his immortal "Sketch Book." The story of Jacob the Roman is written from carefully authenticated data procured by Dr. Allen from old residents, all of whom have now passed away. We may add that Rev. Dr. John B. Thompson says that in the church at Catskill, N. Y., where for a time he ministered, descendants of the old Post-reiter are to be met with, all known by the name of *Post.*

There was a time in the United States when most of the people who lived on the shores of the larger rivers found it more convenient to travel by water than by land. To be sure, there was always the chance of being becalmed, or of running aground, or being ice-locked, or capsized, but these perils were, after all, less than those of the road. As on the road, so on river, the more important people had their own conveyances—sloops and schooners that were fitted for the purpose of carrying either freight or passengers. Indeed, some-



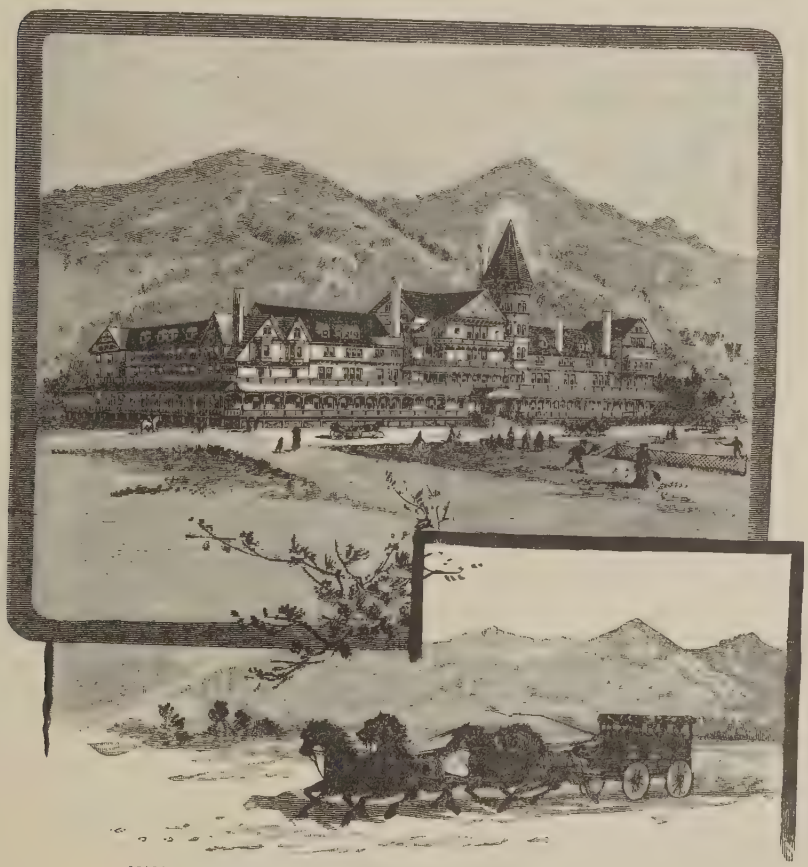
SLEEPING CAR INTERIOR; ON THE WONDERLAND ROUTE. DINING CAR INTERIOR; ON THE WONDERLAND ROUTE.
(*Northern Pacific Railroad.*)

times in the very early days the "yachts," as they were then called, of patroons and manor lords, or large proprietors, used to extend their voyages much further than the rivers upon which they started. Thus we have an account of the wife of one great landowner going upon a little vessel of a hundred tons as her husband's supercargo, taking charge of a consignment of furs and other American produce to Holland and returning with goods from that country.

There were regular passenger boats that were supposed to make their trips on something like schedule time, wind and weather permitting (but the

wind and weather never did permit), and these carried a great many people whose business or pleasure took them from home, but they did not carry all. A certain select few held aloof, more than it is the fashion to do at the present day, from contact with ordinary people, or perhaps it was rather from the discomforts which must be endured in common.

A characteristic story comes to mind in which the principal actor was a



MAMMOTH HOT SPRINGS HOTEL, YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK.
(*Reached by Northern Pacific Railroad.*)

young girl who lived in the city of Hudson in the early part of the present century. Her father was one of the most influential and important gentlemen of that place. Although his position was too well assured for his consciousness of it ever to obtrude itself unpleasantly upon his neighbors, yet he had a very deep sense of what was due to his station, and this feeling exhibited itself most clearly when any matter came up which touched his favorite and only daughter.

So it happened that upon her asking and obtaining permission to visit the city of New York, especial measures were taken to make her journey as pleasant and at the same time as free from disagreeable contact with strangers as possible. She approached the subject either innocently or with a little harmless diplomacy in a way that shocked her good father, for she asked at what time the regular boat was to leave for the city of New York. Did her father propose to send her by the steamboat or by the stage coach? "Neither," was the prompt reply. "When my daughter travels I hope I shall always be able to provide a suitable conveyance for her." So a special vessel was chartered, overhauled, and prepared for the voyage, and the young lady embarked *en princesse* on a long journey that nowadays is accomplished in three hours by the Central Railroad, and in ten by steamboat. But it took her a week in her comfortable schooner, through scenery that had lost little of its pristine wildness and beauty, on a river whose navigation was comparatively infrequent. It is little wonder that its incidents of calm and squall, its panorama of the Highlands, West Point, the wide-spreading Tappan Zee, the lofty Palisades, with all the attendant episodes and delays, were recalled with pleasure after nearly three-quarters of a century.

MISSISSIPPI FLAT-BOATING.

Other rivers have had their share of the interest and romance connected with tales of early travel, but none more than the Mississippi and its tributaries; the varying flow of their waters, the shifting sand bars, the levees, bayous, delta, alone would make the narrative of travel upon them interesting. But we may add to these things the almost endless variety of conditions that existed in the life along their shores and the character of those who spent much of their time upon them. The Mississippi flat-boat has, after much adventure and many arduous voyages, been dry-docked in the pages of history.

It was an exile from the start, going down that mighty current, but never coming back. The pioneer on the Ohio or the Tennessee ventured the cargo that was all his little wealth in such a craft, and sent or took it to New Orleans, a trip requiring not only weeks of time, but courage, coolness, and endurance on the part of the voyager. Abraham Lincoln once made that trip as a boatman, narrowly escaping wreck on one of the numerous snags of the river. Many other famous American has done the same.

But long before the flat-boat of the pioneer another craft navigated those rapid waters, darting here and there like the fish or the wild fowl, seeking, like them, the shadow of the overhanging forests on the banks. That was the birch canoe, which was the Genesis of navigation on American waters.

When the great tidal wave rolled West in the "roaring forties," individuals, families, even communities, cut loose from all home ties, broke up old associa-

tions, and embarked on what might be called the great American Exodus. Their heavy prairie wagon has sometimes been named the "Schooner of the

OPENING OF THE ERIE CANAL.

Plains," and, indeed, when equipped and victualled for the voyage across the continent, the simile implied in the name was not greatly strained. The creaking hull, surmounted by a great hood of canvas, naturally reminded one of a

vessel, and to heighten this impression, the desert over which the emigrants crossed, with its dangerous storms and strange encounters, might well suggest the ocean.

We pass through great romantic periods and do not recognize them till they are passed, but the narrative of the Donner party, or of hundreds that faced cold, starvation, and even death itself in that curious migration, cannot but make us wonder if history ever will have done with its dramatic chapters. The story of the Donner family has been told in detail too recently to make it necessary to repeat it here otherwise than in outline. Starting from the East in great, covered wagons, with all their property converted into movable shape, this family, which included three generations, accompanied by numerous friends, began their long journey across the continent. Although most of the men were mounted on horseback, the pace of the caravan was regulated by the oxen which drew the wagons. As they progressed on their journey, family after family, wagon after wagon, was added to the cavalcade, until at last a long procession held its slow way toward the much talked of, hardly known, West. After they had once passed the further limits of civilization and got into the Indian country, their hardships multiplied from week to week; their cattle died by the way, some of the party were taken sick, dissensions arose among them, winter overtook them, the savage nearly completed the work that their own improvidence, the inclemency of nature, and the length of the way had begun. Of the many who started few reached the Pacific slope alive. Their graves dotted the trail from Ohio to California, and theirs was not a singular story at that day. A motley procession were the pilgrims of '49. Women helpless with age and sickness, children not old enough to care what befell them, went through alive, while hundreds of strong men fell by the way. Some of the hooded tops of the wagons bore strange devices, like that often quoted one, "Pike's Peak or Bust."

The story of a prairie schooner is one of Indian fights, of mutinies, of strange dilemmas, of stranger deliverances. It is a story of the sea with the water inadvertently left out.

It is said that if you scratch the Russian you will find the Tartar, and beneath the surface of life in the calmest and most conservative communities there must be sleeping the old, savage, nomadic instinct. In no other way can we account for the strange infatuation that led men to leave their farms, their merchandise, to pack their household goods and gods in a house on wheels, to cross at a snail's pace one of the most difficult wildernesses on the face of the earth.

We have spoken before of the coaching experiences of our fathers, but their adventures were of a mild type compared with those which have enlivened many a journey across the slope of the Rocky Mountains and through the coun-

try beyond. We read of the "Sam Wellers" of English turnpike roads, and imagine that nothing could exceed the dash and clatter and hurrah with which the English coach of a generation ago dashed up to its inn. The narratives of such journeys are plain and colorless beside the story of the trip behind a dash-

"JOHNNY BULL," OR NO. 1.
(*The First Locomotive Used.*)

ing team with a reckless driver on the edge of a precipice in the wild, wild West. Often the choice of dangers seemed small between proceeding and stopping, when one appeared to be dropping from the sky down the face of some cañon wall, with the everlasting snow banked up at the base, a convenient burial-place

for any who chanced to topple over. Dropping from heaven it would hardly appear to be if one could get a glimpse of the inside of one of those stages and realize the character of its occupants. It is said that misery makes strange bedfellows. It is certain that Western stage-coaches have done so. Crowded together there, were the prospector, the gambler, the minister, the trader, the tender-foot. Those who had all to learn about the new country, and those who already knew too much about it for the safety and well-being of others, traveled side by side and shared the same adventures and often were obliged to face the same foes. Sometimes, as a matter of variety, a land slide or a heavy snow storm would completely blockade the whole party, and then the danger of freezing and starvation were added to the other pleasant episodes of the trip. Sometimes the pastime of hunting, or rather shooting, from the stage afforded amusement for the passengers, sometimes hunting of another character afforded more satisfaction to the stage robbers who held them up. These stages were frequently the prey of the gentry of the road, because it was customary to carry mail and express packages containing money and other valuable property by this vehicle.

The proportionate number of those who left America for travel in foreign countries was very small in the early part of this century. Even at a time when America maintained her preëminence upon the seas the American flag was much more intimately known than the American citizen in foreign ports.

As trade between the United States and Europe increased, the packet ship was brought into existence, the first in 1816. The Marshalls, Thompsons, and Goodhues, of New York, were the pioneers in supplanting the old merchantman by packets. There were a dozen vessels of the old Black-Ball line that ran once a month from New York to Liverpool. Soon other vessels of the same class were added by other owners, till New York had a weekly service of fast vessels, racers in whom the whole nation took pride. It was then that the era of ocean travel fairly began. These packets ranged from about four hundred to eighteen hundred tons. They were sumptuously fitted out, as one of the papers of the day declares; one of them (and probably others) having a piano on board. The fleet increased. There were Liverpool, London, and Havre packets that did an immense trade outside of the passenger service. Freights as high as fifty thousand and sixty thousand dollars are recorded for single trips.

The "Isaac Bell," of Fox and Livingstone's Havre lines, made three successive voyages across the ocean in eighteen days each, which was thought marvelously fast at the time. The "Saint Andrew," of Kermet's line, sailed from New York to Liverpool in fourteen days, a feat which was afterward repeated on several occasions. On one occasion the old "Constellation" sprang a leak on her homeward voyage. She was crowded with passengers, having seven

hundred in the steerage, of whom only one hundred and twenty-five were men. The labors of these men at the pumps kept her afloat until she got into port.

The clipper ships began in 1849 to supplant the packets. They were built for speed and were the ocean greyhounds of their day. The first of these was the "Rainbow," built for the China trade. The largest clipper ever built in New York was the "Challenge," which was over twenty thousand tons burden. The "Comet" made the round trip between New York and California in seven months and nine days. The "Sword Fish," on a return voyage from

ARRIVAL OF THE GREAT EASTERN AT NEW YORK.

Shanghai, averaged two hundred and forty miles a day or twenty miles an hour, which is time that few but the fastest steamers can excel.

But, while the packets were built for passenger as well as freight service, the clippers were intended primarily for freight. But they carried passengers also, and come fairly within the limits of a chapter on travel. Their achievements were something to be proud of. The whole world, so far as it knew aught of nautical matters, knew the American clipper ship. There was no question then of the supremacy on the ocean. England tried in vain to compete, spending her money, employing her best talent, all in vain to produce one

vessel that could vie with the racers of which the United States built whole fleets. This sounds almost bombastic, but it is a fact that reference to the records will prove. An American clipper, on account of superior speed, got six pounds a ton for her freight while her English rival was getting four. The "Flying Cloud" finally made the fastest record ever made by a sailing vessel over the same course, by accomplishing the run between New York and San Francisco in eighty-four days.

THE CANALS.

Before the advent of the railway, the canals were not only the great feeders of commerce, but the highways of travel as well. People who would not otherwise have been able to make long journeys discovered the convenience and interest of a trip by the canal. This method of journeying had features peculiarly its own. Day after day the boats passed and repassed, the mule and his driver plodded along the tow-path, the ears of the travelers were regaled with the songs and other language of the driver, who, by the way, was as proverbial for his hardness as the mule he drove. And yet there must have been exceptions to the general rule, for we must not forget that one of our lamented Presidents was said to have made his start in life toward the White House along a tow-path. There was much to commend a life on a canal boat. The easy motion, the very dilatoriness of the conveyance, had its charm. Many character studies must have presented themselves while waiting at the locks, or when passengers were crowded in the cabin while a storm swept the bosom of "the Raging Canawl." The accommodations were frequently like those of some coasting vessel, in which the voyager must take his private store-chest and individual bedding, if he wishes to be comfortable. Unlike railway travel, there was time on a canal boat for making acquaintances and enjoying simple social pleasures.

Of the modern river boat, of the recklessness which characterized travel on the Mississippi and other rivers in the early days of steamboating, of the races, the explosions, the "Jim Bludsoes" of that day, we have not space to tell. It is a day that is happily gone. The river boat now is a floating palace, in which we run our sixteen miles an hour in luxury and ease, perhaps hardly looking up from our paper from one end of the journey to the other.

What the next step will be we cannot tell. To-day the air is full of rumors, to-morrow it may be full of air-ships, of which the rumors tell. We live in a world of surprises, in which the chief end of man is—not to be surprised. Already the beginnings of aerial navigation have been made. Before the ink on this page has faded it may be that we shall see

> "The Heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
> Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

MANUFACTURING AND MILLING.

HE industrial arts of the colonies were those of a new country, sparsely settled and poor. They had to do with the very elements of living. Among the early comers were craftsmen as capable as any in their day in Europe, but the work they had to do was that of the laborer rather than the skilled mechanic. Their tools were few and their methods rude. They could build log houses and serviceable boats. They could dress hides and shape the leather into coats, breeches, and shoes. Even the women-folk were not unused to leather garments, common enough at that time in the old country. Some of the earliest colonists had been chosen for their skill in smelting iron, and there were smiths of various sorts. Many were familiar with the art of making tar and allied products of the pine; some could burn brick and cut stone, though it was long before such permanent building materials were much used. More could make potash from leached ashes, split clapboards, and shave barrel staves. But these arts were pursued mostly at odd times, when the more important work of fishing, farming, hunting, or land clearing was not pressing.

In that day, even in England, the multitude lived on as low an industrial plane as the most benighted country people do to-day. They had few manufactured comforts and no luxuries. The mechanic arts were everywhere manual. Their products were manufactures in the old sense—things made by hand. Labor-saving machinery did not exist. But the barest beginning had been made in harnessing the natural forces and setting them to work. Animal power was used only by direct application, in pulling and hauling. The useful horse-power was not yet invented, the water-wheel was a novelty, and the steam engine a thing of the future—a dreamed-of possibility.

The colonies had been planted, it will be remembered, not by the colonists, nor for them. They were business ventures, planned for the profit of the planters, who, for the most part, remained at home. The settlers were to win from the soil and the sea, the forest and the mine, such things as the mother countries could find use for, and at the same time furnish a market for such

things as the Europeans made and wanted to sell; the carrying trade both ways adding another source of profit to the promoters.

The abundant forests of the new country naturally furnished the first material for export—potash for soap and glass, pitch products for naval purposes, timber for spars, shipbuilding, and other structural uses, coopers' staves, clapboards, and the like. The axe and the adze were the primary tools of the timber trade; then came the long saw, employing two men. A great advance was made when the saw was hitched to a water-wheel, which was done in America fifty years before there was a sawmill in England. The English around Massachusetts Bay and the Dutch at the mouth of the Hudson appear to have taken this important step about the same time—1630–33. With their tumbling rivers and magnificant forests, New Hampshire and Maine could not help taking the lead in the timber trade—the splendid water-powers of the Salmon Falls and the Saco being first developed and made the seats of busy industry. In Massachusetts and Connecticut, where timber was less abundant, small sawmills were planted wherever water-power was available, but chiefly for supplying local needs. The Dutch had a wind-driven sawmill on Governor's Island before 1639, and a water-mill on Manhattan Island nearly as early. Numerous small streams along the Hudson as far as Albany, broken by falls, furnished early mill sites.

The same is true of the rivers of New Jersey; and at one time Perth-Amboy developed such a promising export trade in lumber that it confidently expected to beat New York in the race for commercial supremacy. There were mills in the valley of the Delaware before Pennsylvania was founded. Irons for a sawmill were brought by Penn's first party, but hand sawing seems to have been the rule in Philadelphia for many years. Further south, sawmills made slow progress, fire appearing a more expeditious means of clearing land for tobacco-planting. During the eighteenth century there was a notable development of the timber trade, especially in Maine, partly for export, but chiefly for ship-building and house-making, the thriving fisheries and the rapidly increasing population creating a market for much lumber. The timber rafts and arks which thronged the Hudson, the Delaware, and, later, the Susquehanna, proved the magnitude of the industry, which was something great for the time, though insignificant compared with the trade of later years, one group of modern mills being able to dispose of more saw-logs than all the colonial mills put together.

As the sawmills widened the area of farm land, and the settlements crept up the valleys, the grist-mill became more and more an industrial factor; and it is to the credit of the colonies that they were considerably ahead of the Old Country in grinding by water power. The cost of building dams, the risk from floods, and the small amount of grinding to be done for small communities made the

early mills rather public benefactions than inviting business ventures ; and as a consequence it was a common thing in all the colonies for towns to offer tracts of land and special rights and privileges as a reward for building and maintaining mills. In New England the grist-mill was never much more than a local convenience. It acquired commercial importance with the growth of settlements southward and westward, where an excess of grain was grown. New York city had a considerable export trade in flour and ship's bread in the latter part of the seventeeth century, when it had a charter monopoly of grinding and bolting. For a while New Jersey led in the exportation of wheat, flour, and bread ; then Philadelphia, Lancaster, and Wilmington became the important milling centres. Generally the grinding and bolting were done in separate establishments, and all the processes were rudely primitive, until the art was revolutionized by the automatic devices of Oliver Evans in 1787.

After shelter and bread comes clothing in the list of prime necessities. For everything of that nature the early settlers were dependent on the mother country, except so far as they saw fit to follow the Indian fashion, and use the skins of wild animals. Leather was a common wear by all classes at that time, and there were good tanners among the colonists. The supply of imported woven goods was small and prices high, and the industrious women-folk were prompt in trying to furnish substitutes.

INFANT INDUSTRIES.

For a time such domestic industries were encouraged, but as the colonists increased in numbers their possible trade became an object of interest and importance. For them to clothe themselves was to cheat England of at least three profits—the clothmaker's, the merchant's, and the shipmaster's—and that would never do. Hence, the rule was with this, as with other industries competing with those of England, bounties for the production of raw materials, if need be ; penalties for their conversion into things of use, or their sale, except to England.

While reporting upon certain small attempts to make serges in Connecticut and on Long Island in 1705, the Governor of New York, Lord Cornbury, gave voice to the English feeling with regard to such doings : "If they begin to make serges, they will in time make coarse cloth, and then fine," and that would be an injury to the English weavers. "All the colonies, which are but twigs belonging to the main tree, ought to be kept entirely dependent upon and subservient to England ; and that can never be if they are suffered to go on in the notions they have, that, as they are Englishmen, they may set up the same manufactures here as people do in England."

The officers of the Crown, however, could not entirely suppress an industry that could be carried on in secret in almost every household, and in spite of

prohibitions and more forceful interferences, the making of such stuffs as there was material for was persisted in—kerseys, linsey-woolseys, serges, and druggets for outer clothing, and various grades of hempen cloth and linen for inner garments, bedding, and table covers. As the English had not learned to make shoes for export, the colonists were permitted to make foot-wear, without interference, for their own use and for sale in the West Indies. With hats the case was different. The abundant furs of America gave the colonists a decided advantage over the English hatters, who protested vigorously. Accordingly, Parliament prohibited, under severe penalties, the carriage within the plantations of "hats or felts, dyed or undyed, finished or unfinished," either for intercolonial or export trade.

Perhaps the best illustration of the struggle for existence by colonial industries is seen in the case of iron, and its conversion into things of utility and convenience. The industrial age in England was at its dawning when our story begins, and there, as everywhere, the door of industrial progress could be opened only by an iron key. The few British forges and furnaces were despoiling the already scanty woodlands by their demand for fuel, which was charcoal, the use of mineral fuel not having yet been learned. In America there was no end of wood for charcoal; that other requisite for primitive iron making, water-power, was also abundant; and, fortunately, iron stone was discovered as soon as looked for. At Falling Creek, near the Jamestown settlement, wood, water-power, and iron-stone occurred close together, and there the first forge in America was established, about 1620. Two years later the Indians suppressed the rising industry, killed the people, and burned the works. There was no more iron made in Virginia for nearly a hundred years.

New England began later, with better luck. A small bloomery was set up at Lynn in 1644, and soon after a small furnace—the one making a little bar iron "as good as Spanish," the other perhaps a ton a day of iron suitable for small castings. Here was cast the first hollow ware made in America. The excellent bog ores of Plymouth Colony led to the early establishment of small forges, and later furnaces, at Braintree, Taunton, and Bridgewater. Iron from rock ore was made at New Haven, Connecticut, in 1658; at Shrewsbury, New Jersey, in 1675, where the second blast furnace in America was set up in 1680; Pennsylvania entered the list in 1717, and Maryland a little later, while New York lagged until 1740. By this time forges were becoming numerous in all the Northern colonies, but not so much crude iron was coming to England as had been anticipated. The thrifty New Englanders preferred to convert their iron at home, and had been quite successful in making hollow ware, household conveniences, farmers' tools, shipbuilders' and lumbermen's tools—even cannon and muskets. As a consequence, Parliament prohibited every sort of iron manufacture except castings, pigs, and bars for export to England, this drastic

measure being entitled "An Act to encourage the importation of pig and bar iron from His Majesty's plantations in America."

To furnish raw iron and other raw material for British workmen was a virtue: to spoil the colonial market for their products was a crime! The colonists did not look at the matter in that way: hence arose those conflicts of interest and authority which ended not only in demonstrating the right of American manufactures to exist, but the determination of the American people to pursue them as they pleased. In seeking industrial freedom the colonies had been pressed into a conflict which ended in their political independence; giving a new and striking illustration of Cromwell's remark, that "He goes farthest who, when he sets out, knows not clearly where he wants to come to."

When the war ended the population numbered about four millions, mainly of superior stock, and trained by the severe conditions of life in a new country and by war to habits of plain living, patient toil, and thrift. They were free men, not so well informed, so wide awake, or so eager for innovations as their descendants became; still, as a rule, they were ambitious, industrious, handy with such tools as they had, inventive, and apt to take advantage of available means for increasing the productiveness of labor. There had grown up almost everywhere a varied and not unskillful manufacture of clothing and other things of domestic use and convenience, largely pursued by those who looked to fishing, farming, or lumbering for their chief occupation; and in all the towns and villages numerous small shops—the germs of subsequent factories—helped materially to swell the volume of mechanical product.

By their natural development these simple industries, unhindered, would in a little while have sufficed for all ordinary needs, making the country industrially as well as politically independent. But the loosely confederated and industrially divided States had no power, if they had not lacked the disposition, to defend and sustain each other's industries. Rivalry, not mutual protection and helpfulness, was the rule. The trader took precedence of the producer, whether farmer or manufacturer, and, eager for immediate gain, he hurried to pour upon the exhausted markets of an impoverished country the stores which had accumulated in the warehouses of Europe. The country had no gold to spare, yet the first year of peace took away over twenty millions; domestic industries, without capital and confronted by a glutted market, were speedily paralyzed, labor sought employment in vain, property became valueless, and financial distress was universal.

The first great change in our nation's history—from English colonies to independent States—had, as we have seen, grown out of conflicts largely industrial in origin. The second change from the original Confederacy to the Union under the Constitution was primarily "to meet the imperative need of an assured public revenue," in addition to which there was the desire to meet

the industrial needs of the country, while alike in the North and South equally there was a call for a National Government having power to protect commerce and manufactures from wanton interference and ruinous competition. Without that provision in the Constitution, Daniel Webster declared, it could never have been adopted.

The first National tariff act was signed by Washington July 4, 1789, and was popularly held as a second declaration of independence. But it is one thing to declare, quite another to demonstrate. The spirit which established the new Constitution and secured its adoption did not fail to encourage the growing infant industries of the country. There was a widely professed determination to give preference to products of American labor, and Washington was careful to set a good example by wearing conspicuously a suit of home-made fabric. In all parts of the country new industries were undertaken, and the foundations were laid for many promising manufactures. Societies were organized in the principal cities to encourage and promote the advancement of the mechanic arts, and associations were formed by mechanics and manufacturers for mutual aid and protection. Altogether, it was a period of activity, hope, and material progress in manufactures, as was notably manifested in the memorable report of Alexander Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury, in 1790.

THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE CENTURY

saw not a few promising beginnings in the mechanic arts and some notable improvements in manufactures long established, particularly in flour, iron, and cotton manufacture. Still, a more inviting field for enterprise and the employment of capital was commerce, which showed so manifest a tendency to absorb more than its proper share of these great factors of national prosperity, that agriculture suffered as well as manufactures. This tendency was seriously checked by the Embargo, and almost arrested by the interruption of commercial relations with Europe in 1809. Kept at home by these conditions, capital turned in part to manufactures, then especially inviting because of the scarcity and high cost of imported goods. Domestic manufactures, then chiefly of the household sort, were rapidly increased, and factories were multiplied. Fashion, too, making a virtue of necessity, threw its influence in favor of domestic fabrics, and President Madison, emulating Washington's example, chose American broadcloth for his inaugural suit.

The main idea of the time was to hasten the day when the United States should not be at the mercy of Europe, in being dependent upon other nations for absolute necessities. In his message Mr. Madison spoke hopefully of the rapid extension of useful manufactures, and was pleased with the reflection that the indicated "revolution in our pursuits and habits" was in no slight degree in consequence of those impolitic and arbitrary edicts by which France and

England, in fighting each other, had driven America to rely more and more upon home resources. Many State Governors referred to the industrial situation in similar terms. "Already," said Governor Irwin, of Georgia, "a spirit of patriotism and enterprise has manifested itself generally, and our citizens, foreseeing the evils which must result from too great a reliance upon articles of foreign manufacture, shaking off those fashionable fetters which have held them in a state of servile dependence upon other nations, are making every exertion to clothe themselves in fabrics of their own." Since that time fourscore years and more have passed, and the tariff has gone up higher and higher as the years have gone by. Whether the limit has yet been reached is a problem upon whose consideration we will not now enter, as being foreign to the purpose of this history.

In textiles—at this time by far the largest manufacturing interest, yielding products valued at forty million dollars—there had been signal progress, yet the field was not more than half covered. The weaving was mainly done on hand looms in families, and it was estimated that two-thirds of the cloth used outside the cities was of household production. The next great industry, iron and iron manufactures, worth $12,000,000, came nearer to independence; while the hat trade, yielding nearly ten million dollars' worth, only lacked about a quarter of a million of making exports balance imports. Table ware was mostly imported, but enough of the coarser grades of pottery was produced to supply local needs. Little fine glass was made, and of window glass only half the quantity used. Most of the printing and writing paper used was of American make; and Connecticut made (from imported sheets) nearly all the tinware required. In quantity the more important products were as follows: cloth of all kinds, 75,000,000 yards, of which twenty million yards of flaxen goods, sixteen million yards of cotton goods, and ten million yards of woolen goods were made in families. Fifty-four thousand tons of pig iron and nearly half as much bar iron proved the prosperity of iron works; ninety million bricks were made, five million square feet of window glass, 1,200,000 bushels of salt, 8000 tons of machine cut nails; 10,000 hogsheads of cane sugar and ten million pounds of maple sugar, 1,400,000 pounds of gunpowder, 2500 carriages, and 15,000 wooden clocks.

There were three thousand flour and grist mills, twenty-five hundred saw-mills, and four thousand tanneries. These figures—phenomenally large for the time, both actually and relatively, though small compared with the issues of to-day—sufficiently indicate the progress made and making in that early day.

But we must leave to the general historian the inviting task of tracing minutely the actions and reactions of the conflicting forces which have influenced the progress of the mechanic arts in America—natural resources, social development, freedom of thought and action here, slavery and social restriction there,

foreign interference, domestic politics, and the rest. The most that can be attempted is to indicate the general trend, and specify some of the more significant results.

Following the hard times of the latter part of the second decade, there was an encouraging revival of prosperity, in which the manufacturing interests shared. Then came the financial crash of 1837, industrial prostration, and general distress, chargeable, in part, to industrial disturbances, but falling with undue severity upon manufacturing interests. The fragmentary returns of the census of 1840 give no adequate presentation of the development of manufactures; yet it is evident from them, and from contemporary reports, that this branch of national prosperity, though temporarily embarrassed, had achieved an honorable position, mainly through the aid of recent improvements in machinery and processes. The population had increased since 1820 from nearly ten millions to a little over seventeen millions; in the meantime, the number engaged in manufactures had more than doubled.

The next decade was in many respects a brilliant one, though the number employed in manufactures had increased, according to the census returns, only one-fifth, while the population had increased one-third, and the number engaged in trade and transportation was multiplied many times. Allowance should be made, however, for the fact that the census of 1850 included in its statistics of manufactures only those establishments which yielded a product of five hundred dollars or over a year. By this time the factory system had largely displaced household manufactures, especially in textiles; while, by the increase of improved machinery and a larger employment of steam and water-power, the value of the manufactured products increased much more rapidly than the number of operatives. The manufacturing establishments which reached and passed the five-hundred-dollar limit numbered one hundred and twenty-three thousand, with an invested capital of over half a billion dollars and an annual product exceeding a billion. New York was in the lead, producing nearly a quarter of all. Massachusetts and Pennsylvania stood together, and were credited with fifteen per cent. each. Connecticut made five per cent., New Jersey four, Maryland and Virginia each two per cent., and other States dwindling fractions of one per cent. of the total product. The manufacture of flour and meal ranked first in value of products, aggregating one hundred and thirty-six million dollars' worth. Next came leather and its products, worth ninety-two millions. The manufactured cotton goods were worth sixty-six millions; lumber, fifty-nine; iron and iron manufactures, forty-nine; woolen goods, forty-eight, and ready-made clothing an equal sum. The making of machinery had developed into a business worth twenty-eight million dollars; while the minor manufactures, increased threefold since 1840, were producing articles of use, convenience, and luxury worth over four hundred million dollars a year.

Among the causes which had contributed to this burst of prosperity for the manufacturing interests were the short crops and civil disturbances in Europe, which increased the cost of imported goods, and, by giving an exceptional prosperity to agriculture, greatly increased the local demand for agricultural implements and machinery and all other products of domestic manufacture, the increased use of mineral coal, the multiplication of steamboats on inland waters, and, above all, the marvelous fertility of American inventors, called into especial activity by the improved patent system adopted in 1836. The famine in Ireland and increased immigration due to it, the Mexican War, the discovery of gold in California and the rush of adventurers thither, were other and not insignificant factors of general activity which reacted favorably upon manufactures for several years.

By 1860 the number of persons employed in manufactures had risen to thirteen hundred and eleven thousand, with products exceeding eighteen hundred million dollars, and there were one hundred and thirty-two lines of manufacture in which the product was one million dollars or more. This was a marvelous showing in view of the facts that the country was on the edge of an industrial struggle such as the world had never before seen, that it had paid in a decade $200,000,000 in gold for imports in excess of exports, and had but recently undergone a period of general business disturbance, culminating in the panic of 1857. Flour and grist milling remained the leading industry in the line of manufactures, with products approaching two hundred and fifty million dollars in value. The manufactures of iron and steel yielded two hundred million dollars' worth of useful products. Lumber and the various manufactures of wood gave a total of one hundred and sixty millions. Leather in its various forms footed up over a hundred and eighty millions, about half being in boots and shoes. Clothing manufactures reached and passed the hundred million mark; so did cotton manufactures. Woolens lagged, with a product of sixty millions. Silks and linens were struggling for a foothold, unable to accomplish much in the face of severe foreign competition.

The increase in the employment of steam had been rapid, particularly in locomotive engines, due to the rapid extension of railways, called for in part, in large part producing, a wonderful development of the country west of the Alleghanies. Of over two and a half million immigrants during the decade, a large part had swarmed upon the new lands opened up in the West by the new railways, and, under the lead of two or three millions of wide-awake emigrants from the Eastern and Middle States, aided by a new order of agricultural implements and machinery, largely invented and manufactured in the West, the tier of States north of the Ohio had jumped into sudden industrial prominence, in which manufactures soon gained the first position. In 1860 more agricultural implements were being made there than the whole country had produced

ten years before. There had also been an unparalleled development of other manufactures, chiefly based on newly invented articles designed to meet the multiplying wants of that most prosperous region ; so that, in a region commonly supposed to be suited for agriculture alone, and agriculturally developed with a rapidity never before seen, the value of the manufactures soon exceeded the total products of the soil.

Whether regarded as a prime cause or an incidental effect of this wonderful industrial revolution, the activity of American inventors must be taken account of in any attempt to understand the history of American manufactures. The Patent Office was established in 1790, and reorganized in 1836 under laws much more encouraging to inventors. In the first period about

TEN THOUSAND PATENTS

for inventions were issued, many of them epoch-marks in the history of mechanical and social progress. Over seven thousand were issued between 1836 and 1850, some of them covering devices which have revolutionized society—like the electric telegraph and the sewing machine, agricultural machines, the vulcanizing of rubber, and others. In the next decade the number of inventions patented jumped to twenty-six thousand, a large portion of them resulting in the creation of, or in important additions to, lines of manufacture protected by patent rights, and thus largely exempt from the stress of foreign competition, and able to sustain themselves without much regard to differences in rates of wages or in rates of interest charged for capital borrowed to establish them.

We now come to the period of our Civil War.

The first effect of the Civil War was to withdraw a large number of men from industrial pursuits. Their places in factories and workshops were quickly filled, in part by women, more largely by skilled workmen from Europe, high wages and steady employment being assured by the scarcity of labor and the increased demand for manufactures, especially for army and navy supplies, which were called for in vast quantities and rapidly worn out or destroyed. These incentives were greatly increased and broadened when the revenue needs of the country compelled the adoption of a high tariff on imports, under which a multitude of manufactures previously excluded by overwhelming foreign competition were enabled to secure an assured footing, the number of manufacturing establishments increasing nearly eighty per cent. in ten years. In 1860 the capital invested in manufactures was thirteen per cent. of that devoted to agriculture ; in 1870 it had risen to nineteen per cent. ; in 1880, to twenty-three per cent., and the value of the product, less cost of raw materials, was nearly nine-tenths of the country's agricultural products, which had been increasing also at a great rate.

During these two decades, notwithstanding the losses and burdens entailed

by the war, with attendant financial and other troubles, the value of a year's manufactures rose from eighteen to fifty-six hundred million dollars—a sum equal to one-half the aggregate value of all the manufactures of all Europe; the population increasing, in the meantime, from thirty-one to fifty millions.

A most significant feature of the development of this period was the replacing of small establishments by large ones, by natural growth or by consolidation. The value of the product (allowance being made for return to a gold basis) was increased more than a half; so was the capital employed and the wages paid. The numbers of workers increased about one-third. Thirty-seven different industries showed a product of thirty million dollars or over; twenty-one yielded between fifteen and thirty millions; sixty, between five and fifteen millions; one hundred and eight, between one and five millions; one hundred were under one million dollars. Fully seven-eighths of the manufacturing was done in a few large towns in less than one hundred thousand establishments. More than half the total product was credited to one hundred cities, whose marvelous growth was largely due to this concentration of productive energy. The drift of manufactures westward continued a notable feature, especially in agricultural implements, lumber products, grist milling, meat packing, and distilling. Though New York still led in flour milling, Pennsylvania was the great producer of iron and steel. New York made nearly half of all the clothing, and Massachusetts most of the boots and shoes. New England monopolized the manufactures of cotton and shared with the Middle States the principal production of other textiles. In household furniture, New York and Massachusetts led, with a marked development toward the West. Ohio and New York excelled in the manufacture of carriages and wagons, an industry also strongly represented westward. In the production of malt liquors New York was far in the lead. Of the three thousand million dollars employed in manufacturing the country over, little more than one-tenth was credited to the former Slave States, and half of that was used in and around Baltimore.

Owing to the nature of its raw materials—the finished product of agriculture—the flour and grain milling industry led in value of products, over five hundred million dollars. For a like reason the slaughtering and meat-packing industry followed, with over three hundred millions; leather, $346,000,000; boots and shoes, $217,000,000; lumber, not including ships and houses, $233,000,000; iron and steel, $297,000,000; cotton goods, $192,000,000; woolen goods, $161,000,000; worsteds, $33,000,000; hosiery and knit goods, $29,000,000; mixed textiles, $66,000,000; carpets, $32,000,000; silks and silk goods, $35,000,000; paper, $55,000,000; agricultural implements and machinery, $69,000,000; chemical products, $117,000,000; bricks and tiles, $34,000,000; shipping, $34,000,000; glass, $21,000,000; carriages and wagons, $65,000,000; clothing, $241,000,000.

Not the least significant feature of this magnificent showing of industrial progress is the evidence it affords of the increasing ability of the country to supply its needs in staple lines. In the decade covered—1870–1880—the rate of increase in manufactures, in capital employed, materials used, and in value of products, was more than double the rate of increase in population. The labor-saving machinery employed was also doubled, and the steam power used was nearly tripled. There was also a considerable increase in the employment of water power; over 55,400 water wheels, furnishing for manufacturing purposes over 1,225,000 horse power. As yet not a half of one per cent. of the available water power of the country is utilized. Its development productively in place, and at a distance by the electric transmission of power, will, in the near future, add incalculable wealth to the American people, already the wealthiest in the world; for the utilization of nature's forces otherwise wasted has ever been—save one, the largest source of material gain to humanity, and is destined to be an infinitely greater source of benefit. The one source which exceeds it in utility, by making it available, is invention. And in this line of production—the most valuable of all—the first twenty years of freedom—1860–1880—yielded ten times as many "new and useful inventions," according to the record of the Patent Office, as all the years before 1860.

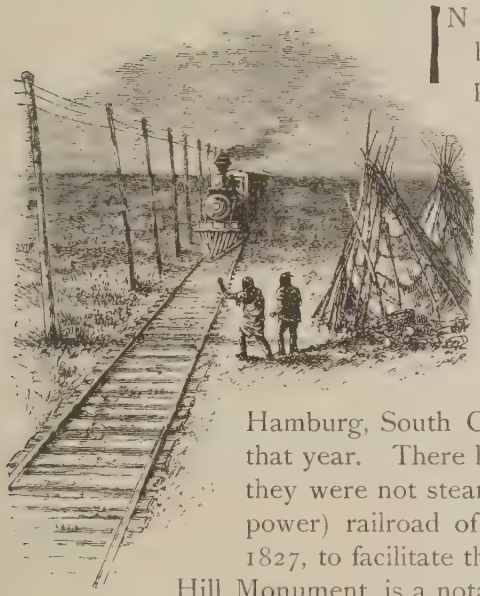
Since 1880 the progress of the manufacturing industries, now co-equal with their development and consolidation, had been such as to make even that of the previous decade seem slow. Already the great agricultural States of the West, so called, are manufacturing more each year than the entire country did in 1860; while the South, where manufactures were so long neglected and contemned, is employing as much capital in manufactures as all the States did in 1850, and is producing nearly as much in value; and the present prospect of the prosperous advancing New South is that it will, in a very few years, win an industrial position, judged by the value of manufactured products, if not in their diversity, honorably comparable with that of the Northern States.

In iron and steel, of which alone full returns of the census of 1890 have been published, the progress of the last decade places the United States in the foremost rank, with Great Britain second. During the census year the production of pig-iron exceeded nine and a half million tons—more than four times the product of 1870, and two and a half times that of 1880. Pennsylvania stood first, as for many years before; Ohio second; Alabama third, having risen from tenth rank since 1880; Illinois fourth.

The manufacture of steel has made still more surprising progress, with an out-put of nearly four and a half million tons, against one and one-seventh millions in 1880. The manufacture of steel rails, begun in 1867, and amounting to less than three-fourths of a million tons in 1880, had risen to over two million tons in 1890,—leading Great Britain's largest product by over 770,000 tons.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

OUR AMERICAN RAILROADS.



IN view of the important part performed by railways in the evolution of American prosperity and power, there was something specially significant in the name of the first American locomotive built for the first railway constructed for the carriage of passengers and freight by steam power exclusively.

It was the "Best Friend," made at the West Point Works, New York City, in the summer of 1830, for the pioneer steam railway between Charleston and Hamburg, South Carolina, opened for service in the fall of that year. There had been railroads at an earlier date, but they were not steam roads. The historic three-mile (horse-power) railroad of the Quincy Granite Company, built in 1827, to facilitate the transportation of stone for the Bunker Hill Monument, is a notable example. The Delaware and Hudson Canal Company's gravity coal road between Carbondale and Hawley, Pa., was another; and a later one was the tram-road for horses between Baltimore and Ellicott's Mills, now part of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. And there had been numerous experimental locomotives, by several inventors, following the lead of Oliver Evans at the beginning of the century, and coming nearest to success, perhaps, in Peter Cooper's little "Tom Thumb." This, the first American locomotive to run on rails, was a toy affair, with a three and a-half inch cylinder, an upright tubular boiler made with old gun-barrels, and a fan-blower for increasing the fire-draft. It was about as big as a flour-barrel on a hand-car, and weighed two and a-half tons. In August, 1830, it made the run from Baltimore to Ellicott's, twenty-seven miles, in an hour; but when raced against a fast team on the return trip it failed, through the slipping of the belt which moved the fan. A year earlier an English engine had been imported by

the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, for hauling-coal; and, though successful in a short run, it proved to be too heavy for the tracks and too tall to pass under highway bridges, and was never used.

The "Best Friend" was more fortunate at first, and it was practically the pioneer American locomotive, and the South Carolina road was our pioneer steam railway—the first to carry passengers and the United States mail, and, withal, the longest railroad in the world when completed. It was not contemptible, either, in the matter of speed. On trial trips (in the latter part of 1830), the "Best Friend" was able to run at the rate of twenty miles an hour, with four or five coaches and forty to fifty passengers; and from thirty to thirty-five miles an hour without cars. Its own weight was five tons. On the stockholders' first anniversary, January 15, 1831, an excursion party of two hundred and more were carried over the road, in two trips, with a band of music and a detachment of United States soldiers with a field piece.

This was only four months after the formal opening of the Manchester and Liverpool road, when Stephenson demonstrated for England the superiority of steam railways for passenger travel.

Stephenson's locomotive, "The Rocket," had two features of the modern locomotive which the *Best Friend* lacked—a tubular boiler and steam draft; and, in June, 1831, the West Point Works sent to the South Carolina road a better engine of the "Rocket" type. Soon after the *Best Friend's* career was ended by the excessive zeal of a negro fireman who sat upon the safety valve to stop the escape of steam. The fireman's career was ended at the same time.

Closely pressing the South Carolina road in its claim for priority was the Mohawk and Hudson road, from Albany to Schenectady, N. Y., now part of the New York Central road. By many it is regarded as furnishing the first fully equipped passenger train drawn by a steam-engine to run in regular service in America. Trial trips were made in August, 1831, regular service beginning in October. The engine was the "De Witt Clinton," the third locomotive built at the West Point Works. It weighed three and a half tons, and, hauling half a dozen coaches, was able to run from Albany to Schenectady, seventeen miles, in less than an hour. An excursion trip made August 9, 1831, described by one of the party, gives a good idea of primitive railway travel. "The train was made up of the *De Witt Clinton*, its tender, and five or six coaches—old stage bodies placed on trucks, coupled together by chain links, leaving from two to three feet slack. When the locomotive started it took up the slack by jerks, with sufficient force to jerk the passsengers, who sat on seats across the tops, out from under their hats, and in stopping the cars came together with such force as to send the excursionists flying from their seats.

"Pitch pine was used for fuel, and there being no spark-catcher to the smoke-stack, a volume of black smoke, strongly charged with sparks, coal, and

cinders, came pouring back the whole length of the train. Each of the outside passengers who had an umbrella, raised it as a protection against the smoke and fire. The umbrellas were found to be but a momentary protection, and in the first mile the last one went overboard, all having their covers burned off from the frames.

At the first station a plan was hit upon to stop the jerking. A piece of fence rail was placed between each pair of cars, stretching the link-coupling, and fastened by means of packing yarn from the cylinders, an improvement not fully worked out practically for many years.

A more formal exhibition of the possibilities of the road was made a month

NEW TERMINAL STATION AND MARKET HOUSE OF READING RAILROAD.
(*Erected in* 1892.)

later, when a large number of State and city officials took part. A "powerful Stephenson locomotive" had been imported for the occasion, but it did not work well, and the DeWitt Clinton was brought into service to haul a train of three coaches, while seven other coaches followed, drawn by horses. The steam train made the trip in forty-six minutes; the horse-drawn train in an hour and a quarter. Among the toasts offered at the subsequent dinner was this: "The Buffalo Railroad—may we soon breakfast in Utica, dine in Rochester, and sup with our friends on Lake Erie."

Now we breakfast in New York, dine on the road while speeding through Central New York, and sup as the train flies past.

Crude as were these early beginnings, they sufficed to convince a wide-

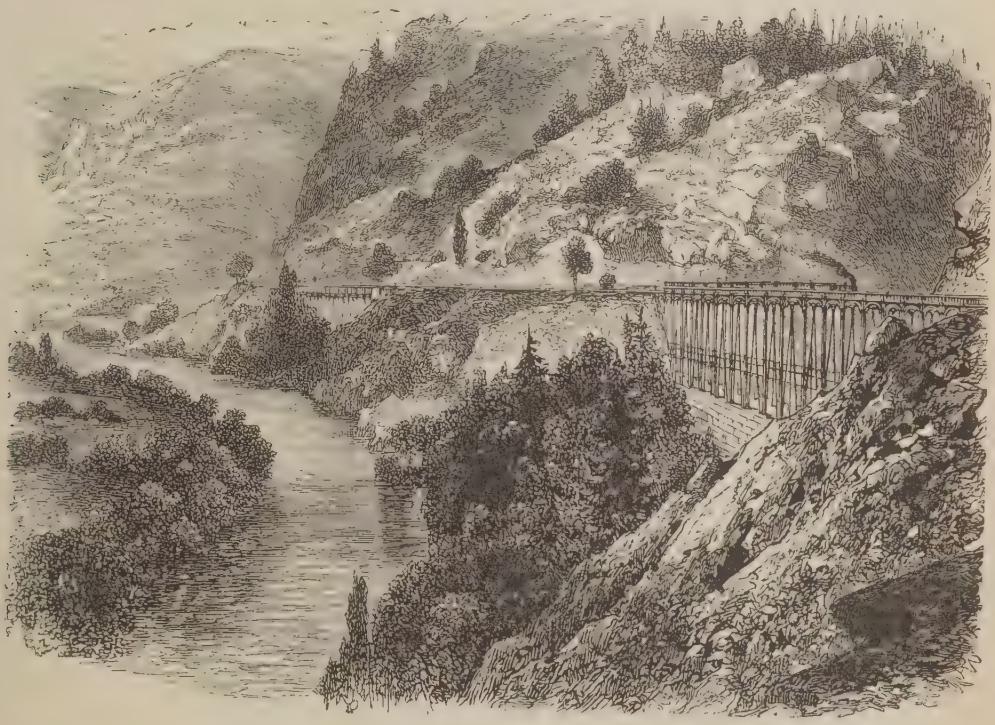
awake and enterprising people that the steam railroad was to be the future highway, and railway projects were started in all parts of the country, a number of them to be carried out speedily. There were nearly a hundred miles of railways in operation at the end of 1831, and the first thousand miles were passed in 1835. In the meantime improvements were introduced in the construction of tracks, locomotives, and cars, and the characteristics which have since distinguished American railroads, rolling stock, and methods of operation, began to be developed.

In Europe the railways were primarily to meet existing needs, social, commercial, and military. They connected strategic points, or established centres of population, and sought mainly to supply the demonstrated wants of ancient trade routes. In America the longer roads were planned chiefly to meet future needs. They were pioneers in national development. They penetrated the wilderness to hasten its conquest, to make accessible natural resources not otherwise attainable. They created trade routes. Population followed the lines they laid down, and their points of intersection became centres of production and traffic. Built largely in advance of trade and travel, by a people too young to have accumulated an excess of capital, in their construction and equipment the early American roads showed less of solidity and elegance than of originality, one might almost say audacity, in design and execution. Curves of startling abruptness were common, and timber viaducts of spider-web lightness led over chasms that European engineers would have crossed only at a cost which would have thrown a new enterprise into bankruptcy, as indeed the cheapest construction too often did.

The unsubstantial nature of the roadway, with wooden viaducts and bridges, compelled the use of rolling stock of home production. Almost invariably the imported engines proved too heavy and rigid for American service. They were built for level grades and wide curves, the axles being held rigidly parallel by the engine frames. The second engine of the South Carolina road had its running-gear of eight wheels arranged in two trucks, turning on king bolts, so as to easily follow sharp curves. This was improved upon in the first Mohawk and Hudson engine, in which the driving wheels were separated from the swiveled "bearing" truck, a plan which still better enabled the engine to follow readily sharp curves and adapt itself to sudden inequalities of the track. In 1836 two pairs of driving-wheels coupled together were adopted in connection with a swiveling bearing-truck; and thereafter what has since been known the world over as the American type of locomotive became the rule here, to be accepted ultimately by other countries,—latterly even by the stubbornly conservative English locomotive builders.

Closely following the Mohawk and Hudson road, in the same year, came the thirteen-mile railway between Richmond and Chesterfield, Va., and a five-

mile road from New Orleans to Lake Pontchartrain. The next year Pennsylvania had a State-built railroad, using horses at first, from Philadelphia to Columbia, eighty-two miles, and the Portage road, for canal boats, over the mountains from Hollidaysburgh to Johnstown, using stationary engines. These roads, with their canal connections, gave Philadelphia a route through to the West, reducing the freight charge to Pittsburgh from $100 to $30 per ton. New York and Philadelphia were connected by the Camden and Amboy Railroad, finished in 1834. Boston and Worcester were iron-linked in 1835.



ON THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILWAY.

Something of a railway mania ensued, culminating in 1842, in which year over seven hundred miles of new roads were built, bringing the aggregate mileage up to four thousand. By this time Boston and Albany had been connected by railway, and wheat threshed and milled in Rochester on Monday had been delivered in Boston, converted into bread, and solemnly eaten at a public dinner on Wednesday. From New York one could go by rail all the way to Washington; and from Fredericksburg, Va., to Wilmington, N. C. In 1850 there was no direct rail connection between New York and Boston, nor between New York and Albany. The Hudson River Road was opened in the Fall of 1851.

By the consolidation of a dozen previously independent roads, the New York Central was created in 1853. With the completion of the Hudson River road, the westward traveler could go by rail to Buffalo; thence by boat through Lake Erie to Detroit; across the State of Michigan by rail; thence across Lake Michigan by boat to Chicago, then almost as far from New York as San Francisco now is. Chicago's only railway connection was with Elgin, forty miles west. The Michigan Central reached Chicago, giving it direct Eastern connection, in 1852. Meantime Western Ohio had reached Chicagoward from Toledo, passing through Northern Indiana. Two or three years later Chicago had become a great railway centre, with lines to Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and St. Louis, and had entered upon an era of civic development previously unknown even in America. During that decade—1850 to 1860—the development of the region between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River was something marvelous, and the rapid extension of its railways must be considered as much a cause as an effect.

Coincident with the extension of railway facilities were improvements in methods and appliances. The original coaches could carry from four to six passengers inside and two at each end outside. The next step was to low and narrow cars, with four or five coach-like compartments, into which perhaps twenty passengers could be crowded, in groups of four. Then the partitions were omitted, making a long box-car with doors at the ends. These cars were dimly lighted by tallow candles or whale-oil lamps, which smoked the tops of the cars and spattered the sides with grease. The more luxurious of the stiff, uncomfortable seats were covered with hair cloth. In winter some of the cars were heated by small sheet-iron stoves. There was no ventilation except by open windows, into which poured clouds of dust from the unballasted roadbed, and denser clouds of smoke and cinders from the locomotive, burning fat pine for fuel and belching forth a torrent of sparks that usually enveloped the entire train. The cars were without springs.

The first rails were merely straps of iron nailed to longitudinal sleepers of wood. The continuous hammering of the wheels on one side of these bars caused them to curl; the loosened ends would sometimes be struck by the wheels and thrust upward through the car,—causing "snake heads," which never failed to frighten, and not unfrequently to kill, passengers and derail the train. The modern rail, invented by Colonel Stevens, of New Jersey, removed this source of danger and commended itself to railway builders the world over. The strap rail was not entirely displaced, however, for many years.

The early railroad stations were mere sheds with few conveniences for passengers or baggage. There was no baggage checking, and every passenger had to keep track of his own luggage; a serious bother and constant anxiety, as "through" cars were unknown and frequent changes of cars were made

necessary by the short length and independent management of connecting roads. At every terminus the passenger had to get out, buy a new ticket, and see that his baggage was properly transferred. At night and in foul weather this was no pleasure. Coupon tickets, continuous trains, sleeping cars, baggage checking over connecting routes, and other conveniences came in with the later fifties. By this time the electric telegraph had become an important factor in railroad management, a factor of safety as well as convenience; and that other American idea, the express service, had demonstrated its advantages to travelers as well as to shippers of goods.

THE LOOP, ABOVE GEORGETOWN, COLORADO.
(*On the Union Pacific System*).

In 1850 the railways of the country were almost entirely confined to the Atlantic slope north of Virginia. Ten years later the Southern States were crossed in various directions from Richmond to Savannah and Memphis, from New Orleans to the mouth of the Ohio; and a network of iron roads furnished transportation to the coast for the cotton of the Carolinas, Georgia, and Alabama. Still greater progress had

been made north of the Ohio. The great Central States were crossed and recrossed many times, and their fertile plains were tapped by the four or five great chains of connecting lines, furnishing through routes from New York to beyond the Mississippi River, and down the Mississippi to New Orleans; and Chicago had become a great railway centre.

During the years of civil war railroad building was largely suspended, to begin again with increased vigor with the return of peace. The gigantic task of building an iron way across the continent had been accomplished before the decade was ended, and the aggregate mileage of the country had been increased to about sixty thousand. The example set by the New York Central, and the manifest convenience and economy of grouping related roads into united systems under common management, had led to the formation of great corporations like the Pennsylvania Railway Company and the Baltimore and Ohio, thus bringing a confusion of independent roads into orderly and economical action, with lower tariff rates for freight and passengers, speedier service, and greater efficiency in every department. The great advantages of the rapid and uninterrupted transmission of packages by the express companies led to the extension of such service to general freight carrying, and fast freight lines in charge of special companies were the beneficent result.

While these improvements in railway management were developing, not less important improvements were making in the construction and equipment of the roads. The track was better laid, heavier rails employed, with larger cars, and more powerful engines. The Hodge hand-brake, and the Stevens brake, introduced about 1850, materially increased the economy and safety of handling trains. The Miller coupler and buffer was a more radical improvement, practically ending the jerking and jolting in starting and stopping trains, and lessening the risk of "telescoping" in case of collisions.

The extension of railway lines and the increase of night travel gave rise to the need of better sleeping accommodations, and several roads experimented with sleeping-cars about the time of their introduction by Woodruff in 1856. Wagner cars were placed on the New York Central in 1858, and soon after the Chicago and Alton Road tried a number of day cars altered to sleepers by Pullman. Great improvements were developed by Pullman in 1865, the first car of the new type—costing the then extravagant sum of $18,000—was first used in the funeral train of President Lincoln. Parlor or drawing-room cars were next introduced for day service, adding greatly to the comfort of traveling. The first hotel car was introduced by the Pullman Company in 1857, and the first dining-car, in which all the passengers of a train could take their meals as in a well-equipped restaurant, followed in 1868.

Each decade since 1870 has seen a greater extension of railway lines and more numerous improvements in railway material and methods than in all the

years preceding, marvelous as their result had been. In 1870 the great railway States were Pennsylvania and Illinois, with nearly five thousand miles of iron roads each, while New York, Ohio, and Indiana had a mileage of over three thousand each. In 1880 Illinois' mileage approached eight thousand, Pennsylvania's over six thousand; New York, Ohio, and Iowa had nearly as many; and seven other States exceeded three thousand miles each. Of these, Texas had increased her mileage over fourfold. During that year the railway mileage of the whole country reached and passed a hundred thousand miles; and over seventy thousand miles of new road have since been added. Illinois remained in 1890 the greatest railroad State, with ten thousand miles; Kansas had nine thousand; Iowa, Pennsylvania, and Texas nearly as many. After these come Ohio with eight thousand miles; New York with seven thousand seven hundred and sixty miles; and Michigan

ENTERING BOULDER CAÑON, COLORADO.
(*On the Union Pacific System*).

with seven thousand three hundred and forty-two miles. Thirteen or fourteen States have more than five thousand miles each; and all except Rhode Island, Delaware, Vermont and Nevada have passed the first thousand.

During the last two decades there have been three great periods of railway extension, culminating in 1871, in 1882, and in 1887, the advance in the last year named being nearly thirteen thousand miles, or as much as the whole country had in 1852. The present mileage of the United States—not counting town and city roads operated by horses, stationary engines, electric motors, and small steam engines, like those of our elevated roads—is more than half the railway mileage of the entire world, and more than six times that of any other country.

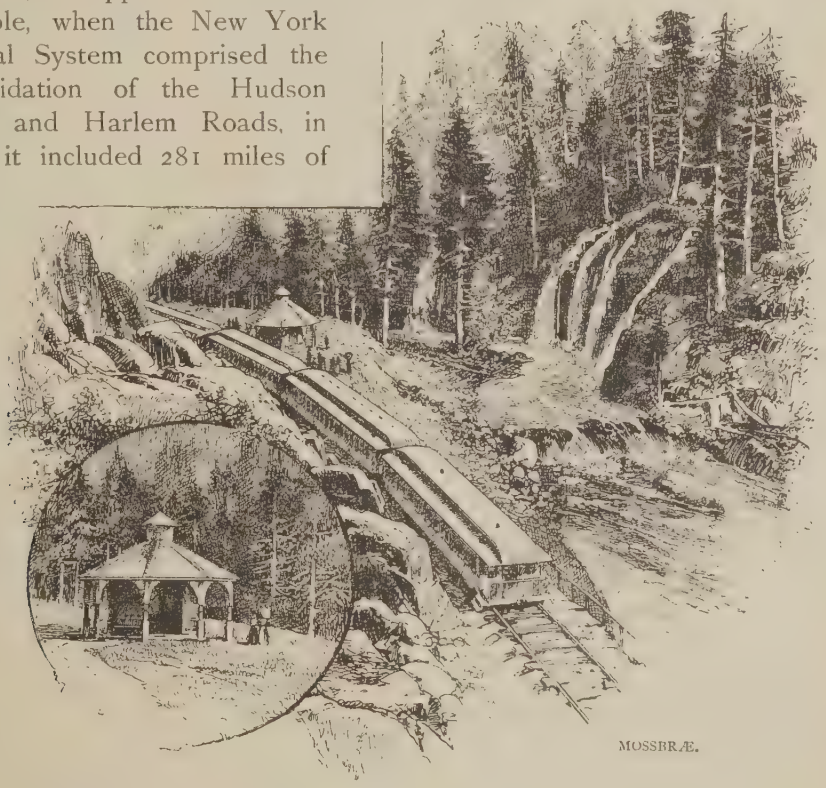
At a low estimate something like one-fifth of the entire wealth of the United States is represented by these newly created highways of traffic and travel, or much more than the sum of the whole world's stock of money, of every kind—gold, silver, and paper. Their motive power is furnished by upward of 30,000 locomotives, valued at half a billion dollars, whose flying trains comprise about twelve hundred thousand cars, worth more than a billion and a half. They would make a train extending half way around the globe! Their annual traffic earnings exceed a thousand million dollars. They give direct employment to an army of 800,000 railway men, and four times as many men are employed in subsidiary occupations, in building and equipping them, the railway interests supporting fully a twentieth of our entire population.

To haul on common roads the freight carried by American railroads would require not less than sixty million horses, with all the able-bodied men in the country to drive them, and the annual freight bill would be increased twenty-fold or more by such a return to primitive methods, were such a thing possible. Facts and figures like these serve not merely to indicate the magnitude and importance of our railway service, but to show how fundamentally necessary it is to a civilization like ours. Without such means of cheap and rapid movement of men and materials the greater part of our populous and wealth-producing territory would have remained a savage wilderness.

Before the days of railways it cost a hundred dollars to haul a ton of freight from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh; on the easier grades through Central New York to Buffalo the charge was twenty-five cents a mile. Only costly commodities could stand such expensive carriage. The value of a load of wheat would have been absorbed in half the distance; indeed, a distance of a hundred miles is generally regarded as the limit of grain transport on common roads. By railway it can stand a carriage of two or three thousand miles, the average freight charge on all the railroads of the country being about a cent a mile; on many roads it as low as three-fourths of a cent. It was over three cents a mile in 1853 and over two cents in 1860. Since 1870 the average cost of bringing a bushel of wheat from Chicago to New York has fallen from about thirty-five

cents to less than fifteen cents, with corresponding benefit to Eastern and European consumers.

To attempt to trace the causes of this cheapening of transportation for freight and passengers would carry us far beyond the limits of space prescribed. Some of the chief contributing factors, however, may be briefly noticed—competition, due to the multiplication of roads; more economical management, through the development of great systems under united and judicious control; and, above all, improvement in the tracks, engines, cars, stations, and all related means, methods, and appliances. As an example, when the New York Central System comprised the consolidation of the Hudson River and Harlem Roads, in 1864, it included 281 miles of



MOSSBRÆ.

railway, with double tracks, sidings, and spurs, making a total mileage of 463. In 1891 the system included sixteen roads, with over 5000 miles of track. Its valuation had increased sixfold, its operating expenses fivefold, and its gross earnings more than fivefold. In 1866 it used 125 locomotives, 251 passenger cars, and 1421 freight cars of all sorts and sizes. The average freight car was then twenty-eight feet long and carried ten tons; the average passenger car was forty feet long and would seat forty passengers. Now the average freight car is thirty-four feet long, with a capacity of twenty-

two tons; the passenger coach is fifty-four feet long and carries sixty-four, with a comfort undreamed of at the earlier day. The fast express of 1866 attained a speed of thirty-four miles an hour. The Empire State Express of 1892 regularly maintains a speed of fifty-one miles from the sea to the lakes; sometimes it exceeds a mile a minute. In 1866 the average passenger train, including the engine, weighed one hundred and thirty tons; the average freight train perhaps twice as much. In 1891 some of the freight engines alone weighed one hundred tons, and a freight train of thirty-five cars, over five hundred tons. A limited passenger train would weigh nearly four-fifths as much. In 1891 the system, using over eleven hundred locomotives and forty times as many cars, carried over twenty million passengers more than six hundred million miles, at a cost to passengers of less than two cents a mile, and twenty million tons of freight over three thousand million miles. The chairman of the Board of Directors of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company is Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt, who devotes his time to furthering the interests of this great company. Mr. Chauncey M. Depew is the active president of the road, with Mr. Theodore Voorhies as superintendent, maintaining a vigilant oversight of its business, and Mr. George H. Daniels is the efficient General Passenger Agent. The task of operating this vast enterprise, with its five hundred and eighty-six trains daily, devolves upon Mr. John M. Toucey, as General Manager, whose record may well serve as a stimulus to others—for Mr. Toucey rose from the ranks.

JOHN M. TOUCEY.
(General Manager New York Central Railroad System).

John M. Toucey, General Manager of the New York Central & Hudson River R. R., was born at Newtown, Conn., July 30th, 1828. After preparing for Trinity College, Mr. Toucey, finding that his tastes did not lead him in the direction of the ministry, turned his attention to school teaching, continuing in that profession for two years. At the age of nineteen he applied for and obtained a position on the Naugatuck R. R., then in course of construction, and was appointed station agent at Plymouth (now Thomaston), beginning business there before the station was erected.

About a year after his appointment the station was robbed, and no clue obtained until about fifteen hours had elapsed. Mr. Toucey followed the thief to Goshen, near Litchfield, where he grappled with him alone, secured the money, and turned the man over to the authorities to serve a seven years' sentence in the State Prison. While running as conductor between Bridgeport and Winstead the road was badly damaged by freshets. Mr. Toucey was given

charge of the reconstruction of the road between Waterbury and Winstead, completing the work in a short time to the entire satisfaction of the Company. After serving at Indianapolis as agent of the Madison & Indianapolis R. R., and later as freight agent on the Morris & Essex R. R., Mr. Toucey entered the service of the Hudson River R. R., and in 1855 was appointed passenger conductor between New York and Troy, subsequently filling the position of agent at East Albany. In 1862 President Samuel Sloan, of the Hudson River R. R., appointed Mr. Toucey Train Master, from which position he was soon promoted to be Assistant Superintendent.

In 1867 Mr. Toucey resigned from the service of the Hudson River Road and accepted the position of General Superintendent of the D. L. & W. R. R., under Mr. Sloan, the former President of the Hudson River Road, but after two months' service he was recalled to the Hudson River Railroad by Commodore Vanderbilt, and appointed General Superintendent, with full charge of the line then extending from New York to Albany. Some years after the consolidation of the New York Central Railroad and the Hudson River Railroad Mr. Toucey's jurisdiction was extended to Buffalo, and in February, 1890, he was appointed General Manager. Mr. Toucey's long experience in railway management and his habits of close observation, combined with untiring energy and native sagacity, have brought him to the front rank among railway managers, and he is deservedly popular with the army of men employed on the great "New York Central System," where his ability is recognized and his tall form is so well known.

THE PENNSYLVANIA SYSTEM

covers between seven and eight thousand miles of track, with a freight traffic of one hundred and thirty million tons (over twelve thousand million tons one mile) and a passenger traffic of eighty-seven million passengers (over sixteen hundred thousand one mile), and carries seventy-four thousand names on its pay-rolls. The Union Pacific system covers over six thousand miles of connecting roads; the Southern Pacific nearly as many; the Richmond Terminal system something like seven thousand miles; and in scope of territory and magnitude of business these are rivaled, if not surpassed, by several systems reaching westward from Chicago into regions that were an almost unbroken wilderness twenty-five years ago, now a chain of mighty States, reaching from Mexico to Manitoba, and from the Mississippi to the Pacific. The unprecedented progress in the social, industrial, and political development of that wilderness of yesterday is primarily due to the people who have converted it to the uses of civilization; but their presence there was made possible by railways, and the railway has everywhere been their great engine of conquest and development—the bringer of population and carrier of the wealth they discovered or created.

To trace adequately the conflicts of systems and the effects of competition in decreasing tariff rates, and in improving the means and methods of railway

service since 1880, would require a volume. Much less is it possible to describe the notable feats of engineering which have carried railways over rivers and chasms, over mountains impassable other than by sure-footed mules, across deserts too hot and dry even for mule trains. "No heights seem too great to-day, no valleys too deep, no cañons too forbidding, no streams too wide; if commerce demands it the engineer will respond and the railways will be built." The railway bridges of the country would make a continuous structure from New York to San Francisco, and include many of the boldest and most original, as well as the longest and highest bridges in the world. The pioneer railway suspension bridge at Niagara Falls was as remarkable in its day for boldness and originality as for its size and its success. A single span of 821 feet, supported by four cables, carried the track 245 feet above the river that rushed beneath. The cables were supported by masonry towers, whose slow disintegration gave occasion for an engineering feat even more notable than the original construction of the bridge. The first railroad bridge across the Ohio was at Steubenville, completed in 1866; the first iron bridge over the Upper Mississippi was the Burlington bridge of 1869. The first great bridge across the Mississippi was Eads' magnificent structure at St. Louis, whose beautiful steel arches of over 500 feet span each give no hint of the difficult problems that had to be solved before a permanent bridge was possible at that point. It was completed in 1874. Since then the great river has been frequently bridged for railways, the latest at Memphis, while its great arm, the Missouri, has been crossed a dozen times. The Memphis bridge involves the cantilever construction, so boldly applied for the first time by the Cincinnati Southern Road to its crossing of the deep gorge of the Kentucky River, a cañon 1200 feet wide and 275 feet deep, with a stream subject to rises of water of 55 feet.

But to return to the subject of railways and their development: the latest and most promising phase of this development—the electric railroads—must have a paragraph. Though it is scarcely a dozen years since the first experimental electric locomotive was exhibited, there are already (June, 1892,) upward of five thousand miles of electric roads in operation, capitalized at nearly two hundred million dollars, Massachusetts leads in mileage, though exceeded by New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio in number of roads. Thirty-six States claim one or more roads each, and St. Louis, Mo., boasts of the most complete and extensive city system. Assurance is given that electric locomotives will soon displace steam engines from the Elevated Roads of New York city. The largest electric locomotives thus far reported are the three eighty-ton electric engines for the tunnel service of the Baltimore Belt Railway. They are designed to haul a 1200-ton freight train fifteen miles an hour, or a 500-ton passenger train thirty miles an hour. Similar heavy and powerful electric locomotives have been adopted for handling trains at the Northern Pacific Terminals at Chicago.

CHAPTER XL.

LIFE ON THE FRONTIER.

MOTHER AND INFANT.

AMONG the unique and interesting figures that have entered into the history of the West is the squatter. His species has become almost extinct. He will soon be driven out, ground down, and reduced by the leveling arm of civilization to an ordinary American citizen, with every trace of picturesqueness lost. He may still be seen in the more thickly settled regions of the West. His people are a mongrel set. They generally came from one of the Middle States, a family at a time, in an old ox-wagon, whose cover was drawn in at the ends like the back of an old-fashioned sun-bonnet, and from under whose tattered edges a row of pink-faced, white-haired children peeped out upon the new Canaan of their rightful possessions. Inside, wielding his long whip, sat the solemn pioneer. Outside, walking behind a retinue consisting of a cow, a calf, a sad-looking horse, and several yellow dogs, came the wind-tanned mother and the eldest, bare-legged boy. Over the wheels of the wagon dangled a few rush-bottomed chairs, an old pine bedstead, and the simplest household utensils. The father chewed his tobacco and cracked his whip, the children chattered, the big boy shied clods of earth at the quail and meadow lark, and the mother trudged on in silence.

When they came to a place that suited them, where there was timber, light, sandy soil, and water, they constructed a rude cabin and settled down for a season. It did not occur to them to ask whose land it was. They did not want to sign deeds, pay taxes, and build fences; they simply wanted a home where

the father could return after his fishing and hunting and the mother could piece her rag-quilts and dip her snuff in peace. They cut a few poles and built a rude log cabin, roofed it with brush and sod, and smoothed the earthen floor. The old chairs and three-legged bedstead that had been nailed to the wall soon gave it a home-like air. A bee-gum spring was sunk, a brushwood fence was built for the calf, and a clearing made for the little garden. When they had found out the nearest mill their wants were supplied. They had no need for a school, a church, a physician, or a preacher. The mother knew of herbs and liniments, and as for education, the children needed to learn only to swim and climb, to ride and shoot, and, later in life, to shift for themselves.

But often the squatter does not even have a rude cabin to boast of. If he has the roving spirit that cannot settle down long enough in any one place to make it worth his while to construct a cabin, he will pitch a tent, and he and his family will live there in the most aboriginal fashion for a season or two, perhaps, before moving on. He may be a trapper, and in that case he gets a fair livelihood if his luck is good. When the owner decides to claim his land the squatter and his family move on. Perhaps the mother will fret a little over her ash-hopper, her setting hens, and her turnip patch; but the children like the travel, and the oldest boy is wild to ride the first mustang pony he has broken. They have prospered in the West, and this time the cart, followed by the inevitable yellow dogs, is loaded. There are plenty of other spring branches and tempting locations. The whole West is before them from which to make a more fortunate selection for a home.

In sharp contradistinction to the squatter is the settler, who knows the homestead law, takes up his one hundred and sixty acres, publishes his claim, and settles down to live unbrokenly upon it for the required six months each year. When his deeds read right and field notices have been properly witnessed and recorded, he is ready to begin life as a citizen and landholder. He hews and splits the tough post-oaks and black-jacks, builds strong "worm" fences around his possessions, and is ready when the season opens to begin his work. He plants his crop, digs his well, sets out the little fruit orchard, drains and irrigates, plows and grubs. The scent of the new earth is on his clothing and the sweetness and wholesomeness of it are in his heart. If he is progressive, public-spirited, and thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the West, he will immediately show some indication of his enterprise. He will meet his fellow-citizens, boom the lands, work for a new railroad, subscribe for schools and churches, and work for better laws. He is bound to succeed. His children will be sent away to be educated, and they will have a better inheritance than was left to their parents. Probably this independent, self-reliant, and public-spirited settler will aspire to political honors. Politics are contagious in the West, and nearly every young man looks forward to a seat in the Legislature, if

not in Congress. But whether he represents a county or a district, the thoroughly and typically Western man will always carry with him the opinions that have been ground into him by his rough contact with a hard world.

There is another class of settlers in the West who remain hopelessly poor in spite of sobriety, hard work, and good intentions. They are the people whom luck seems to turn against. Whatever he undertakes, this settler seems to be unfortunate. He sells his land to a speculator, and the unearned increment goes into the hands of a shrewder person. He sees men all around him getting suddenly rich, and in time he gets used to seeing others profit by his toil. His wife must always be an overworked creature, for it takes the united toil of both to get a living. It is a wonder that these pioneer women of the West do not more frequently lose courage. But in times of grasshoppers or severe drought, of destruction of crops by wind or hail, she never gives up. She has the temperament that can endure. The woman who has always known hardship and toil, who marched in behind wagons, her face burned and hardened by

A TUMBLE FROM THE TRAIL.

exposure to wind and sun in varying seasons, is not the person to become faint-hearted. Hard-featured but tender-hearted, brown-skinned but white-souled, she holds her own with her sturdy husband and plodding sons. She takes upon her shoulders the helpmeet's half of a pioneer life. She is up with the dawn, milks her dozen cows, carries her water for cooking and washing purposes from the nearest branch, a quarter of a mile away, cuts her own wood, and makes her own fires. Uncomplaining and unresentful, she sings at her work, and is always ready to cheer and comfort. Side by side with the men, she plows and hoes the new fields, or, mounted on her own broncho, participates in the round-up or "stands herd" while the boys take their noontide nap in the chapparal bush. She teaches her children to ride, swim, and to look out for themselves at a tender age.

Childhood as it is known in cities and in older States, with its prattling ignorance and pretty dependencies, is almost extinguished in the far West. The boys assume responsibilities beyond their years, and the girls soon learn to share the mother's household cares. The substantial facts and practical experiences with which the life of their elders is guided has an early influence upon their own. They learn the time of day by the sun, and predict changes of weather by the hazes and rings about the moon. They learn the ages and distinctive qualities in the herds. The hills are their schools, pebbles and wild flowers their books, and the horses their playmates. They become sophisticated with a rare impersonal knowledge of nature and things created.

The cattle business, as the practical ranchman calls his vocation, has undergone a decided change during the past twenty years. The wholesale and loosely-managed business of the '60's has given way to the statistical and close-margined system of the present. It has grown, with the tendency of modern practical and domestic economy, toward a basis of real valuations. It is the scope and territory of the business that have been so reduced, while the results remain practically the same. The last census bulletin, reporting on live stock on ranges, gives a summary of 517,128 head of horses, 5433 mules, 14,109 asses or burros, 6,828,182 head of cattle, 6,676,902 sheep, and 17,276 swine. The sales of horses amounted to $1,418,205; cattle, $17,913,712; sheep, $2,669,663, and swine, $27,132. The total number of men in charge of the ranches was 15,390. As to territory for stock-raising, nature has made a generous provision. The immense Panhandle of Texas, which, with its fertility of soil and abundance of rainfall, must not be confounded with the arid Pecos regions or the Llano Estacado, or Staked Plains, embraces hundreds of square miles of juicy grass-range. Even the Staked Plains, considered useless for years, are gradually being converted into good pasture regions by means of irrigation and artificial forestry. The prairies of Kansas and the rolling stretches of the Indian Territory are used for no other purpose than as the feeding-ground for thousands of herds.

Until the passage of the Oklahoma Bill the Indian country was an Eldorado for Kansas and Texas cattlemen. The withdrawal of the country was a great backset to the cattle business in the Southwest. The Texas mesquite grass is superb winter forage, keeping its nutritive and sustaining qualities long after it appears dried up and juiceless, but it is not as fattening as the Territory grass. Every winter the Oklahoma district was overrun with herds driven from the surrounding country, and while in the Territory among the helpless Indians the cattleman resorted to his primitive system of commission. He knew he had no right to the Indian's land, and the Indian knew it too, but, so long as he was not inconvenienced for the time being, he made no resistance to the usurpation of his land. The stockmen pacified the Indians for the use of their pasturing grounds by supplying some of their more immediate wants, giving them fresh beef and cows and a generous amount of tobacco, whisky, and worthless trinkets for the squaws.

The pleasant little game of reciprocity was broken up by the President's fiat forbidding foreign stockmen to drive their herds into the Territory. There was no penalty attached, and there was, naturally, considerable manœuvring on the part of the stockmen to evade the law and its inconvenient requirements. The United States troops stationed at Forts Sill and Reno were commissioned to enforce the law and to order all foreign stockmen then in the Territory to vacate immediately. One stubborn old-timer from Texas, who was peacefully teaching his herd to eat forbidden grass, came under the official eye and gave no small amount of trouble. After numerous attempts at resistance, he finally rounded up his herd and marched to the border; but, as there was no fiat to forbid his return, deliberately marched back. Several official orders were sent him; each time he obeyed, and each time he returned. Finally two companies of cavalry were sent out to insist upon the enforcement of the law. The mounted cavalry, in their brave uniforms, riding their stall-fed and stiff-kneed horses, did not find the matter as simple as they perhaps had anticipated. They set out, solemnly marching in fours, before, behind, or in the midst, wherever they could keep their places in the disorganized herd of long-horns. The drive occurred in April, when most of the cows were calving, and the young calves, unable to keep up in the line of march, fell behind. The infuriated mothers continually broke ranks to rush back after their wailing offspring. The captain's roaring command, "Charge the brute!" would be countermanded by the order, "Retreat! Retreat!" when a maddened animal bore down upon the solemn fours. This weary war between the staid soldiers and the resisting herd of cattle went on for two days and nights. A combination of forces more incongruous can scarcely be imagined. The calm, rimless stretch of prairie was the scene of battle between man and beast. The dignified soldiers, in their unwonted service, contrasted with the infuriated mob of cattle; the flashing of

arms and the prancing of terrified army horses; the confusion of orders; the lowing of the cows, bellowing of steers, and cries of deserted calves; the little knot of cowboys and their leader riding submissively apart, watching the proceedings with amused interest, wondering what the result would be.

A BUCKING BRONCHO.

The troops were called upon a number of times during the season to preserve the majesty of the law before the country was finally deserted by the stockmen. The Territories and new States of the Northwest still supply unlimited range and pasturage. The plains extending from the Black Hills and the mountain ranges of Wyoming, from Fort Collins to the Montana border, and between Pike's Peak and Denver, as well as the greater part of the mild-wintered New Mexico Territory, are rich in grasses and well watered lands yet open to the stock raiser.

The Colorado plains are particularly adapted to sheep raising, which is one of the leading industries of that State. The range is cut up by mountains and cañons into small ranches, where sheep can be raised to better advantage than cattle. The business is more hazardous than cattle raising, but it has competed

successfully with it. There has long been a feudal rivalry between the two classes of ranchmen.

Until 1876 the Texas cattlemen had a monopoly of the business. They dealt entirely in common stock cattle, or stock-horns, that required no provision further than that afforded by a mild climate, sufficient grass, and water. The business was carried on with primitive simplicity. The herders, who were hired for twelve or fifteen dollars a month, furnished their own outfits, and a few pack-mules were sufficient to carry all necessary camp supplies. Even prices were established by the ranchmen to suit themselves, for competition was not strong enough to regulate them. When the Texas range became insufficient, and the stockmen drove their herds to the northwest, to Nebraska, Wyoming, and Colorado, a rivalry sprang up and a new impetus was given to the industry. In the year 1891 the Swan Land and Cattle Company pastured no less than 80,000 head of cattle in eastern Wyoming, and smaller companies owned from 14,000 to 50,000 stock and horses. A depression in the stock business was aggravated by the mixing of native and foreign breeds, and the spreading of various contagious and infectious diseases. Beef that had sold for $25 per head depreciated to $10 and $12. Stock cattle remained more nearly stationary in price, but there was a rapid falling off in numbers, due to both the rage of epidemic, and the general neglect of the business. When things were at their worst for both stock and stockmen, syndicates from the North and from foreign countries gave the trade a new boom. Capital was plentiful for a while; ranches and ranges were bought or leased in great numbers, and prices were pushed up by conventions and unions to something near their original fictitious bases. This state of affairs did not last long, and there was a gradual falling in prices to actual values. "Corn-fed" and refrigerated beef held its own, and people soon learned that 1000 head of cattle sheltered, fed, watered, and judicially disposed of paid better in the long run than 100,000 running wild on insufficient ranges, starving, famishing, and dying of "pink-eye" and epizoöty. Ranches were cut up into farms and orchards; the herds were reduced in numbers and made to supply the same demand as existed in the times of such unwieldy conditions.

The introduction of fine-blooded short-horned breeds into the Northwestern and Southwestern ranges has not proven profitable. The summers are too long, the winters too severe, and the country itself unsuited to the successful raising of cattle that require the best forage and shelter, as well as careful handling. The cattle and sheep that thrive in the West must be able to obtain their own subsistence all the year round, and to live without shelter, except that provided by nature in the ravines and wind-breaks. During the summer and winter they roam at will over the plains, frequently wandering long distances from the home range. At the fall and spring round-ups, when the stragglers are hunted

up, an enumeration made, calves branded and beeves selected for market, the cattle are brought together from points a hundred miles or more apart. The different ranchmen pick out their own cattle, recognizable by the brand, which is recorded like the deed of property. It is interesting to study the effect of climatic and physical conditions of the country upon the cattle running wild. Even the proportion of the young is regulated by the characteristics of the country. Each member of a herd seems to know its place, and always prefers its own to any other herd. These dumb creatures have more intelligence than is usually credited to them.

The so-called wild cattle of Texas bear a close resemblance in many ways to the deer. The large development of horn, the pointed nose, the lustrous eye, and above all, the thinness of flank and length of leg, together with the fleetness, are the main characteristics. The spring "round up," which is held in May and early June, is the busiest time of the year. A captain is chosen from each district, and the stockmen and cattle boys belonging to fifteen or twenty ranges in each work under him. The work is apportioned, and the helpers are under semi-military organization. Each cowboy has eight or ten horses, and the whole district, sometimes covering hundreds of square miles, is laid out in daily rides. A month or more time is generally required to cover the country. It is said that the cowboys track cattle as the Indian tracks his game. The watercourses must be followed, and the country carefully searched for stragglers, some of which sometimes turn up after several years' absence. The boys are up at four or five o clock in the morning, and frequently are in the saddle sixteen or seventeen hours a day. While the work is hard, the boys look forward to it for months. It is preferable to the monotonous life at the ranch, with no diversion but euchre or poker, or an occasional novel. The cowboy must have a constitution of iron to endure the hardships of prairie life. He is obliged to work, when after cattle, in all weathers. He must stand severe heat and drenching rains, with no prospect of relief from duty until after the work of the "round up" is finished. He must know the business of a ranchman thoroughly, and understand every detail of the work, whether that of day-watcher, herder, or night-watchman, or that of captain of a district. He must be a good horseman, know how to break a wild pony, and to ride it when broken, must be keen-witted, and never lose presence of mind, or he may lose his life in a stampede. Furthermore he must be a skillful lariat thrower. He cannot hope to handle his hempen rifle with any degree of skill until he has had at least two years of practice, and it will be much longer than that before he can throw it with anything like a sure aim.

The lariat is generally made of native grass, braided and twisted. It is forty-five feet long, and from three-eighths to one and a half inches in thickness. The end is wound with waxed shoemakers' thread and the whole boiled in oil to

give it strength and pliability. The loop is often made of leather which has been soaked, stretched and scraped, and "seasoned." The success in handling the lariat depends entirely upon the strength and movement of the wrist.

The cowboy has been called the King of the Cattle Country. It may be only to a limited extent that he is monarch of all he surveys, but in his happy careless way he dominates even the master of the ranch. In former times he was only the son and grandson of a cowboy, and was relegated to a distinct class in the social scale. He inherited even the bow-legs of his pony straddling ancestors, and all the physical characteristics which the occupation stamped

A DISPUTE OVER A BRAND.

upon them. It was almost literally true of him that "he was born in the saddle." To-day the cowboy is sometimes the son of a well-to-do family in an eastern or middle State, and is led by a spirit of adventure to experience something of life in the West. The dash of the winds, the roar and swell and freedom of the prairies, delight him. Colleges seem small and limited, books and papers tame and unvarying. The prairies exhilarate and depress him by turns. He becomes contemplative and introspective, taciturn and uncommunicative, by reason of his surroundings. He is to be seen standing about the station at train time, in some western town, or more likely sitting sideways on his high-

pommeled Mexican saddle, watching the people that crowd off or on the cars with much the same expression that shows in his pony's eyes—an expression that can be best described by lack of alertness.

In dress he has escaped from every restraint of conventionality. He hates a coat, wears a coarse shirt of blue, gray, or red twilled flannel, as loose as a blouse, confined at the waist by a leather belt. His sombrero may be decorated with a gold or silver band, and tassels dangling at the side. His trousers fit his muscular legs with unfashionable snugness, and his hair is several seasons too long. His swearing is only a provincial sin, and his dram drinking a companionable custom. He is quick to join a lynching party, a band of serenaders *en route* to a ranch where an Eastern girl is visiting, a posse after a horse-thief, or an old folks' band to a camp-meeting, entering upon each with impartial enthusiasm. He sits his horse like an Arab, and handles his lariat as a professional trickster his cards. That unwieldy-looking coil of grass rope tied to his saddle-skirts is as dangerous a weapon as one could wish for. It has taken long practice to wield it dexterously, and the cowboy takes a natural pride in his accomplishment. If a steer or buffalo straying from its herd crosses his path, out springs his lasso in rhythmical sweeps over the rider's head, then off to one side, falling in a sure slip-knot over the animal's head, or around the fore legs, and by a twirl of the rope and a sudden movement of the wrist the victim is thrown upon the soft turf. In all feats of esquestrianism the cowboy excels the Indian; apparently as reckless, but more judicious and unerring in his movements. Even the cow-pony, the faithful friend of the cowboy, has a divination that is almost human. He enjoys the chase as a dog the hunt, the cowboy's "Halloo-oo-oo!" being to him what the hunter's horn is to the hound. He understands every movement of his rider. When the master coils the lasso about his head, the pony slows up; when the rope coils into nooses ahead of him, he advances; as the noose slips over the animal's head or leg, he halts, jerking back his head, stiffening his neck, and planting his forefeet into the ground, aiding the lariat thrower in landing the victim. It is peculiar that the pony never becomes tame. He submits to the girth and bit unwillingly, and each time he is turned loose upon the range imagines his apprenticeship to control is over. When he is captured again he shies and balks, flashes his eyes, chews the bit, and resents the whip. It is only an illustration of nature's refutation of man's superiority.

The pony, too, comes from the range; his progenitors were the wild horses of the West; his education is practical and experimental. His endurance is something marvelous. He can outrun two ordinary horses, and endure hunger and thirst with an indifference almost equal to that of the horned frog. He comes near his abstemious cousin, the burro, as regards provender. His intelligence is phenomenal, and the understanding between him and his master

is fraternal. When the rider wishes to start on a gallop, he raises his elbows, giving them a slight shake, and he is borne away. A touch of the hand on the neck will bring the horse to a sudden standstill, without the use of the rein. It is no wonder that the two have become inseparably associated, and the horse is named "Friend" or "Little Brother." In his lonely ride the cowboy sings his strange ballads with all the devotion and fervor of an Oriental lover.

There are some branches of industry that are retarded, if not destroyed, by civilization. One of these is ranching, as it was followed in the wide scope pasturage and free grass of a quarter of a century ago. Then no man thought of claiming more land than he needed or cared to fence for his own homestead purposes. As free as the air he breathed, or the blue sky over him, was the land that lay before him. In a primitive and fraternal fashion the early stockmen availed themselves of the privileges of commission. In a land where range and booty alike were free, the first man out in the spring caught the first calf, and the tiny bit of communistic property belonged to the man who branded it. There was a premium on the early bird, and the prosperous stockman who believed that all was fair in love and war and cattle raising might at times hear the epithet: "That man? Why, he'd steal yearlings!" applied to himself. He reasoned that a crime confessed is not a crime, and a bad deed done in the light of day is not bad. Even the round-ups were a sort of barbarous Derby-day or hurdle-race, where stakes were open and entry was free, and where no hard feeling existed. The big-hearted and free-handed pioneer might forgive this wholesale thievery, but the law did not, which came with the homesteader and syndicates and barbed wire fences. Signs appeared on the pasture gates warning trespassers against appropriation of private land, wagon roads were forced to turn out of their way, railroads came into the Territories, and the free citizen was restrained by monopolies. With improved methods of cross feeding and ensilage, with winter sheds and artificial lakes, drouth and famine were circumvented, and stock raising settled down into a safer and smaller business.

AN INDIAN WARRIOR.

In old times a ranchman was content with his dozen "hands," each one furnishing his own two ponies, and riding away the season at fifteen dollars a month. The ranchman was content, also, to live in his log cabin, or even "dug-out," while he could count his herds by the thousands. His manner of business

was primitive and economical. His pack-mules carried all necessary camping and cooking utensils. Nowadays he must have fifty, instead of a dozen "hands." He must mount each one, allowing several good horses to each, besides furnishing a big round-up wagon with its stove and gasoline and coal-oil, and supplies of canned fruits, meats, and delicacies of all kinds. He builds fine houses, wind-mills, patent gates, and commodious barns, and lives not only in comfort, but in luxury. The old fashioned "round-up" on the southern ranch was a merry time for all, from the children on the ranches to the horses, who enjoyed the race immensely. Ponies were driven from the range and "broke" to the dominion of girth and bridle; gray blankets were sunned, rolled up with a suit of flannel underwear, and strapped on to the back of the patient pack-horse; saddle-bags and grip-sacks were brought forth and filled, one side with cold biscuits, corn dodgers, sugar, and coffee, and the other side with streaked bacon, salt, pepper, and raw onions. Over the gray bundles on the pack-horse's back dangled frying-pans, tin cups, an iron pot, and a home-made cedar bucket. The cowboys, booted, spurred, and sombreroed, wearing buckskin gauntlets and leather belt holding pistol, bowie knife, shot and powder horns, and a canteen of whisky, are off to the round-up. The old ranch is left almost deserted for a few weeks until the herds are brought back. The roaring and lowing of the approaching cattle can be heard for miles. The tramping of thousands of restless hoofs and the bleating of thousands of thirsty tongues announce the approach of the cattle, and all work or play is stopped until after the herds come in. The cowboys chant a weird halloo-oo-oo! as they canter on their ponies amid the bellowing, hooting animals. Such a little thing may cause a stampede; the sudden whirl of an obstreperous pony, the dropping of a red handkerchief, the low flight of a hawk or turkey-buzzard, and off go the cattle and pandemonium reigns. In vain the boys surround the herd, chanting their persuasive "Halloo-oo-oo!" which is unheeded by the frightened animals. They break ranks and scatter, pawing up the hot sand or loose grass, and flinging it, hoof-load after hoof-load, over their backs. Bellowing, lowing, and bleating, they rush back to their wild haunts on the range. Thus the entire work of a round-up may be lost in a few hours. But if the herd is once within the stockpens, all is safe. The cattle are separated, yearlings numbered, calves branded, and the old cattle turned loose upon the range.

One of the most remarkable yet common scenes about a ranch is a cattle funeral. Let a beef be killed, no matter how far away from the general range, nor how deeply the spilled blood be covered up, its kindred seem instinctively to know of the slaughter, and resent it with all the force of their dumb natures. They will come running for miles, tongue out, eyes red, back bristling, to find and keep watch over the murdered mate. They keep up the most mournful lowing, and as the crowds become thicker, the weird, resounding echoes of the

plain are terrifying to one unused to such scenes. Those who come first seem to agree upon a kind of solemn courtesy to the new comers. They move back and the new relay rushes in in an orderly circle. They lower their horns and paw up the earth, bawling dismally, till a new committee arrives, and they in turn move back to allow the new comers to continue the tragic ceremonies. And woe to any human being who arrives upon the scene! With instinctive resentment, the brutes recognize their bloody-handed master, and plunge at him to rend him to pieces in their frenzy. Sometimes this awful death watch is kept up for twenty-four hours. It makes one nervous and apprehensive. It is as if Nature rose in her might, declaring, "Thou shalt not kill!" Ranchmen, of course, get accustomed to this weird spectacle, but when they cannot endure the maddened mob of upbraiding dumb creatures about their door, the yearlings for beef are driven several miles away to be killed, and hauled back to the ranch proper.

No sketch of the West is complete without some allusion to the far-famed woman of the ranch.

The cattle queen, who has held a conspicuous place in the narrator's tale of the West for a quarter of a century, belongs to the old days of typical ranch life, the merry round-ups, barbecues, log-raisings, and sheep shearings. At her best she was a much gilded and idealized creature. In fiction, she was daring and fearless, wore buckskin leggings, a black-plumed sombrero, high-heeled boots, and gold-spiked spurs. She swore lightly, with a pretty flirt of her skirt, carried her brace of Colt's revolvers, counted her thousand cattle on her thousand hills, rode into town and shipped them, depositing her good paper in the Stockmen's Bank. In life, the ranch woman was a hard-faced, hard-worked female cattleman, who trusted to others and was swindled out of her rights, who drove into town four times a year in her piano-box buggy and paid her lawyer half she made. She did not often, however, manage the business for herself. If she was the widow of a cattle king, she lived in her large town house, made occasional visits to the ranch, and reaped the profits left by her swindling superintendents.

CATHEDRAL SPIRES IN THE GARDEN OF THE GODS.

PLAN OF THE WORLD'S FAIR GROUNDS.

THE MAIN BUILDING OF THE CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION.

CHAPTER XLI.

WORLD'S FAIRS.

THE artist who would most strikingly portray, in two contrasting scenes, the difference between the civilization of classic days and that of the present, could perhaps select no better subjects than a Roman triumph and an American world's fair. On the one canvas would be depicted the characteristic glories of an age of ruthless violence—the files of captives, the stores of treasure wrested from the vanquished, and all the tokens of conquest and of oppression, of the victory of the strong over the weak. On the other canvas would be shown the equally characteristic glories of an age of peaceful progress—the triumphs of art and industry, the achievements of inventive skill, the products of beneficent labor, brought together by many powers, the strong and the weak together with equal right, to enlarge the borders of human knowledge, to increase the friendly intercourse of nation with nation, and to strengthen the ties of fraternal fellowship that now bind all the world. With the former of these scenes, a thing unknown in our later times, we do not here propose to deal. To the latter, which was equally unknown in those earlier ages, we shall devote some cursory attention.

The first World's Fair must bear a date within the recollection of a large proportion of men now living. But national fairs had long hitherto existed, doubtless doing much to prepare the way and to develop plans for the universal exhibitions. France, conspicuous in this generation for international displays, was the leader in national fairs; and it was in the troublous times of her first republic that her earliest attempt in that direction was made. In the year 1797,

under the patronage of the Government, an exhibition was to be made in the Chateau of St. Cloud, of various arts and industries, chiefly those of the State workshops, the Sevres china, the Savonnerie carpets, the Gobelins tapestries. The Marquis d'Averze was the immediate organizer and manager of the enterprise, and his object was to revive the industrial interests of France, to open the long-closed factories and warehouses, and to give employment to the long idle workingmen. He arranged a comprehensive and noble display; but on the very day when it was to be opened political proscription drove him, with the rest of the nobility, into exile. His idea was not thus to be ignominiously abandoned, however. The next year he returned, and another exhibition was organized and held at the Maison d'Orsay. Such was its success, and so good its effect upon the industries of France, that the Government took up the work, and held a series of such fairs in 1801, 1802, 1806, 1819, 1823, 1834, 1839, 1844, and 1849. The Spanish Government followed the example, and held national exhibitions in 1827, 1828, 1831, 1841, and 1845. Bavaria and Belgium did likewise in 1848, 1849, and 1850; and England held several, at Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester, between 1840 and 1850. All these were merely national fairs. But now the time was ripe for a more pretentious and comprehensive undertaking.

The credit of conceiving, elaborating, and conducting successfully the first World's Fair must be ascribed to Prince Albert, the Consort of Queen Victoria of Great Britain and Ireland. That wise and progressive man had earnestly devoted himself to the public service of the nation he had come to live among, and had interested himself much in the various local fairs, especially that held at Birmingham. In 1849 he suggested to the Society of Arts the scheme, already well matured in his own mind, of an international exhibition. The project was greeted with enthusiasm, and soon the whole English people, from the Queen to the humblest working-folk, were heartily committed to it and were laboring for its successful execution. The ideas that inspired Prince Albert may well be taken as the initial keynote of all the brilliant and imposing international fairs that have since been held in many lands, and so, as he himself expressed them, are worth repeating here. Speaking at a grand banquet given by the Lord Mayor of London, he said:—

"I conceive it to be the duty of every educated person to watch closely and study the time in which he lives, and, as far as in him lies, to add his humble mite of individual exertion to further the accomplishment of what he believes Providence to have ordained. Nobody, however, who has paid any attention to the particular features of our present era, will doubt for a moment that we are living at a period of most wonderful transition, which tends rapidly to accomplish that great end—to which, indeed, all history points—the realization of the unity of mankind; not a unity which breaks down the limits and levels the

peculiar characteristics of the different nations of the earth, but rather a unity the result and product of these very national varieties and antagonistic qualities. The distances which separated the different nations and parts of the globe are gradually vanishing before the achievements of modern invention, and we can traverse them with incredible speed; the languages of all nations are known, and their acquirement placed within the reach of everybody; thought is communicated with the rapidity and even by the power of lightning. On the other hand, the great principle of the division of labor, which may be called the moving power of civilization, is being extended to all branches of science, industry, and art. Whilst formerly the greatest mental energies strove at universal knowledge, and that knowledge was confined to few, now they are

directed to specialties, and in these again even to the minutest points. Moreover, the knowledge now acquired becomes the property of the community at large. Whilst formerly discovery was wrapt in secrecy, it results, from the publicity of the present day, that no sooner is a discovery or invention made, than it is already improved upon and surpassed by competing efforts. The products of all quarters of the globe are placed at our disposal, and we have to devise which is the best and cheapest for our purposes, and the powers of production are contrasted to the stimulus of competition and capital. Thus man is approaching a more complete fulfillment of that great and sacred mission which he has to perform in this world. His reason being created after the image of God, he has to use it to discover the laws by which the Almighty governs His creation, and, by making these laws his standard of action, to conquer nature

to his use—himself a divine instrument. Science discovers these laws of power, motion, and transformation; industry applies them to the raw matter which the earth yields us in abundance, but which becomes valuable only by knowledge; art teaches us the immutable laws of beauty and symmetry, and gives to our productions forms in accordance with them. The Exhibition of 1851 is to give us a true text and a living picture of the point of development at which the whole of mankind has arrived in this great task, and a new starting-point, from which all nations will be able to direct their future exertions. I confidently hope the first impression which the view of this vast collection will produce on the spectator will be that of deep thankfulness to the Almighty for the blessings which He has bestowed upon us already here below; and the second, the conviction that they can only be realized in proportion to the help which we are prepared to render to each other; therefore, only by peace, love, and ready assistance, not only between individuals, but between the nations of the earth."

To give to this first World's Fair a truly international character, an invitation was issued to all the architects of the world to prepare competitive designs. No less than 233 were offered, 38 coming from foreign lands. The one prepared by Mr.—afterward Sir—Joseph Paxton was finally accepted, and a building erected on its lines in Hyde Park. This well-named Crystal Palace was made chiefly of iron and glass, and cost nearly a million dollars. It was 1851 feet long—in token of the year of its opening, 1851—and 450 feet broad, and contained 900,000 square feet of glass, 3300 iron columns, 2225 girders, and nearly a million square feet of flooring. The entire edifice was completed within four months, by the labor of ten thousand men, and the exhibition was formally opened by the Queen on May 1, 1851. There were 13,937 exhibitors, from nearly all important countries in the world. The United States made 499 exhibits, and secured, proportionately, more prizes than any other nation. Among articles of American manufacture that attracted much attention were coaches and carriages of all kinds, piano-fortes, cotton and woolen cloths, india-rubber goods, reaping machines, life-boats, and engineers' tools. The

famous statue of The Greek Slave, by Hiram Powers, was also exhibited, to the wondering admiration of all critics. It may be added that the exhibition was a financial success, the receipts exceeding all expenses by more than $700,000; and that during the six months of its continuance fully $20,000,000 was added to the ordinary income of the city of London.

The success of the London World's Fair inspired other nations to make similar ventures, and the roll of universal exhibitions, more or less worthy of the name, that have been held since 1851, in Europe, America, Asia, Africa, and Australia, is a long one. We have in this present essay to concern ourselves, however, only with those held in the United States. Two have already been held, and, at the very moment when these lines are being written, preparations for the third and incomparably greatest are proceeding with an energy worthy of the American people. And as these shows present a striking contrast, as already noted, to the military pageants of old Rome, so do the three, in succession, reveal impressively the marvelous growth of this nation, and also of other lands, in all those useful arts that make for the betterment of life and for the upraising of the human race.

So meagre were the means of intercommunication between America and England in 1851 that less than 5000 persons from this country visited the World's Fair in London. All who did, however, were profoundly impressed, and many of them were made eagerly desirous of opening such an exhibition in New York. These desires took practical shape before the end of the year, and an Association for the Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations was formed in New York. By unanimous consent that city, as the chief commercial centre of the country, was chosen as the proper place for holding such a fair. It was to be a private enterprise. But the city, State, and National authorities gladly gave it countenance and aid. The city of New York granted, on January 3, 1852, a lease for five years of Reservoir Square as a site for the building. This square, at Sixth Avenue and Fortieth to Forty-second Streets, is now known as Bryant Park. The only conditions exacted were that the building should be made chiefly of iron and

glass, and that the entrance fee should not exceed fifty cents. The State of New York, on March 11, 1852, formally chartered the Association. The National Government agreed to admit foreign goods for exhibition free of duty, and used the services of its Ministers and Consuls to interest other nations in the undertaking. Stock amounting to $500,000 was issued, and the first $200,000 of it was taken by about a hundred and fifty firms and individuals.

The architects of the world were, as in London, invited to send in plans. Among the many received was one from Sir Joseph Paxton, which greatly commended itself to all who saw it, but which had to be rejected because its form was not suited to the grounds. The plan finally accepted was the work of Messrs. Carstensen and Gildemeister, and it combined beauty and utility in a notable degree. The Reservoir Square measured 445 by 455 feet in area. The building, therefore, had to conform to those dimensions. Its general plan was that of a Greek cross, the length of each diameter being 365 feet 5 inches, and the width of each arm 149 feet 5 inches. The intervals between the arms were filled up with triangular "annexes," one story high, making the outline of the ground plan octagonal. The principal part of the building was two stories high, the second story being a gallery extending all around the side walls within. The framework of the building consisted of 190 cast-iron columns on the ground floor and 148 on the gallery floor, connected with and supporting an elaborate system of girders and trusses. The roof, resting on iron arches and girders, was of wood, sheathed with tin, and the side walls were of iron panels filled in with panes of translucent glass. At each of the eight corners was an octagonal tower, 76 feet high. Over the centre rose a splendid dome, 100 feet in diameter and 123 feet high. It was by far the largest—indeed, the only important—dome ever built, at that time, in the United States, and was looked upon, by Americans who had never seen St. Peter's or the Pantheon, as one of the wonders of the world.

There were used in the building 300 tons of wrought iron and 1500 tons of cast iron; 15,000 panes, or 55,000 square feet, of glass; and 750,000 feet of lumber, board measure. The height from the ground floor to the gallery floor was 24 feet, and to the ridge of the nave, 67 feet 4 inches. The total floor area, including the gallery, was 249,692 square feet, or 5¾ acres. The population of New York city at that time was about 525,000, and of the United States, 25,000,000. These figures may with interest be compared with like statistics of the second and third universal exhibitions in America and of the Nation at their dates.

The Crystal Palace was formally "inaugurated" on July 14, 1853, the President of the United States and many other dignitaries being in attendance, and the next day it was opened to the general public. Of its subsequent history it is only needful here to add that the World's Fair was not financially

profitable; that after it was ended the building was used for various exhibition purposes, especially by the American Institute for its annual fairs; and that finally, in October, 1858, it was totally destroyed by fire.

Of the exhibits made, which came from most of the important countries, and which were divided into 31 classes, no detailed mention can here be made. It may be recalled, however, that here were seen the Whitney cotton-gin; Thorwaldsen's famous group of statuary of Christ and His Apostles; the first Ohio wines; the Whitworth measuring machine; Cary's rotary pump; Saxton's deep-sea thermometer; the first successful type-founding machine; fire-engines of the old hand-pump pattern; a revolving repeating rifle, and the primitive types of revolving pistols; the then novel process of electrotyping; printing presses such as small country newspaper offices now use, but then used only by the great metropolitan dailies; the famous Francis life-boat; the original Morse telegraph, which had been patented fifteen years before; the Fresnel light-house lens; and "The Greek Slave" and other statuary by Hiram Powers. Such were the wonders of art and industry at that time. The telegraph alone stood for the wonderful development of electrical science which we now enjoy. Photography and its multitudinous applications to pictorial art were not hinted at. And while in glass and porcelain and metal there were many objects never since surpassed, they came, most of them, from abroad. America had not yet learned that she could make them. Yet on the whole it was a display most highly creditable; as worthy of the time, perhaps, if we consider all the circumstances that attended it, chiefly to hamper it, as was the Centennial Exhibition of its time, or as will be the Columbian Exhibition of the august year in which it is to be given to the world.

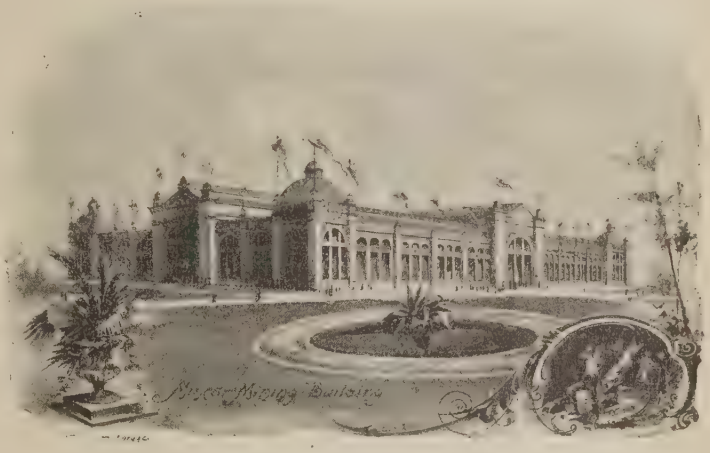
Events more momentous than a world's fair engaged the attention of the country soon after the burning of the Crystal Palace, and when the time of restored peace seemed opportune for another such exhibition the United States was almost a new nation. Between 1853 and 1876 there occurred changes of the most radical nature and of the most imposing proportions, in politics, in

society, in commerce, in industry, and the growth of the nation in material things was enormous. When, therefore, it was decided that the one hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence should be marked by holding a second universal exhibition, it was evident that the enterprise would completely dwarf its predecessor. It would do this if it were larger only as the nation itself was larger. But knowledge and invention had outstripped even the swift growth of population and the settlement of new lands, so that the number of interesting products to be shown was proportionately much larger than before. Moreover, trade relations and facilities for intercourse with other lands had also been vastly developed, so that it was certain there would be a much more extended and varied representation from abroad. To meet these changed conditions, preparations were made on a most generous scale, with a view to outstripping even the great fairs held in London in 1862, in Paris in 1867, and in Vienna in 1873.

The city of Philadelphia, in which the Declaration of Independence was adopted, was fittingly chosen as the scene of this magnificent undertaking. That municipality granted the free use of 450 acres of land in Fairmount Park, and under a charter granted by the National Government a Commission, composed of two members from each State and Territory, and a Board of Finance were formed, and the work was formally begun. It is impossible within the limits of this chapter to describe in detail the exhibition grounds, or even to mention all the two hundred buildings erected thereon. The Main Building was the largest edifice in the world. It was 1876 feet long—in token of the year 1876—and 464 feet wide, and covered an area of 21½ acres. The ridge of the roof was 70 feet above the floor. Spacious galleries extended all around the interior. Nearly one-third of the floor space was occupied by American exhibits, and the remainder was divided between the various foreign nations, including the British Empire and its colonies, France and its colonies, Germany, Austria, Russia, Spain, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Portugal, Denmark, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Turkey, China, Japan, Brazil, Peru, Mexico, Venezuela,

Chili, the Argentine Republic, Egypt, Tunis, the Orange River Free State, and the Sandwich Islands. The frame of the building was of iron, filled in with wood and glass. Of similar construction was Machinery Hall, 1402 by 360 feet in size. Agricultural Hall covered 117,760 square feet. Memorial Hall was of permanent construction, covering 76,650 square feet, and was used for an art gallery. Horticultural Hall, also permanent, was 350 feet long by 160 feet broad. The Women's Department Building was 208 feet square. The United States Government had a large building; many foreign powers had buildings of their own, as did many of the States; there were large buildings devoted to special industries, and not a few private exhibitors had structures scattered about the beautiful grounds. The total number of exhibitors was 30,864, this country furnishing 8175.

The exhibition was opened with imposing ceremonies, in which the President of the United States took a leading part, on May 10, 1876, and remained open, excepting on Sundays, until November 10th following. The number of visitors in that time was 9,910,966, who paid admission fees aggregating $3,813,724.49. The largest number on any one day was 274,919.



The educational value of the exhibition to these hosts of visitors was, of course, incalculable. Here were the wonders of the world, natural and artificial, gathered together in such variety and profusion as never before, from every clime, from every studio, from every workshop, all systematically arranged and displayed, so as to be seen most readily and studied most advantageously. There were to be seen nearly all the applications of steam power to the useful arts, and nearly every steam-manufacturing process known to the world to-day. The advance of chemistry and the wonders of photography were shown; the perfected printing-press; the great Krupp guns and other implements of war; indeed, a thousand and one things, great and small, that were undreamed of in the days of the old Crystal Palace. There were even some hintings at the marvelous development of electrical science which later years have seen, at the telephone and the electric light. And the people of America were

made acquainted, as never before, with the arts and sciences and industries of foreign lands, some far surpassing their own, some lagging far behind, and some so different from them as to appear like the products of another world. Equally were the multitudinous products of America a revelation to the many visitors from abroad; and it may well be believed that this exhibition did incomparably more than any event which had then occurred to extend human knowledge of the world, and to join harmoniously together the intellectual, social, industrial, and commercial interests of all the peoples of the globe.

But the greatest significance of this exhibition, perhaps, lay in the event which it commemorated and in the circumstances that surrounded it. A hundred years of national independence had been completed. The most important experiment of all the ages in civil freedom and popular government had been tried, and, by the arduous judgment of a century of practice, had been found amply successful. The nation had been subjected to the severest possible tests, of foreign war, of domestic strife, of social upheavals, of all that could strain to the utmost the framework of the civil fabric, and it had triumphantly endured them all. More; it had grown in size, in wealth, in power, in learning, in all the elements of abiding greatness—the twenty-five millions of the first fair being forty millions at the second, with more than a commensurate progress in all the ways of civilization—until the nation was now the pride of humanity and the wonder of the world. To mark the fullness of these achievements, the greatest of all international fairs yet held was an appropriate undertaking.

Like the fabled bird of Rumor, however, the nation gains strength by going on. If the progress from 1853 to 1876 was marvelous, more marvelous still is that displayed in the years from 1876 to 1892—or to 1893, if we may look a little distance into the future. The forty millions are now more than sixty-three, perhaps, sixty-five, millions; new States have entered the circle of the Union, and industry and commerce, and resultant wealth, have grown until statistics seem a dazzling romance. Since it was made the site of the Crystal Palace of 1853, New York has more than trebled in size; while what was in 1853 an insignificant Western town has now grown to more than twice the dimensions that New York itself then boasted, and is properly made the scene of America's third universal exhibition. And inasmuch as the United States of to-day surpasses the United States of 1853 and of 1876, insomuch, and more, will this Columbian Exhibition, held nominally to mark the fourth centenary of the discovery of America, surpass the fairs held in those years. For it not only has the added greatness of the nation to build upon: it has also the example and the lessons of the splendid series of like enterprises seen in the four quarters of the globe since the middle of this century; especially those in London in 1851, in Dublin and in New York in 1853, in Paris in 1855, in London in 1862, in Paris in 1867, in

Vienna in 1873, in Philadelphia in 1876, in Paris in 1878, in Sydney in 1879, in Melbourne in 1880, and in Paris in 1889. Every idea of practical utility that was developed at these will exert its beneficent influence at Chicago, and be joined with all the invention and enterprise of the most energetic city in the land to make it, as it should be, the greatest fair the world has ever seen.

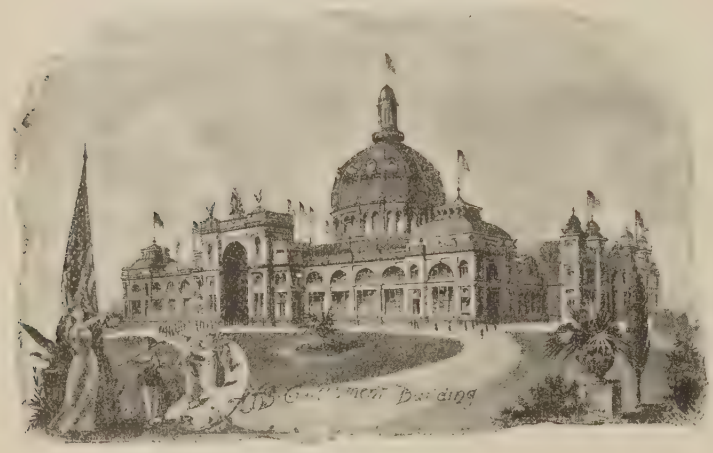
It would be superfluous here to dwell upon the history of Chicago, whose marvelous growth almost rivals that of Aladdin's fabled palace; or upon the present size and splendor of that Western metropolis. When it was popularly decided to hold an international exhibition on the fourth centenary of Columbus's great discovery, a general sentiment indicated Chicago as the place for it. Other cities put forward rival claims, it is true; notably New York, Washington, and St. Louis. And each of these presented strong reasons for its choice. But the final selection of Chicago was foreseen from the outset, and at the end was acquiesced in by the other cities and by the whole country, with much enthusiasm.

The Columbian exhibition was organized, under the laws of the State of Illinois, on August 15, 1889. The name of the corporation was "The World's Exposition of 1892," its capital stock was $5,000,000, and its duration was to be ninety-nine years. All the capital stock was subscribed for by March 23, 1890; and on April 25, 1890, the President signed the act of Congress creating the World's Columbian Commission, and giving to the enterprise the official sanction of the National Government. Then the city of Chicago entered upon the work of preparing grounds and erecting buildings with characteristic energy.

The exhibition has a dual site, consisting of Jackson and Washington Parks, and the Midway Plaisance, which connects them. Jackson Park, which has long been one of the city's favorite resorts, lies in the southern part of Chicago, on the shore of Lake Michigan. A little to the northwest, and entirely inland, is Washington Park, and connecting the two is Midway Plaisance, a splendid parkway, 600 feet wide. The grounds set apart for the exhibition comprise 586 acres in Jackson Park, 371 acres in Washington Park, and 80 acres in Midway

Plaisance, a total of 1037 acres. Upon these, previous to their selection for the purposes of the fair, more than $4,000,000 had been spent in improvements and beautification, and the exhibition managers have spent, or will spend, at least $1,000,000 more. No world's fair site, not even that in Philadelphia in 1876, ever equaled this in size and beauty.

Brief mention must be made of the principal buildings, which in size completely dwarf the most ambitious efforts ever made before in all the world, and which are at the date of this writing so well advanced that we may properly speak of them in the present tense. The chief structure is that devoted to Manufactures and Liberal Arts. It measures 1687 by 787 feet, thus covering nearly thirty-one acres, and the vast galleries within increase the floor space to nearly forty acres. The ridge of the great glass and iron roof is 150 feet above the ground. Machinery Hall is 850 by 500 feet, and has a gallery fifty feet wide all around its interior wall. The vast development of electrical science has made necessary a building specially devoted to its display, and the structure here provided is 700 feet long and 345 feet wide. The Agricultural Building, as befits the greatest farming nation in the world, is spacious and imposing, being 800 by 500 feet, its centre crowned with a huge glass dome, 130 feet high. To fisheries is given a building 1100 feet long and 200 feet wide, containing a series of aquaria with 140,000 gallons of water. The mining industry is housed in a palace 700 by 350 feet, and forestry in a unique structure 500 by 200 feet, which deserves some slight description here, for its novelty. On all four sides of the building is a veranda, supporting the roof of which is a colonnade consisting of a series of columns composed of three tree trunks each twenty-five feet in length, one of them from sixteen to twenty inches in diameter and the others smaller. All of these trunks are left in their natural state, with bark undisturbed. They are contributed by the different States and Territories of the Union and by foreign countries, each furnishing specimens of its most characteristic trees. The sides of the building are constructed of slabs with the bark removed. The



window frames are treated in the same rustic manner, as is the rest of the building. The main entrances are elaborately finished in different kinds of wood, the material and workmanship being contributed by several prominent lumber associations. The roof is thatched with tan and other barks. The visitor can make no mistake as to the kinds of tree trunks which form the colonnade, for he will see upon each a tablet upon which is inscribed the common and scientific name, the State or country from which the trunk was contributed, and other pertinent information, such as the approximate quantity of such timber in the region whence it came. Horticulture has a splendid building 1000 feet long and 250 wide, the centre crowned with a glass dome 187 feet in diameter and 113 feet high, under which tall palms and other trees may be seen. The Dairy Building measures 200 by 95 feet, and is two stories high. The Art Palace, a structure of classic design, is 500 by 320 feet in size. In this exhibition the women of the world are participating as never before, as is natural in an age when woman's ability in all useful achievements is recognized more fully than ever. Accordingly, one of the finest buildings on the grounds, designed by a woman architect, is devoted to their interests. It is 400 by 200 feet in extent, and two stories high. Unique among the exhibits is that made by the United States Naval Department. It is a full-sized model of one of the new battleships, erected on piling on the lake front in the northeast portion of Jackson Park. It is surrounded by water and has the appearance of being moored to a wharf. The structure has all the fittings that belong to the actual ship, such as guns, turrets, torpedo tubes, torpedo nets and booms, with boats, anchors, chain cables, davits, awnings, deck fittings, etc., together with all appliances for working the same. Officers, seamen, mechanics, and marines are detailed by the Navy Department during the Exposition, and the discipline and mode of life on our naval vessels are completely shown. The dimensions of the structure are those of the actual battleship, to wit: length, 348 feet; width amidships, 69 feet 3 inches; and from the water line to the top of the main deck, 12 feet. The battery comprises four 13-inch breech-loading rifle cannon; eight 8-inch breech-loading rifle cannon; four 6-inch breech-loading rifle cannon; twenty 6-pounder rapid-firing guns; six 1-pound rapid-firing guns; two Gatling guns, and six torpedo tubes or torpedo guns. All of these are placed and mounted respectively as in the genuine battleship. Beside this the National Government has a fine building, 420 by 350 feet, in which the exhibits of the various Departments are to be seen. The various industries relating to Transportation are housed in a building 960 by 250 feet in size, with a huge one-story annex covering nine acres more. The administrative offices of the exhibition are housed in an imposing structure 260 feet square, crowned with a dome 220 feet in height. The Illinois State Building is 450 by 160 feet, of splendid appearance and of

permanent construction. Beside these, there are numerous other edifices, built by the various States, by foreign countries, and by individual exhibitors.

This marvelous enterprise is to be formally "inaugurated" on October 11-14, 1892, the actual four hundredth anniversary of the landing of Columbus on the island of San Salvador. The actual exhibition will not, however, be opened until the summer of 1893. How great will be the influx of visitors from foreign lands, and how general will be the attendance of American citizens, are matters to be dealt with only in speculation. But the most generous estimates that are made in advance are likely to be more than realized. And the benefits of the exhibition to this nation and to the world will probably exceed the most sanguine expectations of its projectors. "In other times there were convocations where the spirit of rivalry and comparison appeared, but in them few were invited to participate, and only a limited number of spectators could afford to attend. In those tournaments muscle was of more importance than mind. Those exhibitions taught how to destroy, and not how to create. The rivalry now is in methods to create, and not to destroy, and the knights who participate are those of the active brain and cunning hand, whose spectators and judges are the better behaved and better educated citizens of to-day. This exposition —on a new site, in a new world—assumes greater dimensions than a market for merchandise or than figures of finance.

"Should this exposition promote its real purpose—a Congress of the Nations—this meeting of all peoples would be more than a financial success, more than a vain commercial triumph; it would emphasize the new era which I hope is dawning, and take the initiative in what may result in the federation of this hemisphere."

HORTICULTURAL HALL, NEW ORLEANS.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE METROPOLITAN CITY.

O city has ever adhered more devotedly to the purposes of its founders than has money-making and money-spending New York. Its distinctive charm—for with all its ugliness it has a charm—and its characteristic virtues and vices are all traceable to the unchangeableness, the clearness, and the decisiveness of its master-passion, trade. The trading settlement of the seventeenth century was a commercial capital, in the small; the commercial capital of to-day is simply a trading settlement, in the large. The history can be summed up in the one word expansion. When, in 1609, that shrewd Dutch navigator, Captain Heinrich Hudson, entered New York Harbor on his clumsy brig, the "Half Moon," he was attracted to the spot, not by the beauty of Manhattan Island's undulating and wooded scenery, not by the picturesque clusters of Indian wigwams along the banks of its rivers, lakes, and streams, but by its business advantages, by the fertility of its soil, by the abundance of its fur-bearing animals, and, above all, by the commodiousness and convenience of its river and harbor. His native country, the United Netherlands, was then one of the great commercial nations of the globe. No sooner had he returned home, therefore, than his mercantile countrymen were roused to at least a temporary interest in the financial possibilities of the new discovery, and within a year barter of Holland gewgaws for Indian furs had begun. Finally, in 1622 merchant vessels entered the harbor to take formal possession of the place in behalf of the West India Company,—a trading corporation which had acquired charter rights over it, and were authorized to make out of it all the money they could. This they proceeded to do, though in rather bungling fashion, and they attempted nothing else. Thus, since the day the city was established to this, the accumulation of wealth has been the motive which has shaped its destinies and moulded its character. The following year the ship "New Netherland" brought into the harbor thirty families, prepared to establish a permanent trading colony, and soon after all Indian rights to the island were purchased at a cost of less than twenty-five dollars. So began New York, then called New Amsterdam.

For over half a century this outlying settlement had little to say about its own affairs. It was governed paternally by the West India Company. The busy merchants of Amsterdam would pick up what man they could as agent,—the best which could be obtained for the unenviable place was not good—would give him all but unlimited powers and send him out to further their interests and incidentally to protect the inhabitants over the sea. Occasionally and grudgingly they would spare a little time to give him a few directions which might prove practicable, but often proved otherwise, or, vexed by his importunity, might send him a little money for gun, powder, and ball. In the main, however, he was left to his own devices and resources—distracted on the one hand by the urgent demands from his employers for greater profits, and by his subjects for greater outlay. The duties of governor were none the less onerous and perplexing, that only a petty colony was at stake. The New Englanders were constantly encroaching on one boundary; the Swedes on the other. The Indians were often treacherous and vindictive. From these dangers, colonies as far distant as Albany and New York had to be protected. The ammunition was often scanty, a scattered population soon sprang up, making the problem more difficult, and the fortification was hopelessly inadequate. To be sent out on such an agency was little less than banishment. The colony was out of the world, was small, and did not prove as lucrative as was hoped for. There was hardly an enterprise of the West India Company which did not outrank it. Except in special exigencies, only men of second-rate abilities could be spared to it. One governor was put in charge, apparently for no better reason than that his character was under too much suspicion for him to be trusted with anything more valuable. He verified the suspicion. Most of the governors were conscientious, however; some of them were wise, but all of them were arbitrary.

A change of foreign masters made little difference in the internal affairs of the colony. In 1664, the British treacherously seized New Amsterdam and changed its name to New York, without a shot being fired in its defence. In 1673 the Dutch recaptured it. In 1674 it was surrendered again to the British as not worth quarreling over. The settlers, on their part, treated the change of masters with the same indifference. Their government, though arbitrary, had been so light as to be almost unfelt. It had kept them ignorant of the art of self-government, but it had taught them what was much better, individual self-help. To this day the New Yorkers display the same ignorance and the same knowledge, for there are few cities which present more lamentable results of self-government or more admirable examples of individual self-help.

Capital is proverbially cautious, and the settlement and maintenance of New Amsterdam, or as we shall hereafter call it, New York, was primarily a business investment. Its policy, therefore, was conservative, without being obstinate or reactionary. The question, "Will it pay?" became habitual to it. It was so

politic in its treatment of the Indians that when the early traders suffered from Indian treachery, they did not retaliate. Their business was to trade, not to fight. It was impossible for the two races to live in perfect harmony; there were occasional raids and counter-raids, massacres and counter-massacres; but these were exceptions to the general policy. Even when the savages in 1655 stealthily attacked the town while off its guard, killed a hundred men, women, and children, took a hundred captives and totally destroyed twenty-eight plantations, the Dutch did not forget their prudence. For revenge, "they awaited God and the opportunity." For the time being, they were satisfied to ransom the captives by gifts of firearms and to patch up a peace.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE NEW YORK CITY HALL.

Under this diplomatic, if pusillanimous, management, the hamlet-metropolis of the New Netherlands so prospered, that in 1653 it could entitle itself a city, for it then had, including negro slaves, about a thousand inhabitants, and boasted a pier for its shipping, a market stand for country produce and a yearly cattle fair. It contained a number of good stone dwellings, which had "a substantial and aristocratic air, as if inhabited by people of wealth and cultivated tastes." Indeed there were not a few families in the city at the time who were well-connected in Europe. "Some of these people have the breeding of counts," wrote one English writer, "and I cannot conceive how such is acquired." Private tutors were employed in all the wealthy families. By 1676 the gay

apparel of the landed proprietors contrasted strangely with the sombre garb of their Puritan neighbors of New England. Compared with Boston, New York was aristocratic in social life and customs. Its landed gentry had their coaches

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, NEW YORK, FROM CHURCH STREET.

and six, with gilded trappings, their household of negro slaves, their horse races. In fashionable society even the funerals were conducted with a ceremonial which must often have been appalling. Meanwhile the poorer classes lived quietly

and with measurable contentment. In spirit, New York was as cosmopolitan in the seventeenth century as it is to-day. The chances it offered to make money had drawn to its shores impartially men of all nations, classes, and creeds. Its very founders had come from a cosmopolitan country and were cosmopolitans themselves. By 1642 the English residents rivaled the Dutch in numbers and influence, so that an official interpreter had to be appointed because of the bi-lingual nature of the place. In the same year began the French Huguenot immigration, while twenty years later saw the entrance of Swedes, Germans, and other nationalities.

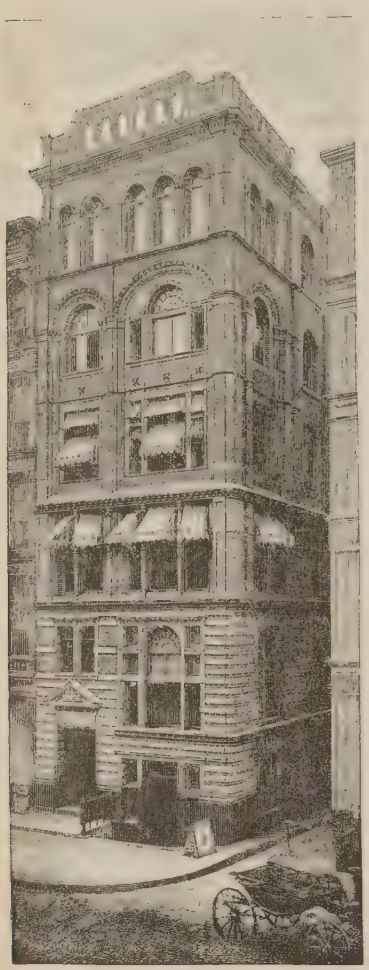
Expediency is a great smoother-away of prejudices, and New York, whose course has always been directed, or at least modified, by worldly prudence, has given harbor to all kinds of religion, to many kinds of morality, and to not a few diverse kinds of political faith. It has interfered with matters of conscience only in exceptional instances, and it interferes in matters of morality only in extreme cases. To this day, there is probably less moral and less provincial coercion in New York city than in any other city of the Union. If the colonists themselves ever felt a persecuting zeal, it was discouraged by their foreign rulers. The West India Company deprecated sectarianism, but thought "it best not to check population." "You had better let every one remain free," it wrote, "as long as he is modest, moderate, his political conduct irreproachable and he does not offend others or oppose the government." When the English took possession they claimed that "no person who professed Christianity was to be fined or imprisoned for differing in opinion on matters of religion," and the same edifice was used for both the Dutch Reformed and the Church of England services.

1688–1765.

But the year 1688 begins a new epoch in the city's history. It was the year in which the Dutch William, entering England, forced his father-in-law, the last of the Stuarts, to abdicate and then mounted the throne himself. The change was a triumph for liberalism, but it was also—so thought the self-important Dutch inhabitants of the city—a triumph for the Dutch. Their patriotism, as well as their love of independence, was fired when the first rumors of William's success reached them. They waited for no authoritative information. The revolution in England they imitated in Dogberry fashion in New York. In behalf of liberty, King William and the Protestant religion, they drove out the Stuart officials, and under the leadership of an arbitrary, self-willed, and ignorant man, one Jacob Leishe, usurped all the functions of government. Never has the city government been conducted in so high-handed a fashion as under his ostensibly democratic rules. Juries were intimidated, reporting of trials was forbidden, and men of unquestioned integrity were cast into prison because of their political opinions. The people breathed more freely when a legally

appointed English Governor recaptured the city from the usurper, and the very mob which had elevated Jacob Leishe jeered at him as he went to execution.

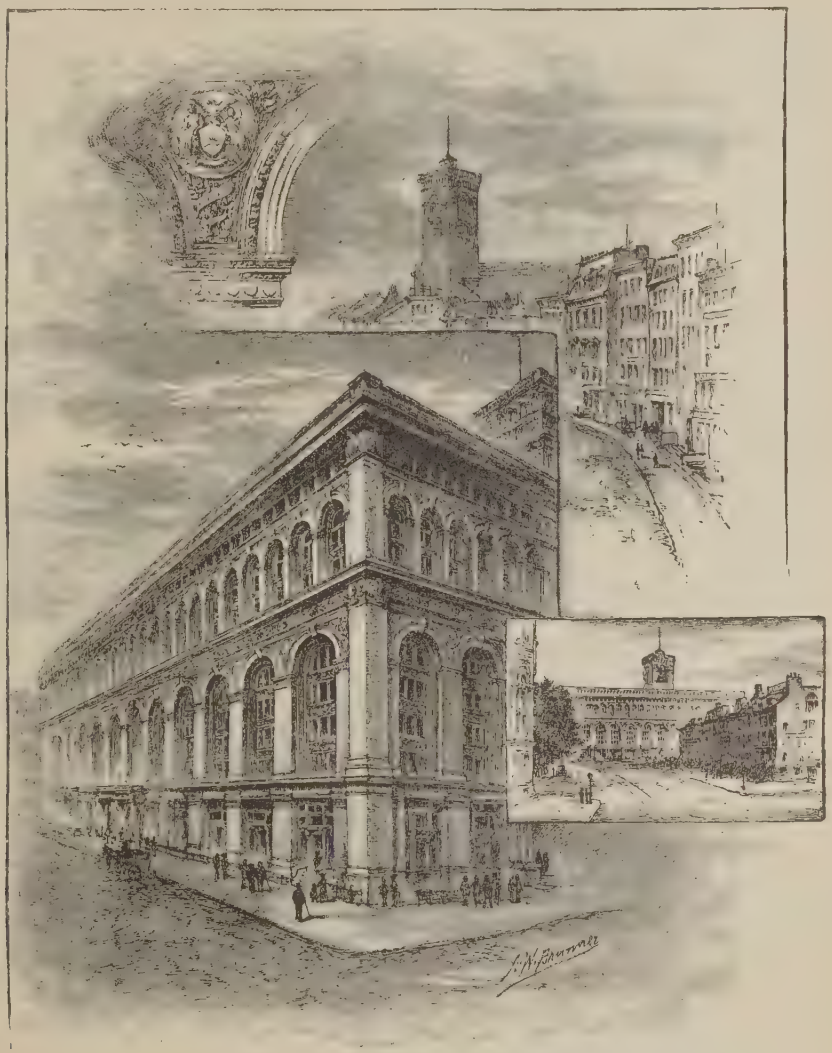
The spirit of independence once roused, however, was not easily allayed. Certainly King William did nothing to allay it. He was much too busy to devote time and thought to his American colonies, and from the date of his accession on, there was a marked deterioration in the character of the English governors. Arbitrary, unskilled and petty in character, they kept the New Yorkers in a constant state of irritation. The rights of the colonists were more and more disregarded at the very time when the colonists were becoming more and more sensitive to their rights. It was no longer business interests, but whim which decided the conduct of the colony. Little by little, however, the colonists wrested rights and privileges from their English rulers. Through their representative assembly, which passed upon all appropriations, they held the purse-strings of the province, and emulating the example of the House of Commons, starved the colonial administration into submission. Nowhere else, the most celebrated of American historians testifies, did the legislature so nearly exhaust and appropriate all executive authority, as in New York.



STORE AT 55 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

Its difficulties with the English governors, however, did little, if anything, to check the growing prosperity of the city. It has made all things work together for its own good. It has turned its apparent tribulations and its days of freedom from tribulation, its days of war and its days of peace, its spasms of virtue and its lapses into injustice and corruption, all to financial profit. Slave labor filled the pockets of its citizens in the seventeenth century, the war of emancipation enriched them in the nineteenth; the war of 1812, even though it destroyed their merchant marine, increased their wealth. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that before the close of the seventeenth century, New York had begun to fatten on the merchandise of pirates. Rakish-looking vessels were often to be seen at anchor in the

harbor, and richly-dressed and heavily-armed strangers were welcomed at the taverns. This was the time of Captain Kidd and his fashionable wife. (See Chapter VI.) Fortunes were mysteriously enhanced. Men of mark in the



PRODUCE EXCHANGE BUILDING, NEW YORK.

community naturally, and perhaps justly, fell under the suspicion. It was not until England with a heavy hand had put down piracy, that New York again turned all her energies to legitimate commerce.

By 1750 the town, though it was still smaller than Boston or Philadelphia,

was probably quite as opulent. The streets still crooked, often, but they were spacious and well built, and most of them were paved, except when good drainage made it unnecessary. The place seemed like a garden. Town conveniences had greatly increased in the half-century. A pilot boat had been stationed in the harbor to inspect all incoming vessels and so served as quarantine. Two fire-engines had lately been imported from abroad and twenty-four able-bodied men had enlisted as a fire company. Over the rough corduroy roads a mail was soon to go, three times a week in summer and once a week in winter, between New York and Philadelphia. Two newspapers filled with foreign news, custom-house entries, and local comments, were issued from New York presses, and the theatre had started well with the play of Richard III.

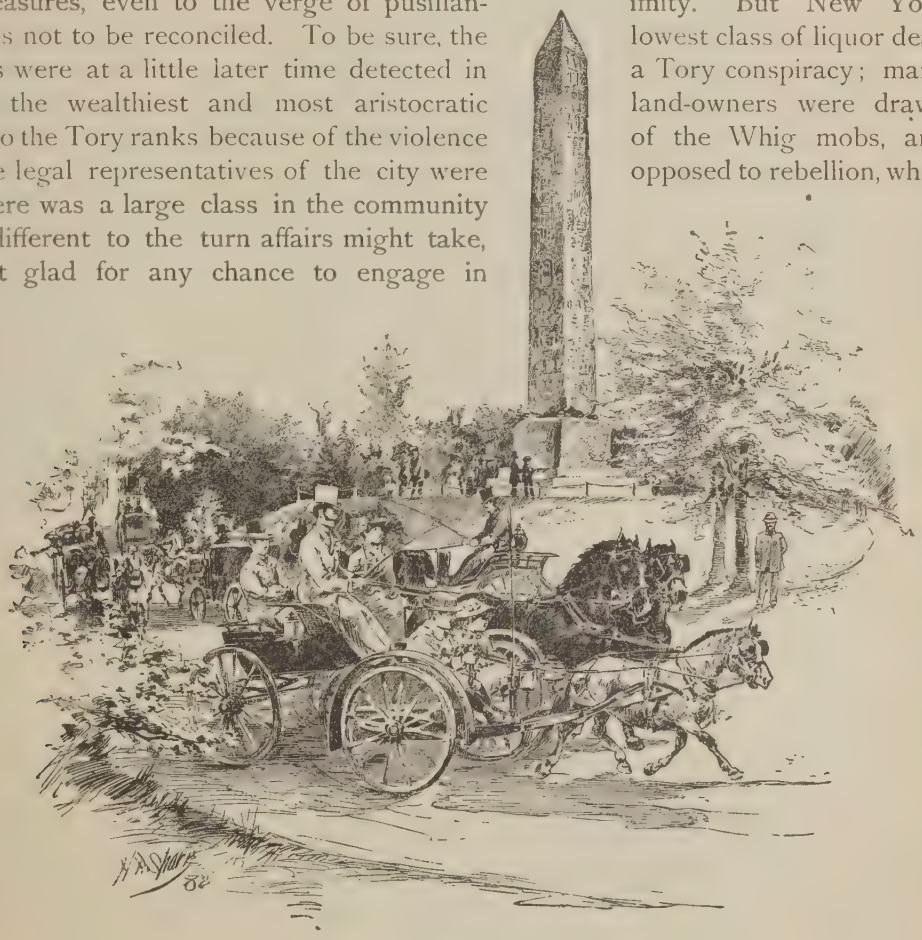
In the neighborhood of New York were the large manor houses, peopled by a retinue of slaves and household servants, furnished with elegance and usually surrounded by an English park. Long Island, the Connecticut shore, the banks of the Hudson, the interior of New Jersey, were full of village life and activity. Poverty had kept pace with prosperity, and with increase of wealth had come the inevitable poor-house and the jail. There were many poor and many turbulent. Society was still aristocratic and consisted of six distinct classes; the large landed proprietors, the merchants and small landed proprietors, the small freeholders, with whom the suffrage stopped, the free workmen, the white bond-servants—a dangerous class—and the negro slaves. But each of these classes was growing restive under its yoke. Each year the English officials met with greater opposition from the landed proprietors, and each year the landed proprietors had greater trouble over their fugitive slaves. The spirit of revolution was in the air.

1765–1783.

The French and Indian war which came to a close in 1763 had proved a heavy expense to Great Britain, and parliament naturally attempted to shift part of it upon the colonies. The colonies objected. This was the occasion of revolution. The true cause lay further back. America had grown too large and too heterogeneous to be ruled from over-sea, except with the greatest tact, and the English just then lacked that tact. On the other hand, America had produced a number of native statesmen of exceptional abilities who could solve its problems. Self-government would produce better results than colonial government, and self-government the colonies would have.

In 1765, a general congress of the colonies was held in the city to protest against the Stamp Act. Dependent as New York was upon her shipping, she was the first to recommend a non-importation of English merchandise. As a means of retaliating upon Great Britain, she took the first weapon at hand—finance. Before the spring of 1775 had drawn to its close, loyalty, according to

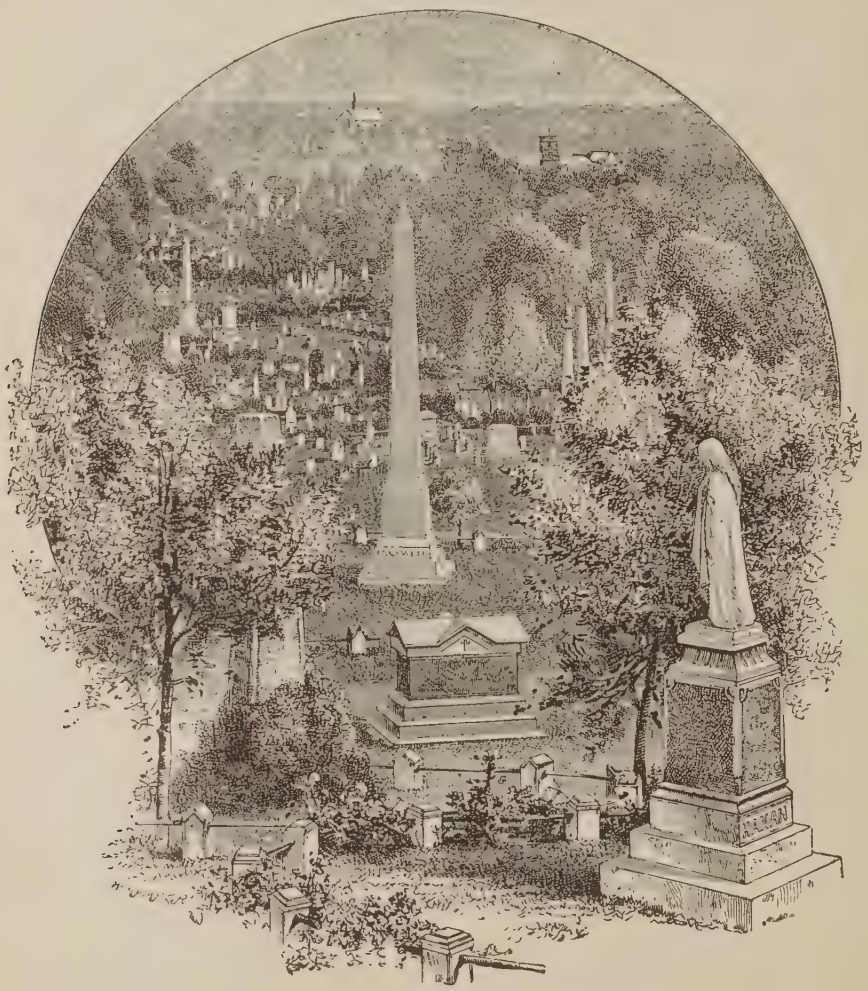
the standards of the community at large, meant allegiance to the colonial, not to the British cause. It was England's policy to pet the province of New York into compliance. In the hope that she might be reconciled, the English foreign office offered to advance her interests over those of her neighbors, and General Gage, in charge of the New York garrison, withheld his troops from coercive measures, even to the verge of pusillanimity. But New York was not to be reconciled. To be sure, the lowest class of liquor dealers were at a little later time detected in a Tory conspiracy; many of the wealthiest and most aristocratic land-owners were drawn into the Tory ranks because of the violence of the Whig mobs, and the legal representatives of the city were opposed to rebellion, while there was a large class in the community indifferent to the turn affairs might take, but glad for any chance to engage in



THE OBELISK IN CENTRAL PARK, NEW YORK.

disorder. In the main, however, the city was genuinely enlisted in the anti-British movement. The New York populace hailed with delight the news of the skirmish at Lexington; they took possession of the City Hall and armed themselves with the ammunition it contained; they unloaded two vessels laden with flour and other supplies for the British troops in Massachusetts; they detained all vessels bound for any of the British possessions; they seized the

keys of the custom-house and dismissed its officers; they destroyed a Tory press; they disarmed the British troops who were embarking for Boston; and finally, repudiating their official Assembly, they elected an extra-official committee to direct affairs for the patriot cause.



GREENWOOD CEMETERY.

In the latter part of March, 1776, word reached New York that Boston had been evacuated by the British. Soon after Washington arrived, at the head of twenty-seven thousand raw troops, to defend the city against Lord Howe's thirty-one thousand. In June Lord Howe appeared in the vicinity and began offensive operations. On July 9th the Declaration of Independence was read

in the city, to the American troops and the assembled people, and was greeted with riotous applause. On the fifteenth of September, after much brilliant military manœuvring on his part, Washington was forced to leave the city and it fell into the hands of the British. The patriot civilians fled, taking with them whatever portable property they had, even to the brass knockers on the doors. They were wise. For over seven years the city remained in the hands of the British. Lean years they were. Occasionally reconnoitering rebels might be seen on the heights of Hoboken; once a large French fleet sailed into the lower harbor; but no real relief came. The city was devastated by fire and pillaged by the soldiery. Trade ceased and there was no employment for laborers. Provisions became scarce and extravagantly high. The fruit trees and shade trees had to be cut down for fuel, while the poor did as best they could by burning fat. Thousands of prisoners were in wretched condition and from ten to twenty of them died daily. A disorderly community sprang up, called "Canvas Town." The adjacent country was impoverished by guerilla warfare. The Tories were plundered by irresponsible Patriot mobs and plundered the Patriots in turn, while the lawless British and Hessian soldiery plundered both Patriot and Tory with impartial maliciousness. Such was the condition of New York throughout the American Revolution, but on November 25, 1783, after peace had been signed a year, less five days, the British troops sailed for home. Strange to say, the war had apparently not retarded New York's growth. In 1775 it numbered twenty thousand inhabitants; in 1783, twenty-four thousand.

1783–1825.

In the very heat of war, New York had been preparing a State constitution for itself, and, when peace was declared, it had its governor in office, its supreme court in session, its government completely organized. This was fortunate, since litigation increased at an alarming rate after the city passed into the hands of the Americans. The forfeited city estate of one Tory alone was sold for $234,198.75.

Confusion, however, did not last long. In 1784 the Chamber of Commerce was reorganized. Between the years 1786 and 1796 the population nearly doubled. Rents rose, in some instances to twice their former figure. New houses went up rapidly; the streets were cleaned and the pavements mended. From 1784 to 1790 New York was the capital of the country, and every pleasant afternoon during the sessions of Congress, Wall Street was thronged with fashionable promenaders in Parisian costumes. Dinners and balls were daily occurrences. Little business was done before nine or ten o'clock in the morning. Rival cities looked on with an envious disapproval. Municipal fêtes, parades, and receptions became popular. Every prominent visitor and every incident of note was the occasion of a public celebration and display.

But while the rich were getting richer the poor were getting poorer. Vagrants were being drawn into the city. Immigration deteriorated in quality as it multiplied in quantity. Notwithstanding the fact that the old Dutch

GENERAL VIEW OF THE BROOKLYN BRIDGE.

element had been fairly well assimilated by those of English blood, that the Indians had lost during the Revolution all of their influence and a great part of their numbers, and that plans were rapidly maturing for the enfranchisement of

the slaves, the population was growing more heterogeneous every day. Turbulence was on the increase. In 1778 an anti-dissection mob terrorized the city for over two days, and no man whose vocation was healing was safe till the military had been called out and had inflicted chastisement.

Until 1800, New York city was a stronghold of Federalism. Until 1804 it was the home of the great constructive statesman of the epoch, Alexander Hamilton. But its most representative politician was Aaron Burr. Affable, cunning, unscrupulous, he studied every prominent man's weak point and appealed to it. From the day that he organized his followers for political spoils, New York State has never been without its political machines and bosses. A keen insight into human nature and an adaptability to circumstances were his chief resources. His powers of trickery were marvelous and were used with cynical indifference to his being found out, when once the trick had effected its purpose. His duel with Hamilton is a familiar story; all know how he pursued his rival with a murderous intent which there was no escaping; how they met in the woods at Weehawken, and how he returned home, complacent over his fatal success. From that day Hamilton was apotheosized. Every organization in the city shared in his obsequies. Even the partisans of Burr appeared in the funeral procession. Duelling had been an accepted custom, but the peculiar malice and self-seeking with which Burr had used it, made it forever after odious. The Coroner's jury found him guilty of murder. A fugitive from his own State, though the Vice-President of the nation, he wrote later to his daughter, "There is a contention of a singular nature between the two States of New York and New Jersey. The subject in dispute is, which shall have the honor of hanging the Vice-President." Unfortunately he went unhanged. Still more unfortunately his evil lived after him. There has always been some one else ready to pull the wires which he laid. Indeed, Burr's power had not begun to wane before Tammany Hall was founded,—an organization, at first eminently respectable, but destined to become for a time the most notorious municipal ring the world over.

The growth of the city received a great impetus from the war of 1812, with all its opportunities for privateering, but an event of much greater local importance was the completion of the Erie Canal, on October 26th, 1825. From that day the position of the city as the main door to the country was assured. New York became more and more cosmopolitan. Its ruling genius was trade. Its wealth, its size, its chances for money-making, its opportunities for criminal courses, attracted men of all classes within its boundaries. Its population soon became too shifting to have much local patriotism or many local prejudices. From this time on aristocratic families lost their family influence, however much they might retain their family pride. Its coterie of literary men, including Cooper, Bryant, and Irving, show no such provincialism in their writing as do

their New England contemporaries, a fact which speaks well for New York's breadth, but their work has never been remembered with the patriotic gratitude with which Boston remembers its Hawthorne, Emerson, Lowell, and Longfellow. The representative New Yorkers of the epoch were not its men of art or literature, nor its statesmen, for of these last it had none, but its Astor, a German peddler who grew rich in the fur trade, its Cornelius Vanderbilt, a boatman of Dutch descent who won a fortune in railway speculation, and its A. T. Stewart, a native of Belfast who acquired fifty millions or more out of dry goods. It was the period of the *Nouveau Riche*, of vulgar display and pretentiousness. The fashions of the day were flashy imitations of Paris. Much of the wealth was

ELEVATED RAILROAD.

ill-gotten; more of it was ill-spent. The wealthy were generous to munificence and vain of their generosity.

The Irish potato famine and the European revolutions of 1848 greatly increased the immigration to our shores, and the worst of the immigrants remained in New York city. By 1860, when the population had reached 800,000, the men of Irish birth and blood predominated in the city; the Germans were the next most numerous body and the native Americans only ranked third in numbers. Tumults were frequent, from the Anti-slavery riots of 1834 to the Draft riots of 1863. When bread was scarce, the mob destroyed what flour it could violently lay its hands on, by way of remedy. When the rivalries of

visiting actors divided the city into partisans of Forest and partisans of Macready, the mob divided in an internecine feud. Twenty persons were killed and one hundred and fifty were wounded because two actors were jealous of each other. The religious differences between Irish Protestantism and Irish Catholicism were manifested in the same form of emotional energy. Worst of all were the Draft riots during the Civil War. The attempt to draft the Irish into the Union Army, while General Lee was marching into Pennsylvania, resulted in the sacking of houses, the destruction of two million dollars worth of property, the burning of the Colored Orphan Asylum, the lynching of negro women and children, and an attempt, fortunately unsuccessful, to burn a hospital crowded with Union soldiers. One thousand rioters were killed before order was restored. By that time the city had been terrorized six days.

These turbulent, bigoted, and ignorant elements of the community naturally affected the politics of the epoch. In 1826 all property qualifications were abolished except in the case of negroes. In 1846 the judiciary was made elective. By 1850 local politics had become unsavory. In 1857 the mayor appointed one body of municipal police and the State another, and the two came to blows as to which should be the official preservers of order in the metropolis. In 1870 politics reached its worst in the Tweed ring. There was gross corruption and intimidation at the polls and far grosser corruption among the coarse, jovial, open-handed officials, then extremely popular, who had the city at their mercy and plundered it relentlessly. In 1871, however, the city measurably purified its politics. At least the Tweed ring noted the high-water mark of corruption. This dishonesty in politics was paralleled though not equaled by dishonesty of all sorts in business enterprises. So closed what may be called the fifth epoch in the city's history. Meanwhile, except for its filthy streets and bad pavements—and the majority of voters are indifferent to both—the city had shown wonderful progress in all democratic conveniences. In 1825 gas was introduced into the city; in 1831 the first horse cars; in 1835, penny newspapers, though of a very low order; in 1842, Croton water; in 1858 the Atlantic cable was working. Though the city had suffered from two great panics, in one of which 100,000 people were thrown upon charity, New York's business men had prospered.

Since 1871 the business morals of the community have greatly improved. Cleverness goes not so far, integrity goes further than in the palmy days of the brilliant, daring, cynical adventurer, Fisk. Men are beginning to be honest toward their rivals as well as toward their customers to a degree comparatively unknown in the time of A. T. Stewart. In consequence, business has gained a greater solidity and a greater sense and appearance of permanence,—a solidity manifest in our massive business houses of to-day. Our great buildings, ugly as some of them are, are now built to endure. As our money is being more

soberly earned, so it is being more modestly spent. It is no longer gay Paris exclusively, but even more the quieter London which sets our fashions for us. From early colony days, New York has always spent its money freely, and its lavish fêtes have either awakened the envy or aroused the disapprobation of Puritan Boston or Quaker Philadelphia. In its fondness for expenditure, it in no whit differs to-day from the New Amsterdam of the seventeenth century. But it is learning to spend its money with a defter and more experienced hand. The wealthy are growing used to their wealth. Good taste is slowly displacing mere

BOAT-HOUSE AND FLOAT.

show; education, though too much of a superficial kind, is displacing ignorance; art is displacing mere finery and show. Modesty of manner is growing popular; modesty of disposition, even, is increasing. To be sure, the average New Yorker may still secretly enjoy newspaper mention of his private affairs, but he is more chary than he used to be of advertising them himself, and, after all, the eagerness to hear one's name from the lips of others is better than the eagerness to publish it with one's own. To be sure, New York still suffers from the ostentation and vulgar display of newly gotten wealth, but it suffers this usually from the hands of new settlers, not of old inhabitants. The city, in brief, is maturing,

and with maturity has naturally come a quieter demeanor and a more intellectual life.

As a result, New York has become the musical, art, and literary centre of the country. The Metropolitan Opera House, built within the memory of the young men of to-day, is the fitting audience hall for the best rendition of American and Italian opera which the country has yet seen. Every year those who wish to be in fashion and those who genuinely love music, alike gather within its four great walls of yellow brick to hear the most beautiful of foreign operas rendered by some of the best of foreign singers. Intelligent interest in music, as well as simulation of that interest, is steadily increasing, and the promise of a worthy American music, dim though it yet is, grows slowly but steadily brighter. "Music Hall," an edifice devoted almost exclusively to oratorios and to orchestral concerts, has been completed within a year and has already made its influence felt. Far more important architecturally than either is the Madison Square Garden. Beautiful in color, graceful in form, delicate and often exquisite in the tracery of its ornamentation, and covering the entire block, so that it is marred by close proximity to no other building, it is a constant gladdener of the eye and educator of the taste. Unfortunately, the city's architecture is not all of the same quality. Only a casual glance is needed at the diversities and incongruities of its construction to make evident that every New York builder does as he pleases. Individual taste and individual tastelessness have free play. The height of buildings in the same block varies with an irregularity painful to the eye. The style of every nation and of every age has its attempted imitation. In the lower part of the city the most notable architecture is to be found in the old-fashioned City Hall, built when New York extended no further north than Brooklyn Bridge; in the Produce Exchange, whose great square tower is a landmark far down the harbor; and in the lofty but massive office buildings, which are to be found in increasing numbers near the centre of traffic.

In the upper part of the city the stranger will examine with the most interest the Roman Catholic Cathedral, the Jewish synagogues, the almost palatial dwellings of the railroad kings, and the stupendous apartment houses and hotels which are growing more popular every year as places of residence. Many a prominent building is simply an ugly monument to the childish vanity of an owner who was determined to distance his neighbors in height or pretentiousness. Many a façade is a patent attempt at deception, futilely purporting to be what it is not. Still oftener an excellent front combines with barren, ugly sides of unpainted brick in one inharmonious structure. Yet it is only necessary to look back ten or fifteen years to recognize the fact that New York is growing more artistic in its architecture. Twenty years ago every new statue or monument was inevitably an added misfortune because an added ugliness to the city. To-day it may be, as is the famous Washington Arch, unqualifiedly beautiful

The public of to-day is also more appreciative of painting. The Metropolitan Museum of Art has within the last decade gathered together a remarkably artistic collection of foreign and American masterpieces, and the art colony of New York is a growing community. The cultivated readers of the country are more and more looking to the Metropolis as the centre of the nation's literary life. To be sure our most characteristic national literature is our distinctively and avowedly provincial literature. It comes from Joel Chandler Harris, the Georgian; Thomas Nelson Page, the Virginian; Miss Wilkins, the Puritan; Eugene Field, of the plains, and Octave Thanet, of Arkansas. But it is to New York and no longer to Boston that the writer in search of his fortune now turns; it is New York which can boast of the most active and the most growing literary circle; it is only in New York that one feels himself in the heart of literary America. The metropolis of the country has the wealth and all other things are being added to it.

There is less turbulence in the city than there was in the fifties, sixties, and seventies. The Irish have become somewhat used to American privileges. They no longer run riot in our city streets, though they still run riot in our city treasury. The population is more heterogeneous than ever, but the city has become so large as to allow each race to form a community of its own where it can measurably follow its own customs and select its own standards. There is a little China in Mott Street, a little Italy in Mulberry Street. That separation of class from class which history has over and over again proved to be inevitable, is rapidly taking place on Manhattan Island to-day. But with the separation comes added freedom, not, as often of old, added tyranny, for industry, enterprise, thrift, constitute an "Open Sesame" to every quarter of the town. So unwieldy has the city become that only the practical politician knows the true history of its politics; only the philanthropist its philanthropies; only the business specialist each of its business interests. Its early characteristics it still retains however. Its predominant motive is still the making of money. It measures new-comers by no provincial standards. It has room for every man, and each man may follow his own bent. There is no moral compulsion within its boundaries. The typical New Yorker is never proud of his city, but he is not ashamed of it. The place has no other identity than its cosmopolitanism may have given it. It adapts itself to all circumstances. Here every man, out of business hours, so loses himself in the mass of careless, indifferent humanity that he can disregard or obey convention, live penuriously or extravagantly, be moral or immoral, without evoking contempt, gossip, derision, or censure. New York is not a beautiful city; it is not an inspiring city; but it is not a coercive city. Here every man is his own master; here every man may make his own public opinion. Here is, as you please, Liberty Hall or License Tavern.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE NEW ENGLAND CAPITAL.

IT was on the 8th of April, ten years after the founding of Plymouth and one year after that of Salem, that the Puritans who were to found Boston sailed from England under command of John Winthrop, whom they had chosen to be their Governor. On the 22d of June they arrived at Salem and were warmly greeted by the Governor, Endicott. But the settlement there was in a weak condition and the position did not please them. Governor Winthrop and some companions made an exploration of the country round about, and as a result the whole company moved to what is now called Charlestown. Here they initiated the custom, followed subsequently by all New England settlements, of building a church first and then founding the town. Very soon, however, they were overtaken by illness, and so many died that they came to the conclusion the place was not healthy, and when, in addition, the water gave out, a move was decided upon. On the opposite side of Charles River there dwelt, in utter solitariness, a man named Blackstowe, and he, pitying their distress, invited them over to him, promising them water and a goodly land.

The colonists decided to accept the invitation of the recluse, and, taking their boats, they set out for the opposite shore. In the first boat was a young girl, Anne Pollard by name, who determined by some mad caper or other to get herself writ down in history. And she succeeded, as you may judge by this writing, for while the boat was some distance from the land, wishing to be the first to set foot in their new home, she leaped ashore, or rather awater, sadly wetting her white stockings, to the great scandal of the staid Puritans. Girl-like, the first characteristic she noticed about the place was the great growth of blueberries, and immediately began to clear the land around her of this fruit in a swift but silent manner.

This place was called by the Indians Shawmutt, and by the settlers Trimontaine, not, as is commonly supposed, on account of its three hills, but because of the three spurs of its main hill, known later as Beacon Hill. Many of the most influential of the settlers had come from the vicinity of Boston, in Lincolnshire,

and because of this circumstance the order of the Court was passed, on the 17th of September, "that Trimontaine shall be called Boston," and so the city whose story we have to tell was finally born.

That first winter was a hard one to the earnest settlers. Many of the people "were necessitated to live on clams, muscles, ground-nuts and acorns. The Governor was seen giving the last piece of meat in the barrel unto a poor man distressed by the wolf at the door." Yet in the midst of all this hardship, Winthrop writes to his wife in England, "We here enjoy God and Jesus Christ. Is not this enough? What would we have more?" In February this want of food had become extreme. Six months before, they had sent a ship to England for supplies, but nothing had been heard of her since. In their weariness and despair, they had appointed a day of general humiliation, "to seek the Lord by fasting and prayer," when a ship appeared in the harbor laden with food. A day of thanksgiving for this ship's arrival was held on the 22d of February, and this was the first observance of our Thanksgiving Day custom.

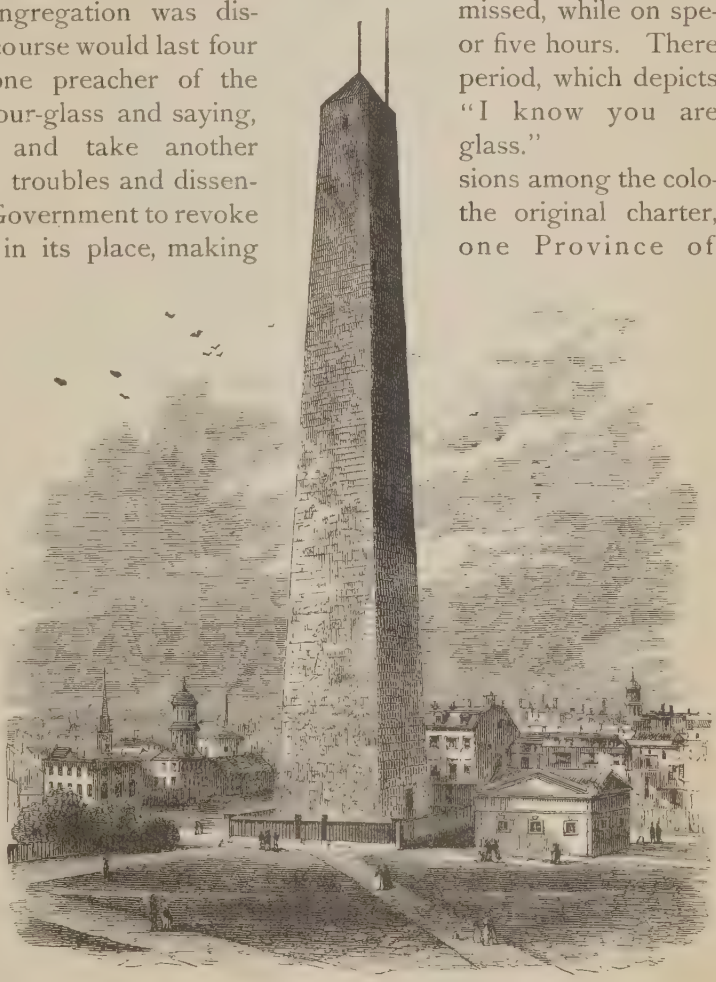
About a thousand had come over with Winthrop and to these another thousand were soon added. After the first two or three crucial years the town grew and flourished. One of the earliest industries was ship-building, lumber being abundant. In the ships that were built, fish, boots and shoes were carried to London and to the East Indies, bringing back wine, fruit, oil, linen, and wool.

The life of these old settlers was hard, plain, and severe. There were no amusements, no luxuries, and almost no comforts. The grim struggle with Mother Earth day after day taught the Puritan doggedness and persistence; braving the sharp winds and the changeable climate of New England taught him endurance; while his long series of Indian wars imbued him with the coolness and the aggressive courage that actual warfare alone brings. In the thick of a battle in King Philip's Indian War, one of the old Boston settlers "took off his wig and hung it on a tree that he might fight more coolly, to the great terror of the enemy, who naturally felt there was little use in scalping such a man;" and it was just such calmness and deliberation, and this kind of training in hand-to-hand warfare, that made the old settlers such formidable antagonists later.

These stout-hearted men and women who had come across the seas to this wilderness were Puritans. Their object in coming was "freedom to worship God" in the homely simplicity that their conscience dictated. The life of the Bostonian of that day was a hard struggle with the rocky soil of Massachusetts throughout the week, but on the Sabbath it was transfigured by the solemnities and sublimities that a second life opened before him. Starved by the dull, monotonous toil of daily life, their imaginations sought and found relief in the sublime heights and depths of the invisible world. The Sabbath began at sunset

on Saturday and lasted till sunset on Sunday, a custom not yet extinct in some parts of New England. In church, the men, women, and children sat in separate bodies, the ruling elders sitting immediately below the pulpit, facing the congregation, but on a platform above them. The minimum or regulation length of the sermon was one hour, but often the hour-glass had been turned twice before the congregation was dismissed, while on special occasions the discourse would last four or five hours. There is a caricature of one preacher of the period, which depicts him as turning his hour-glass and saying, "I know you are good fellows, stay and take another glass."

In the year 1692, troubles and dissensions among the colonists led the English Government to revoke the original charter, and to issue another in its place, making one Province of nearly all the New England settlements, under the rule of a Governor appointed by the mother country. By this time Boston had grown to be a place of seven thousand inhabitants; thirty years later this number had increased to twelve thousand. Commerce was the great feature of the town. In ship-building also it was far ahead of the other settlements. "I believe I may venture to say," writes Lord Bellomont, the royal Governor in 1698, "that there are more good vessels belonging to the town of Boston than to all Scotland and Ireland." At one time there were sixteen ship-yards and fourteen rope-walks in the town. The ships were laden with beef, pork, fish, lumber, and oil, and dispatched to the West Indies, bringing back rice, pitch, spices, and logwood. Rum distilling was also a considerable industry of those



THE MONUMENT ON BUNKER HILL.

days. Commerce was a hazardous business, on account of the large number of pirates that infested the seas. When caught they were tried and condemned to be hung. Their execution was invested with the most impressive ceremonies. "On the Sabbath preceding the execution the condemned man was brought into the meeting-house loaded with chains, and there, in the presence of all the people, was made the centre of the devotional and hortatory exercises. His sins were spread out before him in the face of the congregation, and he heard himself presented with all his guilt at the throne of Divine retribution. When the day of execution came, a public procession attended him as he was drawn in a cart with a coffin behind him. He was executed after more preaching and praying, in the presence of a vast crowd." Before the execution, in 1726, of some noted pirates, a sermon on them and in their presence was preached, which was afterward published under the title, "It is a Fearful Thing to Fall into the Hands of the Living God."

Boston now began to acquire an air of great thrift and prosperity. A class of distinctly wealthy people were growing up in the community, who began to build large, comfortable houses and to take their ease. In the train of wealth came luxury in all its forms. Ponderous old coaches rumbled over the carefully-kept roads, while the ebony countenance of a negro servant peeped from behind the richly-carved doors. An English Governor took up his residence in the stately old Province House in Boston, and became the centre of a miniature court, with all the customary paraphernalia and finery. He and his retinue showed to the wondering eyes of the Puritan settlers the golden brocade, the towering head-dress, the velvet and the satin of English society. Thus there was introduced into Boston all that its founders had fled across the seas to avoid. The Governor soon became the leader in a society which rejoiced in its routs and minuets, and which was made up of the rich merchants and well-to-do magistrates in the town.

England soon began to take a repressive and threatening attitude toward her American colonies. She determined to utilize them as would best suit her own interests. She restricted any manufactures that would make the colonies independent, and passed laws confining their commerce to herself. Boston merchants preferred to buy necessities from other countries than to pay England a high price for them. Any restrictions on trade were felt most keenly in Boston, whose chief source of wealth was her commerce. Her citizens were full of energy and ingenuity, and yet every attempt at advancement was met by checks and restraints. The high-strung nature of the people became very restive under such curbs and finally broke away altogether.

In the year 1765 England went further and proceeded to direct taxation. A Stamp Act was passed, requiring that all legal and business documents should be written or printed on stamped paper, costing more than ordinary paper.

When the act went into effect it excited the greatest furor in Boston. Andrew Oliver, who had been appointed stamp collector, was hung in effigy from an elm known as Liberty Tree. On the same tree was hung a large jack-boot with a devil's head attached, intended to represent John, Earl of Bute. The people showed themselves resolute not to obey the act. As only stamp paper was legal, business in a large measure was suspended. Courts closed, marriages ceased, vessels were unmoored. By common consent luxuries were given up and frugality became the fashion.

In October, 1768, three regiments were sent and stationed in Boston that they might impress the citizens with a sense of English power. But it only stirred up deep indignation and resentment in the hearts of the people, at having troops quartered upon them in times of peace. Continual quarrels raged between soldiers and citizens. At last the troubles culminated in the Boston Massacre, in March, 1770. A crowd gathered on the evening of that day, and threw missiles at a sentinel in King, now State, Street. He shouted for aid, which brought out a guard of eight men with Captain Preston at their head. The crowd pushed up around the soldiers, shouting and hooting at them. The soldiers loaded their muskets. The confusion soon became so great, that it was impossible afterward to tell whether Preston ordered his men to fire or not, but suddenly, without giving any warning, they did fire into the crowd, killing three men, mortally wounding two others, and severely injuring six more. This threw the town into a tumult, which was only pacified by the removal of the troops to the Castle. Preston was put on trial, but was acquitted.

Parliament had passed a bill taxing several staple articles largely imported by the colonists. The latter stood by the principle of "no taxation without representation," and were united in refusing to buy the articles so taxed. In 1773 Boston was thrown into excitement by learning that ships were on their way from England laden with tea—one of the articles that had been taxed. Prominent patriots met together and determined the tea should not be landed. One of the ships, the "Dartmouth," arrived, but her owner, Rotch, seeing how strong the feeling was, agreed to send her back without unloading her. She could not, however, leave the port without a permit from the Governor, and this he refused to give unless her cargo was first discharged. Many days were spent in fruitless attempts to have the vessel sail quietly away and so avoid any unlawful act. According to the law, twenty days were given to a vessel to discharge her cargo, and at the end of that time, if not discharged, it was confiscated by the custom-house officers. The last day of this allotted time arrived, and a monster meeting was held, so large that it adjourned from Faneuil Hall to the Old South Church. Hutchinson, the Governor, had gone out to his house at Milton on purpose to get out of the way. Rotch, the owner of the vessel, appeared and testified that he had made every effort to obtain permission for the ship to sail,

but without avail. He was ordered to go to Milton and make one last appeal to the Governor to allow the vessel to depart quietly, and to come back and report the result of his mission to the meeting. He could not get back for several hours, and meanwhile speeches were made by the leading patriots. One speaker asked, "How will tea go with salt water?" and the question was greeted with rounds of applause. Hours went by and Rotch did not return; yet every one waited to see what the issue should be. It grew dark and candles were brought, which only lighted the church in the dimmest way; still the vast assemblage did not move, knowing they were on the eve of a momentous event. Finally, Rotch arrived and announced the Governor's refusal. Instantly Samuel Adams arose and said, "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." He was answered by a war-whoop from the porch, and fifty men disguised as Indians with paint and feathers, rushed down to the wharves where the ships were moored, followed by the rest of the meeting. These fierce-looking warriors jumped aboard the ships, and, breaking open the tea-boxes, threw their contents into the sea. There was no riot, no mob, no damage done to the vessels. The crowd stood quietly by and watched the strange spectacle that these grotesque figures, ghostly in the pale moonlight, made as they moved over the ships and relieved them of their cargoes. The next day traces of this "Boston Tea Party" were to be seen strewn all along the Dorchester shore.

OLD SOUTH CHURCH, BOSTON.

This was the first distinct slap in the face that America had given to England. Parliament retaliated by passing the Boston Port Bill, which suspended the trade and closed the harbor of the town. Additional regiments were sent to Boston under command of General Gage, who was appointed Governor. In April, 1775, came the first active hostilities in the battle of Concord. As a result of this battle, the Minute Men poured into Cambridge from all the country round about, and from that day the siege of Boston began. Gage allowed patriot families to pass out and the Provincials allowed Tory families to pass in; but any such passing was under the strictest surveillance. Along the coast a

sharp watch was kept, and privateers were continually cutting off the vessels that were bringing supplies to the famished English. Gage for his part carefully fortified Boston at different points, so as to resist attack. Earthworks and redoubts were thrown up and a floating battery of six cannons was kept in Charles River. In May, 1776, Gage received reinforcements, and feeling strong enough to become more aggressive he determined to fortify Charlestown Heights. The Patriots learned of his intention, and determining that if there was to be any fortification on the place they had best make it themselves, they worked steadily the night of June 16th throwing up earthworks. The morning showed the British how they had been forestalled, and they determined to attack the fortifications immediately, before they could be made any stronger. In the battle of Bunker Hill, which ensued, the English were twice repulsed with great slaughter, but finally ammunition gave out on the American side and they were obliged to retire. A few weeks later Washington arrived and took command. The blockade became closer than ever. The number of citizens in Boston had dwindled to 6500, through desertion and death. The English troops numbered 13,500. The privates were a disorderly set, drunken and licentious. During the ensuing winter Washington waited for the ice to form in order to cross on it and make an attack, but the season was very mild, and when it did form his field-officers opposed the plan, to Washington's disgust. Meanwhile, the British made themselves as comfortable as they could, and in so doing considered only their own convenience. They burnt down old, historical mansions, such as Winthrop's house, for fire-wood. They turned the Old South Meeting House into a riding school. The officers had their horses and they got up sleighing parties. Faneuil Hall was turned into a theatre and different plays were acted there. General Burgoyne was rather proud of his abilities as a playwright, and it was during the performance of a play written by him, called "The Blockade of Boston," and while an actor who was caricaturing Washington was on the stage, that a sergeant rushed in, crying, "The Yankees are attacking our works at Bunker Hill." At first the audience thought it was part of the play—as it came in very naturally—and they applauded vigorously; but when in a moment there came the command from an aide-de-camp, "Officers, to your posts!" people saw it was acting in earnest, and there was hurrying and scuffling, as soldiers and officers rushed hither and thither trying to rub off the paint and tearing off their wigs and dresses they had donned for the play. Washington ordered in the spring the fortification of Dorchester Heights, and this was accordingly done on March 2, 1776. The English made preparations to attack these works, but a violent storm arising the attack was abandoned, and on the 17th of this same month the British evacuated Boston and Washington and his army marched triumphantly in.

Boston had done her share and was not called on again to take an active

part in the war, but she had paid dearly for being the one to precipitate the struggle. Her population had decreased to six thousand; when peace came, six years later, it was only twelve thousand, while it took ten years more to reach the point it had attained previous to the Revolution. Business was at a stand-still. Many of the richest and leading citizens had fled, either as Tories with the English army, or as Patriots to seek some more secure spot. Slowly the city began again to show signs of life and activity. Society began to show its face once more, and when the French squadron arrived in 1778 the city burst out into a sudden blaze of gayety and rejoicing. The people were amazed at the stout, active appearance of the French, and could not comprehend how men who lived on frogs could look so strong and hearty. A wealthy citizen of Cambridge gave the French officers a dinner, and spared no expense to have just what his guests would like. On the table were two large soup-tureens, out of which plates were filled with soup and passed to the guests. The French Consul, putting his spoon into his plate, fished up, to his amazement, a large green frog, who looked for all the world as if he had just jumped into the tureen. Taking it up by the leg, he exclaimed: "Ah, mon Dieu! une grenouille," and passed it to the man by his side, whence it traveled around the table. As each man in turn fished up a frog from his plate, the whole table burst into one great chorus of laughter. The host, till now busied with helping out the soup, looked up only to see his guests dangling frogs by one leg, while they shook with bursts of uncontrollable merriment. "What is the matter?" he exclaimed. "If you knew the trouble I had in order to treat you to a dish of your own country, you would know that with me, at least, it is no joking matter."

Mr. Drake, in his book on "Old Landmarks of Boston," tells of a curious custom illustrative of the social life of Boston at this time. He says: "The reader will, perhaps, experience some incredulity when he is told that before the present mode of vaccination, smallpox parties were among the fashionable gatherings of Old Boston. The guests were inoculated and withdrew for a time from the world. An invitation of this kind appears in the following extract from a letter of Joseph Barrell, dated July 8, 1776: "Mr. Storer has invited Mrs. Martin to take the smallpox at his house; if Mrs. Wentworth desires to get rid of her fears in the same way, we will accommodate her in the best way we can. I've several friends that I've invited, and none of them will be more welcome than Mrs. W."

Another writer gives an account of the punishment of criminals during this period. "The large whipping-post, painted red, stood conspicuously and permanently in the most public street in town. It was placed in State Street, directly under the windows of a great writing school, which I frequented, and from them the scholars were indulged in the spectacle of all kinds of punishment,

suited to harden their hearts and brutalize their feelings. Here women were taken from a huge cage in which they were dragged on wheels from prison and tied to the post with bare backs, on which thirty or forty lashes were bestowed amid the screams of the culprits and the uproar of the mob. A little further down the street was to be seen the pillory, with three or four fellows fastened by the head and hands, and standing for an hour in that helpless posture, exposed to gross and cruel insult from the multitude, who pelted them incessantly with rotten eggs and every kind of garbage that could be collected."

FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON, "THE CRADLE OF LIBERTY."

Gradually Boston recovered from the effects of the war and began to pursue its old love, commerce, once more. As conditions became more and more settled, fortune began to smile on the merchants of Boston. This prosperity increased in the first years of this century, when the trouble between Napoleon and England threw a vast amount of the carrying trade of the world into the hands of the United States; of this Boston reaped her full share. This success roused the deep jealousy of England, and she began seizing our seamen and our cargoes. This action on the part of England badly hurt Boston's commerce, but the retaliating embargo instituted by Jefferson nearly extinguished it. The

War of 1812 only made matters worse. Everything, however, has its compensations, and capital, thrown out of commerce, went into manufactures, stimulating their growth. Peace came in 1815 and relieved the town's distress, and during the remainder of this century its growth in wealth and importance has been steady and real.

Turning from the old historic Boston and coming to the present city as it stands to-day, what are its noticeable and distinctive features? The topographical changes have been enormous. The Back Bay, which once swept round behind Boston, cutting it off from the main land save for one narrow neck, has been all filled in, so that to-day the words "Back Bay" refer to the handsomest portion of the city, the fashionable quarter, covered with elaborate dwelling houses and stately churches. Its three hills, once the prominent feature of the peninsula, have only one representative left, and it is shorn of half its glory. On the top of this hill, just above the spot where the old beacon stood from which the hill takes its name, stands the State House, looming up above everything else. Houses and buildings crowd around underneath, somewhat as chickens nestle under the wings of a hen. Stretching away in front of the State House to the south and west are Boston Common and the Public Garden. The Common is a place closely connected with the city's past. Many criminals have paid the last penalty of the law within its precincts. Somewhere beneath the green grass lie the bodies of four Quakers, two men and two women, who in the early years of the colony had suffered martyrdom for their convictions, and for their dauntless pertinacity in preaching them. Here the eloquence of Whitefield held thousands spell-bound, who came hither because no church would hold them. Later it has been a famous battlefield and playground for innumerable Boston boys. Uncultivated save for its green grass and its graceful English elms, it offers a splendid opportunity for peace and rest to the poor and weary of the city. The Public Garden is a more modern and more elaborate creation. Its variegated flower-beds and winding pond are kept in exquisite condition, and on a bright afternoon throngs of people saunter along its walks. These two open spaces form a small park in the centre and heart of the town, and more than anything else justify Boston's claim to be one of the most beautiful American cities. The very centre of the city's circle, separating dwelling houses from shops and stores, the Common and Garden make a beautiful oasis amid the waste of buildings. It is true that stores are slowly but surely creeping round this space, and that ultimately they must entirely surround it, but this, though it may mar, cannot take away its beauty or unique position in the city's appearance. Running down Beacon Hill from the State House and forming the north side of the Common, is Beacon Street, the aristocratic street of the town, though lately Commonwealth Avenue has rather disputed the title to this honor. In the old houses that lie along the slope of Beacon Hill, their windows

purpled with the rays of many suns, lived the wealthy and refined of the old Boston of seventy years ago, and their children, and the children of others live there still. Prominent among these stately residences, stands the old Sears house with its convolutions of swelling bay-windows, done in white granite. It is now occupied by the Somerset Club, the most aristocratic and exclusive of such organizations in Boston. Along the lower and newer part of Beacon Street runs Charles River. This stream would add much more to the beauty of the city in general and of Beacon Street in particular, were it not for the fact that it

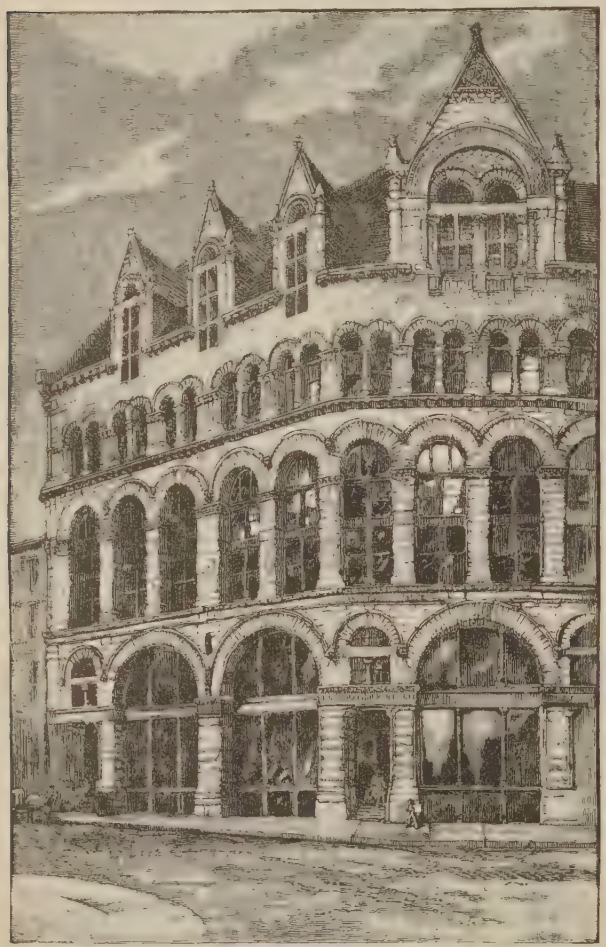
"Swells like the Solway,
But ebbs like its tide."

On certain afternoons the view from the windows of a Beacon Street house across the wide waters of the river into the crimson depths of the dying sun, is one of gorgeous beauty, but a few days earlier the same scene presents an appearance of dismal stagnation. The river has departed apparently for good and nothing remains but low flats, forming a dubious maze of slime and ooze and seaweed, suggestive of sewerage and malaria. Nevertheless, "the water-side of Beacon Street" stands to the Bostonian for a spot just a wee bit nicer than any other place, though the dweller thereon soon learns to pull down his curtains when the river is "déshabillé" and therefore not presentable in good society.

Commonwealth Avenue, starting from the middle of the Public Garden and running in the same direction as Beacon street, is a wide thoroughfare, with a broad belt of green shaded by trees running down its middle, and separating its two sides. Along its north side are the handsome new houses of the Boston of to-day. Here is the grand promenade on Sunday morning after church, when the beauty and the youth of the city meet together and bathe themselves in the rays of the Sunday sun.

One of the most interesting spots on the Back Bay or New Land, as this portion of the city is called indiscriminately, is Trinity Square. Flanked on every side by important public buildings, it offers as handsome a mass of marble, brick, and stone as Boston can show. The New Old South Church —in distinction from the historic Old South Church down town—is a church of great beauty with a very lofty and graceful tower. The handsome new Public Library building, charming in its chaste simplicity, and the museum of Fine Arts with its elaborate bas-reliefs fill two other sides of the square. Towering above all these buildings in interest, in size, in beauty, is Trinity Church. The work of Richardson, Boston's famous architect, this building bears a strong resemblance to the round architecture of Southern France. Its massive, central tower is one of the most striking architectural features of the city. The interior decoration and the stained glass windows are most elaborate. In this

magnificent church gathers the largest of Boston congregations to listen to the eloquent preaching of Phillips Brooks. The scene in Trinity Church of a Sunday afternoon is a remarkable one—the vast assemblage of faces all converging toward one striking form, the deep silence and the rapt attention—all this makes a most impressive picture. Bishop Brooks—as he is now—lives near the church in a quaintly fashioned house with a heavily arched doorway. His figure, towering like that of Saul above his brethren, is a well known one in Boston streets.



STORES IN BEDFORD STREET, BOSTON.

Running along the South side of the Common is Tremont street, filled with stores and shops. It might truly be called the "street of horse-cars," for all the different lines of the city and suburbs meet on this street. As a result, on the afternoon of any week day, Tremont street presents the extraordinary sight of an unbroken line of horse-cars, blocked together as close as they can get, creeping along at a snail's pace, the horses walking and the occupants inside bewailing the day of their birth. Lately, however, electric cars have been introduced, run by the trolley system and, except on Tremont Street, no one can complain of their slowness. They rush by with a whizz and a burr and a swiftness that would compare very favorably with the speed of the ordinary railroad train. The loss of life from these cars is understood to be very great, and at first, considerable difficulty was experienced by reason of the fright they caused to horses A prominent real estate broker was killed while riding on horseback on the

"New Land," and there were many less serious accidents, but any such difficulty has now entirely passed away. Washington Street, the next street south of Tremont, is the principal street of the town for shops and stores. Boston has really outgrown Washington Street. It is not broad enough by half to accommodate the crowds that throng its sides, and the result is a most tremendous crush that makes it nigh impossible for the traveler on foot to make rapid progress. Pressed on the south by the offices and wholesale warerooms of the business part of the city, and on the north prevented by the Common and Garden from a free development, the retail stores and shops are having a hard time of it and may be said to be undergoing a tight squeeze. The difficulty seems likely to continue until they shall have got well on to the other side of the Common, which will not be for some time to come.

It is rather a striking change to pass from the crooked and narrow Washington Street to the broad, straight streets below it, with their tall, solid buildings. The fine appearance of this part of the city is due to the fact that it was all burnt out in the great Boston fire of 1872. This fire started at the corner of Summer and Kingston Streets and spread all through that district of the city with incredible swiftness. Alarm after alarm was sent out until the whole fire department of Boston had been summoned. This proving insufficient, aid was solicited from surburban districts, and even from distant cities. Originally all this part of the city had been covered with dwelling-houses, and when these had been changed into stores and warerooms the small, old water-pipes had been retained, and they now proved insufficient to supply the great amount of water that was needed. The fire spread in all directions, south toward the wharves, north toward Washington Street, in an ever enlarging circle. Special trains came pouring into the city, bringing additional engines, but this help was mitigated by the fact that the fire had attained such terrific intensity that an engine could not be brought near and got into working order before the heat made it necessary to remove it or to abandon it altogether. Those who saw this terrible sight will never forget it. A tremendous shower of sparks and firebrands filled the air, as well as an almost continuous roar of falling walls. A glare like that of midday lighted up the streets, which were filled as they rarely were ordinarily, with carts conveying property to places of safety. The firemen seemed almost powerless before the irresistible force of the fire. Finally, different buildings were blown up in order to make gaps which the fire could not cross. Washington Street was now threatened by the flames. It was felt that if this street went, the whole town would go, and a most determined fight was made at this point. After a long and hazardous struggle the fire was checked in this direction and then slowly on the other sides. The fire started Saturday night and lasted till Sunday afternoon. Before it was finally extinguished it had completely devastated a space of sixty-five acres, covered for the most part

by wholesale warehouses, and destroyed property worth seventy-five million dollars. Boston Common presented a unique appearance that Sunday afternoon, being covered by articles of every description, with men standing by to keep guard. The temptations to lawlessness were so great that the militia were called out, and guards were set around the whole of the burnt district, and kept there day and night for a long period. Almost all the insurance companies were bankrupt. Though individual suffering was very great, Boston, as a whole, rallied with incredible recuperative power, and to-day the burnt district is only distinguished from the rest of the city by the better quality and larger size of its buildings.

Boston is well known as a great educational centre, and people come here from all parts of the country to perfect themselves in some branch of knowledge, which they cannot learn elsewhere as well. What then are some of the institutions which give the city this scholastic character? One of the great influences in this direction is Harvard College, only three miles away, in Cambridge, which many living in Boston can and do attend. Of boys' schools, the most famous is the Boston Latin School. For two and a half centuries, the great school of the city, it has on its rolls the names of the most famous Bostonians, from Benjamin Franklin and Samuel Adams down to Charles Sumner, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Edward Everett Hale. Situated in the same large and elaborate building with the Latin School is the English High School, which gives boys a thorough English education, fitting them for any form of business life, as the Latin School prepares them for college. The Rev. James Fraser, an English commissioner who spent six months studying our common school system, and later became Bishop of Manchester, spoke as follows in his report presented to Parliament: "Taking it for all in all, and accomplishing the end at which it professes to aim, the English High School of Boston struck me as the model school of the United States. I wish we had a hundred such in England." Nor are girls without the opportunity to obtain a good education. A high school to carry on the education begun in the numerous grammar schools, a normal school to fit girls to be teachers, a girls' Latin school to prepare them for college; all these show the desire to put girls on an equal footing with their brothers. There are numerous kindergarten schools in the city. One wealthy Boston lady maintains no less than thirty of these schools, under the charge of fifty different teachers. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology is a scientific school of very high character, whose diplomas are second to those of no Institution of the kind in the country. It gives men a scientific education to fit them for departments of applied science, such as engineering, surveying, and architecture, and has a membership of some five hundred students. Boston University is a thriving and prosperous college, with an annual attendance of a thousand students. Its school of theology is the most important of the seminaries of the

Methodist Church. Other institutions of an educational character, such as the Lowell Institute, a famous course of lectures, the American Society of Arts and Sciences, the Boston Society of Natural History, the New England Conservatory of Music, with its fifteen hundred students; The Boston Public Library and the Boston Athenæum; all these we have no space to describe, but we have said enough to show how rich and full the intellectual life of the city is.

It is to be feared that in the estimation of the rest of the country, Boston is a soil that grows cranks with great frequency; a place where people abandon themselves to every form of ism and remain constant to nothing but Browning; where the women wear short dresses and spectacles, and where people in general devote themselves to the promulgation of impracticable theories. An exaggeration, however extreme, must have some basis of truth, if only in order that it may be an exaggeration, and there is a substratum of fact in this view. Boston is decidedly an independent place, and it was just this spirit of independence that made it the "Cradle of the Revolution" in the last century, and the cradle of the Abolition movement which led to the Civil War in this century. In these days of quietness and peace, such energy works itself off in efforts toward Woman Suffrage and the solution of the temperance question. Then again this independence, combined with an earnest desire for a good education and the best knowledge, tends to engender cranks, that is, people who have opinions of their own and the courage to act up to them, even though the opinions are sometimes one-sided and mistaken. A city of cranks means a city that fosters individuality and in the production of many men of "one idea," you will get a few who have "one idea" that the world sorely needs. Garrison and Phillips were men with one idea—namely, that slavery was wrong, and it is hard to see how they could have made the country listen to them, unless they had preached this truth with exaggerated intensity, and as if it were the only truth in the whole world.

The United States is a small world, and for its full development needs all kinds; the independent, "cranky," book-loving disposition of Boston, as well as the pushing, "hustling" quality of Chicago. By giving each district of the country an opportunity to develop its peculiar idiosyncrasies, we shall produce a strong and healthy national life. The city that stands to-day on the banks of the Charles, with its famous past, its love for liberty, and its desire for the best knowledge, is one of which any country might be justly proud.

BROADWAY, NEW YORK, SHOWING ASTOR HOUSE AND POST-OFFICE.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE CITY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

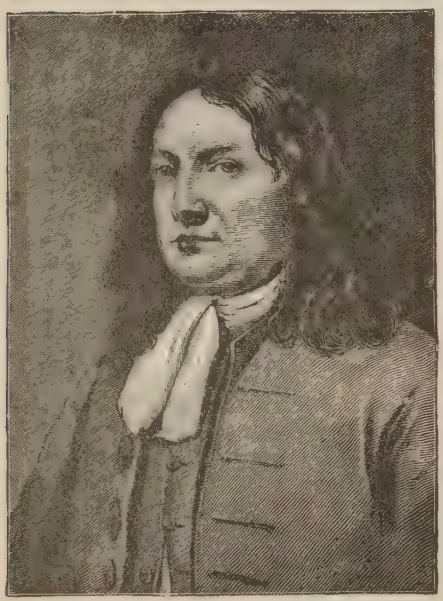
STROLLING through the closely built-up streets of the Philadelphia of to-day, with its population of more than one million, with its two hundred and thirty-five thousand houses, with its two thousand miles of streets, and its area of one hundred and twenty-nine square miles, stretching out on the north until it includes the whole of Germantown and Chestnut Hill, on the south to the junction of the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers, and on the west taking in the suburban town of West Philadelphia; with its vast park of two thousand five hundred acres, and its fringe of manufacturing settlements, it is difficult to realize that this is the town of which an observing traveler wrote in 1788: "At ten o'clock in the evening all is tranquil in the streets. Strong posts are placed to prevent carriages from passing on the footways. All the streets are furnished with public pumps in great numbers. At the door of each house are placed two benches, where the family sit at evening to take the fresh air, and amuse themselves looking at the passengers." Still more difficult is it to believe that a little over a hundred years prior to this time there was nothing of that old Philadelphia but a stretch of woodland lying between two rivers, or, as an old chronicler describes it, "a high and bold shore, called Coaquanock, ornamented with a fine view of pine trees growing upon it." Settlements had been formed above and below the site of the present city. The Swedes had, as early as 1631, established towns and forts along the Delaware, south of the wooded shore soon to be known as Philadelphia, while a ship from Hull, called the "Shield," had, in 1678, sailed past these shores to settle Burlington, although some of its passengers had exclaimed as they passed, "What a fine place for a town!"

Emigrants flocked rapidly to the Jersey settlement; but it was not until August, 1681, that the settlers of Philadelphia sailed from England in the "Sarah and John," commanded by Captain John Smith. Although the site of the projected town was not chosen until after these first immigrants arrived, they did not come to an entirely uninhabited land, for in addition to the Swedish settlements at and near Newcastle, and those of New Jersey, a settlement had

been made at Upland, besides which some Friends had established themselves on other points on the west side of the Delaware, titles to such lands dating back to 1676, and even earlier.

After Willian Penn obtained his grant from Charles II he offered such liberal terms to emigrants, forty shillings for one hundred acres, and one shilling for one hundred acres for quit rent, that a number of purchasers and settlers flocked over to the new Province, which was to be called Pennsylvania. "A *name the king would give it* in honor of my father," writes William Penn, who seemed to have, himself, inclined to the name New Wales.

Such of these early settlers as were not blown off to the West Indies by our inhospitable gales, landed at Upland or at New Castle, and here the founder himself arrived in 1682. One old record reads, "on the 27th day of October, 1682, arrived before ye towne of Newcastle from England William Penn, Esq., who produced two deeds of feofment for this Towne and 12 myles about itt, and also for ye twoo Lower Counties, ye Whoorekills and St. Jones's—wherefore ye said William Penn received possession of ye Towne the 28th day of October 1682." It is further added, in the quaint phraseology of the time, that this fact was signified by "the delivery of turf and twig, and water and soyle of the river Delaware."



WILLIAM PENN.
(From a portrait in the National Museum of Philadelphia.)

Soon after the arrival of the Quakers came the industrious Germans to our shores, and later Episcopalians, Baptists, and Presbyterians, the latter represented by the Scotch-Irish settlers. People as earnest and conscientious as the Puritans, with less austerity in character and manners, the Scotch-Irish formed no unimportant element in the country of their adoption. From among their numbers, they sent to the Colonial army some of its bravest soldiers, while every department of the State has been enriched and advanced from their dwelling within its borders.

"Fair Philadelphia next is rising seen,
Betwixt two rivers plac'd, two miles between."

Thus did Thomas Makin, a learned schoolmaster, write of his native city in 1729. Not a city set upon a hill, according to the Scripture phraseology,

was this, but one set between two flowing rivers, whose banks covered with primeval growth, and touched with the gold and crimson of autumn, must have presented a fair picture to the old world pilgrims, who came hither in October, 1682. The first spot within the present limits of Philadelphia upon which the Proprietary set foot was the strip of sandy shore by Dock Creek, whose "opposite bank was grassy and wet and fruitful in whortle berries." Near by was a house in process of erection, the first Philadelphia house, later known as the "Blue Anchor Tavern." Colonel Markham, who had preceded Penn, had already purchased Pennsylvania from the Indians and received from them the wampum belt, in token of good fellowship, accompanied with these words: "We will live in peace with Onas and his children as long as the sun and moon

AN OLD COLONIAL HOUSE, OF GERMANTOWN.

shall endure." In order to further cement this union Penn determined to confer with Taminent and others of the native kings. Accordingly, a council was convened at what is now called Kensington, then known as Shackamaxon, where under a lofty elm the Englishman spoke to these children of the forest as the white man had never before spoken to them, as a brother and a friend. "This treaty," says Voltaire, "is the only one never sworn to and never broken."

An old lady, who saw the Proprietary at the time of his arrival, related that when the Indians gathered around him to welcome him "he endeared himself to them by his marked condescension and acquiescence to their wishes," adding, "He walked with them, sat with them on the ground, and ate with them of roasted acorns and hominy. At this they expressed their great delight, and

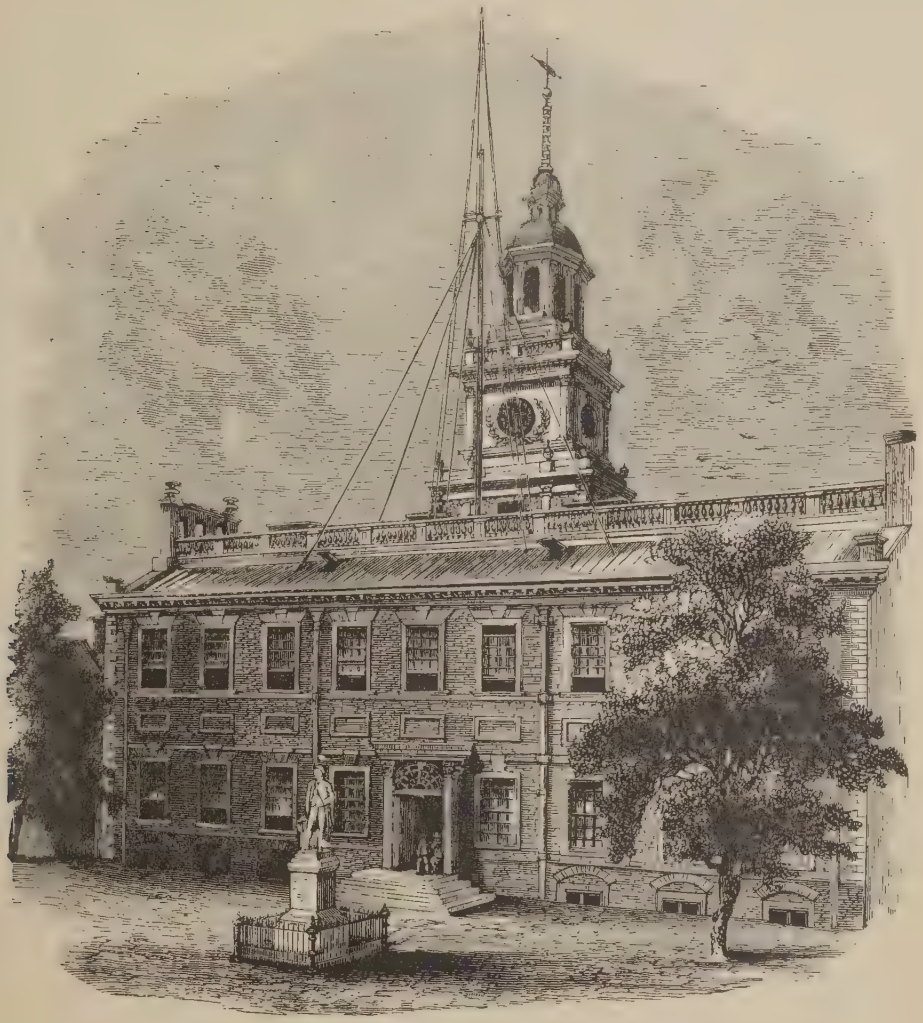
soon began to show how they could hop and jump, at which exhibition William Penn, to cap the climax, sprang up and beat them all." It is rather easier to believe in the Proprietary's part in this exhibition of gayety and agility than in that of the Indians, whose gravity is proverbial, and who seemed ever to take their pleasure seriously, after the manner attributed to latter-day Americans, while Penn is described by the same eye witness as "the handsomest, best-looking, lively gentleman she had ever seen." He was only thirty-eight years old at this time, and had been trained in all courtly and manly exercises of his age and station in life.

So popular was Penn's settlement that, by the close of 1682, as many as twenty-three vessels had arrived in the Province. No adequate provision in the way of shelter having been made for such a sudden influx of settlers, many of them took refuge in some large caves, that were discovered on the high banks of the Schuylkill, until houses could be built for them. In this business of house building men and women toiled together, and we find a quaint record by one Deborah Morris, in which she says, "My good aunt thought it expedient to help her husband at one end of the saw, and to fetch all such water to make mortar of as they needed to build their chimney. The women set themselves to work they had not been used to before; for few of our first settlers were of the laborious class, and help of that sort was scarce."

The first Pennsylvania Assembly, wherein the body of laws was adopted, was held on the 4th of December, 1682, at Upland, whose name the Proprietary changed to Chester, in memory of the city from whence he and his followers had come. At this Assembly the three Lower Counties petitioned to be included in the government of Pennsylvania. The union of these Lower Counties to the Province was afterwards strenuously opposed in the Assembly of New Castle, the opposition being led by David Lloyd, and ending in a final separation of the counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, which form the present State of Delaware, from Pennsylvania. This contest, says a recent historian, brought out some of the best legal ability that the new world has known. Such legislators as David Lloyd and James Logan being opposed to each other, as were John Dickinson and Joseph Galloway in a later and more important chapter of our history. They in turn were followed by William Lewis, Judge Peters, William Meredith, Jared Ingersoll, the Sargents, the Rawles, the Whartons, the Tilghmans, and many more, until the cleverness of the Philadelphia lawyer has become proverbial down to our own day, which character is well sustained, at the present time, by such members of the bar and judiciary as George W. Biddle, John G. Johnson, Richard M. McMurtrie, George Junkin, and Judges Hare, Thayer, Biddle, Allison, and Willson.

The Charter of William Penn was dated 1681, and by it all powers were vested in him as absolute Proprietary, only yielding allegiance to the king and

his successors. A strong and saving clause of this charter was, that no taxes were to be levied by the Crown without consent of the Proprietary. The power of controlling taxation was later vested in the Assembly.* This frame of



INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA.

government, carefully prepared by Penn, confirmed to the freemen of Pennsylvania all the liberties, franchises, and properties secured to them by the patent of Charles II, the government to consist of the governor and freemen, in the

* Dr. Charles J. Stillé.

form of a Provincial Council of seventy-two members and a General Assembly not exceeding two hundred. By freemen were meant, not only landholders, but "every inhabitant, artificer, or other resident, that pays Scot and Lot to the government." * The Assembly represented the popular body, the Governor's Council the more exclusive and restrictive body; the one was intended to balance the other. Philadelphia was then, and for many years to come, Pennsylvania. The Assembly was first held in this city in March 1683, in the newly erected meeting house, † a fit place for legislative assemblies that represented such paternal government as that of Penn, who had come to these shores to try his Holy Experiment of political and religious liberty. Penn claimed that the political liberty granted by his Charter was that contained in the great guaranties of English freedom, as laid down in the Magna Charta, the Petition of Right and the Act of Settlement, while the privilege allowed to every man of worshipping God according to the dictates of his own conscience, was not granted on the ground of human toleration, but as an inherent right. ‡ What the inhabitants of Philadelphia are most indebted to this just and moderate man for, is not that he laid out this city with the streets running at right angles, like those of ancient Babylon; or that he chose the site for his town between two rivers, which was convenient for commerce, but that he gave to the new Province, of which Philadelphia was the seat and centre, a code of laws and frame of government which clearly outlined the form and spirit of our representative government of to-day, with its two legislative bodies, and this more than a hundred years prior to the formation of the Federal Constitution.

Everything seemed to promise well for this colony of Penn, founded upon peace and righteousness, yet, as an old chronicler quaintly remarked: "When the sons of God came together Satan came also. Although the Friends and their excellent morals were long predominant and widely diffused, yet some vile persons (probably from the older colony of New York and from the malefactors of the transportation list of Maryland) urged their way into the mass of the Philadelphia population." This derivation of the offender may answer in the case of a certain forger, who began his nefarious trade as early as 1683; but we find accounts, a little later, of a party of gay young men, who beat the watch at Enoch Story's, and otherwise scandalized law-abiding citizens. It was whispered, and not in very low tones either, that William Penn, Jr., was one of the party, and that it was the Deputy Governor, John Evans, who administered flagellation to the doughty constable, Solomon Cresson, who, in this way, probably gained some experience of the even-handedness of the justice which he had pledged himself to uphold.

* First Charter to William Penn.

† "Watson's Annals of Philadelphia," Vol. 1, p. 18.

‡ "Life of William Penn," by Samuel Janney.

The following pithy sentence from the penal code of Penn: "They weakly err who think there is no other use of government than correction, which is the coarsest part of it," taken in connection with the fact that two hundred offences punished in England were stricken from the code of Pennsylvania, shows how far in advance of his time were the views of the Proprietary, in regarding the relations of the State to the criminal. "Few changes," says one of our Pennsylvania historians,* "were made in the benevolent features of the frame of government up to 1714, although many alterations were made in its general structure." These changes came later, marking a noticeable departure from the mild and tolerant spirit of Penn. Much of the old leaven, however, remained, and has found expression, if not in the criminal code of to-day, certainly in Philadelphia institutions of a penal and reformatory character. Brissot de Warville, that most observing and appreciative traveler, speaks of the Philadelphia prison, in 1788, as a kind of house of correction, which was strictly in accordance with the Proprietary's views, as expressed in his body of laws. The Duke of Saxe, who visited Philadelphia later, records that he was taken by Mr. Vaux to visit one of the prisons, where an effort was being made to do away with capital punishment. Such honored names as Vaux, Barclay, Cope,

CATHEDRAL, PHILADELPHIA.

*Mr. F. D. Stone, of Philadelphia.

Collins, Bettle, Sergeant, and Garrett have long been associated with the work of ameliorating and elevating the condition of the prisoner, as well as with such early preventative work as is carried on in homes and reformatories for youthful offenders.

Realizing that effective and permanent impressions can only be made during the early years of life, various reformatory systems have been carefully studied by some of the ablest men and women of Philadelphia, whose thoughts have been given practical expression in the construction and management of a House of Refuge, founded sixty years ago, which for thoroughness of equipment and perfection of detail is unequaled by any such establishment in the country. In the suburban adjunct to the institution, a series of cottages provides something approaching home life for the youthful vagrants and offenders, whom the community of to-day, turning back to borrow wisdom from our first legislator, is willing to look upon as wards of the city which owes them paternal care. Other travelers who visited old Philadelphia, among them the Rev. Manasseh Cutter, spoke with enthusiasm of the philanthropic and charitable institutions of this city. The *bettering-house* he was pleased to consider "spacious, having good rooms, well furnished, and with a garden laid out in a pretty form." In addition to this almshouse, established in 1713 on the workhouse principle, there was the Friend's almshouse, early started, and on the lines of latter day philanthropy, each inmate who was able to work at all, contributing something to the support of the institution. The Massachusetts parson also visited the Pennsylvania Hospital, while Dr. Benjamin Rush was making his professional round, and found it admirable in system and equipment, evidently far in advance of any institution of the kind that he had seen. This hospital was founded in 1751, with such distinguished names on its early corps of physicians as Drs. Thomas Bond, John Redman, William Shippen, Casper Wistar, Philip Syng Physick, Adam Kuhn, Joseph Parrish, and John Morgan. The latter established the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania, and all these wise sons of Esculapius gathered together, in 1787, to found the College of Physicians. These noble institutions, with the learning and skill that they have served to develop, conspired to make Philadelphia in early times the

FRANKLIN'S GRAVE.

medical centre of North America, which reputation men of such high character and attainments as Drs. Samuel D. Gross, Isaac Hayes, John Neill, Francis Gurney Smith, Ellwood Wilson, the Hodges, the Meigses, the Peppers, D. Hayes Agnew, whom Philadelphia still mourns, not only as a great surgeon but as one of her noblest sons, S. Weir Mitchell, Jacob M. Da Costa, William Hunt, Roland G. Curtin, Harrison Allen, Charles K. Mills, and many more, have preserved and advanced in the Philadelphia of to-day.

As Professor McMaster has said, in an able address on the rise of the Revolution in Pennsylvania, the history of Philadelphia, during the momentous years that followed the passage of the Stamp Act is, to a considerable extent, that of the Colonies. We know with what vigorous measures that act was opposed, as well as the unjust taxation that followed it; but the fact that the Quaker City was the first on the continent which adopted measures to prevent the landing of the tea, seems to have been overlooked by many historians, probably because the Philadelphia tea-party was a much quieter affair than that of Boston, and far less dramatic and picturesque. A meeting of the citizens was held in the State House yard, in Philadelphia, October 18th, 1773, and resolutions were adopted to prevent the landing of the tea destined for this port. The meeting in Boston, for the same purpose, when the Philadelphia resolutions were approved, was held November 5th of the same year. When the tea came to port, on the 27th of December, Captain Ayres was not allowed to land his cargo, and the agents of the East India Company, in Philadelphia, Messrs. Thomas and Isaac Wharton, Quakers, be it remembered, but good patriots in their opposition to the Tea Act, refused to receive it. In their own account of the affair, the consignees wrote: "Thou wilt observe that as the ship was not entered at our port, no part of the cargo was unloaded, either

BEAR PITS, ZOÖLOGICAL GARDENS.

the property of the honorable East India Company or that of any private person." *

The story of Philadelphia's part in the great struggle has been told so often and so well, that it needs not to be again recited. It seemed fitting that this Province, founded on the broadest basis of civil and religious liberty, should be the scene of the most valiant struggle for constitutional rights that the world has ever seen, and failing in which, that the Declaration which forever sundered the tie between England and her colonies should have been written in the city of Penn. Carpenter's Hall, where the first Congress of Delegates was held, in September, 1774; the building on Market Street near Seventh where the Declaration was drafted, and the State House where it was first read and later signed, belong not to Philadelphia alone, but to the whole Union of States, and to all the inhabitants thereof, to whom liberty was proclaimed by the old bell, that is still to be seen in Independence Hall. To these spots, hallowed by the devotion and sacrifice of their forefathers, men and women came from all over the land, in 1876, when the nation gathered at Philadelphia to celebrate its centenary, and again, in 1887, when they came here to do honor to the men who had drawn up a code of laws for the new Republic, which had carried it safely through the first hundred years of its life. In the bustle and excitement of that first great Centennial, when there was so much to see from all over the world, and from the different States such wonderful displays of improvement in design and workmanship, there were some who paused in their walks through the narrow, down-town streets, whose buildings still retain something of the Quaker village simplicity, to remember that these sidewalks once

MEMORIAL HALL OF 1876.

* *Pennsylvania Mercury*, October 1st, 1891. "Life of John Dickinson," by Charles J. Stillé, pp. 97 and 109.

resounded to the footfalls of Washington and Hamilton, John Hancock, Patrick Henry, the Adamses, and our own Dr. Franklin, and John Dickinson. In that old Hall, where the Declaration was signed, a good fight was fought for the federation of the States, in 1787, which it remained for this century to seal with the blood and sacrifice of the Civil War. Here were gathered to form the Federal Constitution soldiers who had taken part in the long war, statesmen, governors of new States, eminent jurists, and men of affairs. The Pennsylvania delegation in the Convention was led by Dr. Franklin, who brought to this his last and greatest task, the rich experience of his eighty-two years of political life at home

WHERE THE TYPE AND ELECTROTYPE PLATES FOR THIS BOOK WERE MADE.

and abroad. Here also was James Wilson, the learned Scotchman, who was afterward appointed to deliver the oration on the Fourth of July, and who, while frankly confessing that he was not a blind admirer of the Constitution, was ready to assert that, to his mind, it was the best form of government that had ever been offered to the world. In this same group was Jared Ingersoll, who led the Philadelphia bar, and Thomas Fitzsimmons, the Irish Catholic merchant, who generously gave from his treasury money for the relief of the Continental army. Pennsylvania was also represented by General Mifflin, George Clymer, and Robert and Gouverneur Morris, names still known in the Philadelphia life

of to-day. Are not these old buildings, which resounded to the voices of the fathers of the nation, hallowed places, shrines, to which the lovers of liberty will ever resort, as the free government, which was here inaugurated, becomes the increasing heritage of the nations of the earth?

The chief commercial city of the colonies in the last century, Philadelphia has in later times been known principally as a great manufacturing centre. Various causes have conspired to bring about this result, prominent among them the proficiency in handicraft among her inhabitants, induced by the habit of learning trades. As early as 1699 the skill of colonial manufacturers excited the jealousy of the home government, and we find acts of Parliament against the shipping of wool into the American plantations, while in 1719 it was declared that the erecting of manufactories in the colonies tended to lessen their dependence upon Great Britain. The Stamp Act of 1765 was speedily followed by Non-importation Resolutions, which were signed by many leading citizens, who were extensive importers. This vigorous protest, which meant temporary loss to importers, in the end gave a great impetus to the manufacturing interests of Philadelphia. The convention of delegates which met here in 1775, earnestly recommended the observance of the Non-importation Agreements, and, to provide against the inconvenience that might result, advised the establishment of manufactories of woolens, salt, saltpetre, gunpowder, etc., urging that associations should be formed for the encouragement of domestic productions.

These facts in her history conspired to advance the manufactures of Philadelphia, to the detriment of her commerce, to which was added another factor, the Embargo bill of 1807, and still later and more important, the building of the Erie Canal. This water-way, commenced in 1817, provided an easy and cheap means of transportation for the products of the great West, via Pittsburgh, Buffalo, and Albany, down the Hudson to New York. In 1820 we find that Philadelphia merchants were petitioning their legislators in consequence of the decline of the commercial activity of their city; but the tide had set in the direction of New York and could not be turned back to Philadelphia, especially as the harbor of New York possessed great advantages over that of the Quaker City. Importations of foreign goods and exportation of native products being sensibly lessened, the energies of a restless and ingenious people were forced into manufacturing channels. In one department alone, that of weaving, we find an increase of 700 looms employed, between the years 1811 and 1821, while in 1834 as many as 224 looms were in operation in a single manufactory. In 1886, 8567 different manufactories were in operation, employing yearly nearly 300,000 employees. An enormous business is carried on in the line of woolen cloths, carpets, oil cloths, paints, chemicals, the construction of locomotives and other machinery, and the names of Matthew Baldwin, Thomas Dolan, William

Weightman, Horstmann, Powers, Bement, Miles, Simpson, Sellers, Zeigler, the Dobsons, Disstons, Harrisons, and Fraziers, are inseparably associated with the manufacturing progress of Philadelphia.

As early as 1683 Enoch Flower opened an English school in Philadelphia, and soon after Samuel Carpenter, and other prominent Friends, established the first public school in this city, which has later been renowned for its pedagogy and has taken the lead in practical instruction, in the lines of manual training, free-hand drawing, designing and the carrying out of these designs in wood, metal, and textile fabrics. This latest and most important evolution of the

ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS, PHILADELPHIA.

educational idea has recently been developed on a large scale by the liberality of Mr. Anthony J. Drexel, in a beautiful and well-equipped building in West Philadelphia, where every advantage is offered to young men and women to obtain a practical education in the lines of art, science, mechanics, book-keeping and business, domestic economy, physics, and library work. In the plan and management of this admirable institution, Mr. George W. Childs has taken an active interest, as he does in all progressive work, especially such as is designed to advance and improve the condition of women. Mr. Childs and Dr. Edward H. Williams, as well as Mr. Drexel, have made valuable gifts to the museum of

the Institute, illustrative of the artistic progress of different nations, while the Academy of Fine Arts, founded in 1805, offers to the student a number of interesting models in painting and sculpture by foreign and native artists.

The first printing press was set up in the Quaker City by William Bradford in 1685–6, while Christopher Sower has the honor of having printed the first quarto German Bible in the United States, and of casting the first type. These early printers were succeeded by such experts as the Bradfords, father and son, Samuel Keimer, who was the first proprietor of a press to rise above the mere printer,* Benjamin Franklin, and other English and German printers, while to-day Philadelphia printers may place their pages beside any in the world, and have no cause to blush for the comparison.†

The city from whose press were issued the first English and German Bibles in America, and that was foremost in the field of magazine literature, with its *General Magazine* and its *American Magazine*, and in which was established the first circulating library in America, if not in the world, has certainly earned a right to be considered a literary centre. Benjamin Franklin and his "ingenious friends" little knew, when they carried their books up Pewter Platter Alley to deposit them at Robert Grace's house, that they were laying the foundation of the circulating library system, and of the great Philadelphia Library, which now in its two buildings numbers nearly 200,000 volumes. From this same little circle of choice spirits, with Dr. Franklin at its head, came the University of Pennsylvania and the Philosophical Society. In Franklin's "Junto" and in the Philosophical Society were gathered such learned Philadelphians as David Rittenhouse, the first American astronomer, Thomas Hopkinson, who made valuable experiments in electricity, Thomas Godfrey, inventor of the quadrant, John Bartram, and his son William, both distinguished American botanists, and Ebenezer Kinnersly, whose ability as a scientist some persons place before that of Franklin. The Academy of Natural Sciences and the Franklin Institute came later to add to Philadelphia's reputation as a scientific centre, which has been nobly sustained by such citizens as Dr. Joseph Leidy, the greatest naturalist and anatomist that the century has produced, Dr. W. S. W. Ruschenberger, Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, who is such a various scholar that he eludes classification, Drs. Harrison Allen, George Barker, George Pearsol, and many more.

> "The Muses aid me! and I'll fain review
> The Philadelphia lounging, scribbling crew."

So wrote John Davis in 1805, but he must have found the list a rather extensive one before he concluded his satirical catalogue of Philadelphia writers. If

* "Issues of the Press in Penn'a, 1685–1784," by Charles R. Hildeburn.

† It is interesting to know that the type from which these pages are printed was cast in the oldest and largest type-foundry in America.

James Logan, Thomas Makin, and Aquila Rose, were writing poetry in very early times, Francis Hopkinson and Mrs. Ferguson were at it in Revolutionary days; although Hopkinson's prose deserves a higher place than his poetry, and later still his son is writing "Hail Columbia!," while from this quiet literary centre, that makes no stir about its geniuses, came Elizabeth Lloyd's beautiful and most Miltonic poem, "Milton's Prayer for Patience." So, in later times, such scholars as Dr. Joseph Thomas, Dr. William H. Furness, Dr. Horace Howard Furness, our great Shakespearean, whose learning is sufficient of itself to make any city a literary centre, Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson, Dr. Morris Jastrow, Jr., and many others, have been content

"To scorn delights and live laborious days,"

for the enrichment of the reading and thinking world. In another group of poets and writers we find the Mitchells, father and son, Harrison S. Morris, Francis Howard Williams, Henry Phillips, Jr., Albert H. Smythe, Richard Harding Davis, James E. Garretson, S. Decatur Smith, Jr., the Walshes, and until very lately Charles Henry Lüders and Walt Whitman. In this group are not a few women,—Rebecca Harding Davis, Eliza S. Turner, Agnes Repplier, Florence Earle Coates, Mrs. S. C. F. Hallowell, Mrs. A. L. Wistar, Mrs. Owen J. Wistar, and our women scholars of Egyptology and folk lore, Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson and Mrs. John Harrison.

PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD STATION.

The social life of Philadelphia deserves a separate chapter, so distinctive are its features, with its Assembly balls, established in 1748 and, with some

modifications, continued to the present time; its Wistar parties, representing its grave and more intellectual side, started early in the century, and recently revived; its Carey vespers; its Contemporary Club, where men and women meet together to discuss subjects of literary, scientific and general interest; also certain very delightful receptions held at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, where are gathered together men prominent in all learned professions and pursuits. In the spacious building, on Locust Street, which this Society now occupies, there is ample space to exhibit to advantage its rich treasures in the form of early imprints, original letters and MSS. and very important State documents. This already large collection has recently been enriched by the gift of Mr. Ferdinand Dreer's large collection of autographs, and by the unique collection of colonial laws, and books relating to American history, gathered together by the late Charlemagne Tower. All these treasures, with a vast array of books on American history, conspire to render the attractive rooms of the Historical Society a favorite resort of the student of history and genealogy. Here are to be found every day such scholars as Prof. John B. McMaster, Prof. Seidensticker, Dr. Charles J. Stillé, and its President, J. Brinton Coxe, while among experts in Americana, Washington portraits, and genealogy are Charles R. Hildeburn, F. D. Stone, William S. Baker, Gilbert Cope, Judge Samuel W. Pennypacker, J. Granville Leach, Howard Jenkins, Howard W. Lloyd, John Thompson, Charles P. Keith, and John W. Jordan.

The home-loving Philadelphians may not boast as many clubs as New York, Chicago, and other large cities, but they claim the honor of possessing the oldest club in the world, the Schuylkill Fishing Company. The Beef-steak Club, of London, antedates this organization, but as it was suspended for a time, the Schuylkill Fishing Company, established in 1732, carries off the honors of seniority, being, as its latest historian states, "the oldest social organization speaking the English language." A club that numbered among its early members James Logan, Samuel Morris, Dr. John Morgan, and John Nixon, who read the Declaration of Independence from the State House, and that entertained such visitors as Washington and Lafayette, certainly deserves a high place in the annals of clubs. Among other large clubs are the Philadelphia Club, the Rittenhouse, the University, the Markham, the Penn, the Art, Manufacturers, the Catholic, and last, but by no means least, two successful women's clubs, the New Century, which occupies its own house, on South Twelfth Street, and the Acorn, the former a philanthropic and literary organization, the latter purely social.

ANNE HOLLINGSWORTH WHARTON.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE CITY OF THE WORLD'S FAIR.

A HUGE morass, extending to the westward far beyond the range of human vision; level, monotonous, and savage; noisomely reeking beneath the burning dog-days' sun. Through it a muddy, sluggish stream, the sewer of the swamp, making its devious way to the sharp line where the wilderness of sloughs gives place to the wilderness of unsalted waves. Laboriously paddling down that stream to its embouchure, two weary voyagers, worn with their journey through forests and over prairies for a thousand miles,—one a Christian priest, in quest of heathen souls; the other a shrewd adventurer, seeking the heathens' gold. That was Chicago in August, 1673.

The second city of the Western Hemisphere, with a million and a quarter of inhabitants; the greatest railroad centre in the world, and one of the chief shipping ports; a city of splendid palaces and noble thoroughfares; a capital surpassed by few in any land in size, in wealth, in culture, in all the elements of civilization and of human greatness. That is Chicago to-day.

And these two pictures, and the swift, shifting scenes that lead from the one to the other, form one of the most impressive acts in the time-long drama of human progress.

The first white men to visit the site of Chicago were Father Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet, in August, 1673, returning to Canada from their visit to the Upper Mississippi. They made no stopping there, nor did the place invite it. In all their wanderings they had scarcely seen a more forbidding region. And for a century thereafter, whoever may have passed by the spot, no hardy settler ventured to make it his abode. Other towns were founded and began their growth—Detroit, St. Louis, Cleveland, Cincinnati. But the promise of Chicago slumbered in the swamps. The river alone bore its present name, an Indian term, meaning—for shame, O Muse of History!—"skunk," and given to it by the red men because of the great number of those odorous animals found in the woods and morasses. During the French and Indian war a temporary fort was made there, but was soon abandoned. From 1779 to 1796 a negro

from Santo Domingo, by name Baptiste Desaible, held rude sway as a trader among the Pottawattomie Indians, his cabin standing on the north bank of the river. In the year last named he sold out to one Le Mai, a French trader, and the latter remained there a few years longer.

But the real history of Chicago dates from July 4, 1803. After belonging to Spain and to France, the country had at last come into American ownership, and the United States Government took formal possession of it by erecting a number of frontier forts. One of these was at Chicago. Captain John Whist-

A CHICAGO MANSION IN 1812.

ler, commanding at Detroit, was sent to found it. With his family he went thither in a sailing vessel, and cast anchor at the mouth of the river just in time to celebrate Independence Day. There, at what is now the corner of River Street and Michigan Avenue, he built Fort Dearborn—two block houses, a palisade enclosing a vegetable garden, and a warehouse outside for trading purposes. Logs were the material used, and the style of architecture conformed thereto. Sixty-two officers and men formed the garrison, with three small pieces of artillery.

The next spring, John Kinzie a Canadian silversmith, came thither, took possession of Baptiste Desaible's old cabin, and became a trader with the Indians. He enlarged the cabin, as need was, from time to time, until it became a large and comfortable family residence,—the first in Chicago. And his daughter, Ellen Marion, in 1805, was the first white child born at Chicago to a permanent resident. The cut on the opposite page is a fair illustration of the rude frame dwellings which began to be put up about this time, and within the memory of older settlers.

Such was the founding of the city. At first its growth was slow. In 1812 there were outside the fort only Kinzie and his family, a family named Burns, and a French laborer named Willamette: and four miles up the south branch of the river two farmers, White and Lee, and three French laborers. When the war with England began in that year the Indians became hostile. White and one of his men were killed, and the other settlers fled to the fort for safety. Captain Heald was then in command, and after some futile negotiations he determined to evacuate and abandon the whole place. They had not got far away from the fort, however, before they were attacked by the Indians and more than half of them killed. Fort Dearborn was burned, and the embryo town seemed to have been destroyed.

But in that year the Territory of Illinois was organized; six years later it became a State; and in 1829 steps were taken to construct the Illinois and Michigan Canal, of which the Chicago River would form a part. In 1831 Cook County was established, with Chicago as its seat, and on August 10, 1833, the town was formally incorporated. Thirteen votes were cast at that first charter election, twelve for incorporation and one against. Five days later there were twenty-eight votes cast for town officers. Then a log jail, the first public building, was erected.

The first Trustees of the town were T. J. V. Owen, George W. Dole, N. B. Beaubien, John Miller, and E. S. Kimberly, and they laid out the foundation of the plan of the great city of to-day. Mr. Dole in 1832 started the slaughtering and packing industry, for which Chicago is famous, his year's work disposing of 200 head of cattle and 350 hogs. Mr. Beaubien opened the first inn, the forerunner of Chicago's great hotels, and a primitive affair it was. "I had no bed," Mr. Beaubien once said; "but when a traveler came for lodging, I gave him a blanket to sleep in on the floor, and told him to look out that an Indian did not steal it. When he was asleep I took the blanket away from him to give to the next man, telling him the same. So I always had a blanket ready."

But the growth of Chicago must be sketched in barest outline in the compass of one brief chapter. The first newspaper, *The Chicago Democrat*, was published by John Calhoun on November 26, 1833; and on April 16, 1834, it began a maritime record, announcing the arrival in port of one schooner and the

departure of two others. That summer a steamboat arrived every week from Lake Erie ports, and schooners began to enter and ascend the river. May 18, 1836, saw the first vessel launched at a Chicago ship-yard, and on July 4th work was begun on the Illinois and Michigan Canal. In that year a city government was organized. William B. Ogden, Democrat, was elected Mayor by 469 votes, against 237 for John H. Kinzie, Whig. The full legal incorporation was achieved on March 4, 1837, and in May following the army authorities finally abandoned Fort Dearborn.

The new city was founded with high hopes. Some of the most sanguine resi-

OPENING OF THE ILLINOIS AND MICHIGAN CANAL.

dents believed that it might some day have as many as a hundred thousand inhabitants. In that very year, however, there was a serious financial panic throughout the country. Chicago suffered much, and many of the people moved away, convinced that the place had received its death-blow. Not so was it, however. In a year or two Chicago rallied and entered upon a career of great and substantial prosperity. In 1838 one of its greatest industries was founded, by the shipping of 39 two-bushel bags of wheat. The next year nearly 4000 bushels were shipped; the next, 10,000; the next, 40,000; and the next, 1842, nearly 600,000. Since that time Chicago has been the great grain market of the world.

The next disaster to the growing city occurred in 1849, when a winter flood and ice-gorge in the river destroyed many vessels, wharves, etc., inflicting what then seemed the almost crushing loss of more than a hundred thousand dollars. But that was soon forgotten. Forty-two miles of the Galena Railroad were in use in 1850, and two years later the Michigan Southern line entered the city, giving direct rail communication with the East. What progress had been made by the city up to this time may be reckoned from the fact that two lots of ground, valued at $102 in 1832, were sold for $108,000 in 1853; and some others, held at $346 in 1832, were sold in 1853 for $540,000.

The site of Chicago, as stated, was originally a swamp. The city was built in the swamp, at the swamp level. Drainage and sewerage were defective, and for much of the time the streets were mere channels of mud. About 1857 this condition of affairs was seen to be intolerable, and it was seriously proposed to raise the grade of the whole city about eight feet. The plan met with much opposition and ridicule, but it was finally executed with entire success. The streets were filled in to the required depth. As a result, the first stories of many buildings—in fact, of most of the city—were nearly hidden below the sidewalk. In some cases these were turned into basements and the floors above made the main floors. In some cases the buildings were demolished and new ones erected. But in many other cases the buildings, being new and valuable, were bodily lifted up by jackscrews to the new level and additional foundation-walls placed under them. In not a few cases entire city blocks of massive brick and stone structures were thus lifted in a single piece eight or ten feet, and even moved laterally for some distance, without damage. It was one of the most remarkable engineering feats on record. As a result of it, Chicago was made a high-and-dry, well-drained city, with excellent sanitary conditions.

According to the first census taken, Chicago had in 1837 just 4170 inhabitants; in 1840, 4479; in 1850, 28,269; in 1860, 112,172, the maximum hoped for by the founders having been already passed. And in 1870 it had no less than 298,977 souls, and was ready for the most dreadful, and yet perhaps most beneficent, event in all its history.

At eleven o'clock on the evening of Sunday, October 8, 1871, an old Irish woman, living at the corner of De Koven and Jefferson Streets, took a kerosene lamp in her hand, and went to the stable at the rear of her shanty to see that her cow was all right for the night. She set the lamp down, and was getting some salt for the cow, when the latter kicked the lamp and upset it. Some straw caught fire, and in a moment the stable was a mass of flames. The next afternoon the old woman was found sitting on the doorstep of her shanty, which had not been scathed, bemoaning the destruction of her stable and the death of her cow. But, in the meantime, what else had happened?

The fire, beginning so meanly, made swift progress from building to build-

ing. The city was dry as a tinder-box, after six weeks of hot weather without a drop of rain. A large proportion of the buildings were constructed of wood; nearly all had their floors and inner walls of that material. A high wind was blowing from the southwest, and—what other conditions could have been required for a tremendous conflagration? The Fire Department was powerless. Water only fed the fury of the flames, which made their way across the city by leaps and bounds, clearing a block or two at once. By daylight the fire had made its way four miles across the city to Lincoln Park, and it kept on, until

THE BURNING OF CHICAGO IN 1873.

afternoon, westward to the river and eastward to Michigan Avenue. Then it stopped, the unbuilt areas and the blocks of buildings blown up with gunpowder having formed the only barrier against its ravages.

It is impossible to describe adequately the fearful force of the flames. Buildings of granite and iron went down before them like paper. "Fireproof" iron safes, massive iron columns, and solid iron car-wheels were actually consumed, leaving no residuum whatever! It was an oxyhydrogen blow-pipe flame half a mile wide! A few figures will give some vague idea, however, of what

havoc was wrought in those few hours. The business quarter of the city was annihilated; an area of 2100 acres was burned over; 100,000 persons were made homeless; and more than $200,000,000 worth of property was destroyed.

And Mrs. O'Leary sat on her doorstep, crying, "Oh, wirra! wirra! Me cow! me poor cow!"

Before the last flames of the conflagration sank in darkness on October 9th, indomitable men were clearing away the ashes and beginning to rebuild the city; and in every quarter of the globe generous hands were soon aiding in the work of relief and succor. Railroad trains were rushed across the continent at a speed unknown before, bearing food and clothing. Foreign nations, even heathen lands, joined in the noble work. A total sum of $4,996,782.74 was poured into the treasury of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society and was wisely administered. Nearly $600,000 of this unrivaled gift remained unused, however, and was invested securely, its interest being used yearly thereafter for the benefit of the city's poor.

Most dreadful, and also most beneficent, we have called this event. It was indeed a blessing. For the new Chicago that sprang so quickly from the ashes of the old was and is a far finer city than the old could have become. Far more substantial buildings soon covered the fire-scathed areas, and in two years' time most of the traces of the fire had disappeared. Chicago was a new city, more splendid in appearance, more permanent in structure, more prosperous in business, than had been dreamed before the fire.

The population, as we have seen, in 1870 was 298,977. In 1880 it was 503,185. In 1890, partly by natural increase and partly by the annexation of various suburban towns already forming geographically an integral part of the city, it was swelled to the enormous total of 1,208,669—the second city of the Western Hemisphere! How shall such a metropolis fittingly be described in one chapter, or in one volume! If our account of its origin and progress has been so concise as to be meagre, more so must be, in the remaining space, our account of the Chicago of to-day.

The geographical location of Chicago, reckoned from the court-house, is in lat. 41° 52′ 20″ N., and 87° 35′ W. from Greenwich. It is on the western shore of Lake Michigan, close to its southern end, and on the dividing ridge between the great valleys of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, lying about 600 feet above the sea. Part of the rain that falls upon the city drains into the lake, pours over Niagara Falls, and enters the North Atlantic, and part drains into tributaries of the Mississippi and thence down the Father of Waters to the Gulf of Mexico. Thus the city is the commercial capital of the upper portions of both those great valleys.

It is an inland city, 850 miles from salt water. Yet it is the chief port on 3000 miles of inland seacoast, if such a phrase may be used, commanding the

commerce of the five great lakes, and visited by a thousand vessels a month. The tonnage of vessels entering and clearing from Chicago is fully 4,000,000 tons a year. Besides this is the Illinois and Michigan Canal, connecting the Chicago and La Salle Rivers and forming a waterway from the lake to the Mississippi, with an enormous commerce. But it is as a railroad centre that Chicago's greatness in the world of travel and of trade is seen most clearly. The city is the centre of 35,000 miles of road. Thirty-five lines enter the city, twenty-two of them being trunk lines. Nearly a thousand trains enter and leave the city daily. These make it the market, the capital, of a large and wealthy region with 30,000,000 inhabitants.

LAKE SHORE DRIVE.

The area of the city is 180½ square miles, or 115,520 acres. From north to south it is 21½ miles long. By the Chicago River and its branches it is divided into three general divisions, known as the North, South, and West Sides. These are connected, over and under the river, by sixty-three bridges and two tunnels. There are 2235 miles of streets, lighted by 36,000 lamps, and traversed by 395 miles of street railways. Underneath, for drainage, are 785 miles of sewers. The water supply is drawn from Lake Michigan, through a tunnel at the bottom of the lake extending out several miles from the shore so as to insure purity, and distributed to the city through 346 miles of pipes. The capacity of the works is 260,000,000 gallons, and the average consumption is 153,000,000 gallons daily.

The pleasure grounds of the people form one of the most notable features of Chicago. Surely, no other city in the world has such an array of parks and drives. Not in their extent are they remarkable, comprising in all only some 2000 acres. But in the energy and public spirit with which they have been prepared they are extraordinary, and in their general plan and arrangement they are unique. They gird the city about on all three landward sides, north, west, and south, in one continuous line of beauty. Like the site of the city, they were once a level swamp. But engineering enterprise has scooped the earth out here, making lakes, and piled it up there, making hills and ridges, until the whole park

surface is beautifully variegated, and the visitor forgets that he is in the land of monotonous plains.

At the north, bordering on the lake for a mile and a half, is the oldest of the parks, fittingly named after the most illustrious citizen of Illinois, Lincoln. It comprises 250 acres, with eight miles of drives and twenty acres of lakes. Here stand the fine Lincoln Monument and the Grant Monument, and here also are extensive botanic and zoölogical gardens. Northwest of this lies Humboldt Park, of 200 acres, with its mineral waters. Garfield Park, at the west of the city, contains 185 acres, including a seventeen-acre lake. There are also fine conservatories and an artesian well of mineral water. Douglas Park, of 180 acres, named after the famous "Little Giant" Senator, lies south of this. It contains fine conservatories and open fields for ball and tennis players. South of this is little Gage Park, of 20 acres. Then at the south of the city are Washington and Jackson Parks, connected by the Midway Plaisance. Washington Park is inland, a mile from the lake, and contains 371 acres. The Midway Plaisance contains 80 acres. Jackson Park lies on the lake front, containing 593 acres. It is in these last two parks and the connecting grounds between them that the Columbian Exposition of 1892–93 has its home. All these parks, from Lincoln to Jackson, are connected by splendid parkway drives, or boulevards, and thus form a continuous and harmonious system all around the city.

There are many other separate parks scattered about the city. In the western part are Union, Jefferson, Wicker, Vernon, Congress, and Campbell Parks. In the north are Washington Square and Union Square. In the south is Lake Front Park, containing 41 acres. Dearborn, Groveland, Woodlawn, and Ellis Parks, and Aldine Square, also deserve mention to complete the list of Chicago's pleasure grounds.

Dry as are statistics, there is no way of presenting in brief space an idea of the magnitude of Chicago's trade other than by means of figures. Here, then, is a statement of the actual shipments from the port of Chicago for the first half of the year 1890: Flour, 1,817,997 barrels; wheat, 4,278,845 bushels; corn, 48,725,179 bushels; oats, 37,927,482 bushels; rye, 1,886,423 bushels; barley, 3,639,976 bushels; grass seed, 41,198,667 bushels; flax seed, 1,266,655 bushels; broom corn, 6,009,271 pounds; cured meats, 380,532,547 pounds; dressed beef, 500,546,484 pounds; canned meats, 612,281 cases; pork, 171,766 barrels; lard, 222,111,385 pounds; cheese, 18,424,980 pounds; butter, 77,328,936 pounds; hides, 91,850,968 pounds; wool, 13,142,018 pounds; coal, 216,710 tons; salt, 467,793 barrels; shingles, 46,281,000; and lumber, 331,015,000 feet. Such figures are eloquent. They cannot be fully appreciated. They dazzle and confuse one, as do the stupendous distances dealt with in astronomical calculations. But by their very vagueness they impress us most forcibly and tell us,

better than we can otherwise be told, of the bulk of the commerce of this amazing town.

Or shall we estimate the business of Chicago by the operations of the post-office? That institution employs 1565 men. For its out-of-town work it is served by 220 daily mail trains, on 118 of which there are railroad post-offices. No less than 110 separate mails are closed for dispatch daily, and an equal number received and opened. These require the daily use of more than a thousand leather bags and three thousand canvas sacks. The annual receipts of the office are more than $3,125,000, and the expenses more than $1,130,000. About 520,000,000 pieces of mail matter, weighing 36,000,000 pounds, are handled in a year, not counting more than 3,000,000 registered letters and packages. The transactions of the money-order department amount fully to $20,000,000 a year.

SIDE VIEW OF CITY HALL.

Among the buildings of Chicago the dual edifice used as the City Hall and Court House may well be mentioned first. It measures 340 by 280 feet, occupying a whole block, bounded by Clark, La Salle, Washington, and Randolph Streets, in the heart of the city. It is built of granite and limestone, and cost about $6,000,000. A group of three buildings joined together, on Dearborn Avenue and Michigan, Illinois, and Clark Streets, includes the Criminal Courts and County Jail. The square bounded by Dearborn, Clark, Adams, and Jackson Streets is covered by a splendid edifice, 342 by 210 feet, occupied by the National Government as a Post-office and Custom House. It is one of the most notable Federal buildings in the country, outside of Washington itself.

The semi-public and private buildings compare, in architecture, most favorably with those of any other American city. Chicago hotels have long been justly famed for their size and luxurious equipments; the external appearance of the newer ones is also most imposing. Some of the railroad stations are of vast size and noble design. There are club-houses which are models of beauty, and the array of handsome churches, library and art buildings, theatres, etc., is altogether bewildering. Nowhere in the world, perhaps, is there to be found a structure quite comparable with the so-called Auditorium, a gigantic pile con-

THE AUDITORIUM BUILDING, CHICAGO.

taining a great hotel and an opera house, the latter said to be the largest in existence. Nor are the homes of Chicago unworthy of so great a capital. Along Michigan Avenue, and other residence streets, are miles of palaces, to whose splendors the art of the architect has given its richest resources. They generally stand detached from one another, and surrounded by lovely grounds and an abundance of shade, thus combining rural beauty with metropolitan magnificence.

Perhaps, however, it is in her business blocks that Chicago justly takes

most pride. Not elsewhere can one find an array of office buildings massed together, so great in size, so handsome in all appointments. They tower aloft with from ten to twenty stories above the sidewalks, making the streets which they line seem like the cañons of the Colorado, traversed by a stream of flesh and blood scarcely less rapid, noisy and tumultuous than the waters of the desert river. In no other city, not in New York, nor London itself, are the streets so thronged as in this quarter of Chicago at the hour when the wheels of trade are stopping for the day and these great hives of industry send forth their swarms of occupants. A single building contains from three to four thousand persons, and such buildings are numbered by the dozen.

BOAT IN CHICAGO RIVER.

For the construction of these remarkable edifices, a special style of architecture had to be devised. No longer was it possible to trust to the outer walls of masonry for support. In a building of eighteen or twenty stories, the walls at the bottom would have to be so thick as to leave almost no room within. The buildings were, therefore, made with a skeleton of steel, an interior framework of partitions, columns and floors, amply self-sustaining. Around this, simply as an outer garment, the walls of masonry were built; but were the latter to be entirely torn away, the building would still stand as securely as before. There are stairways in these lofty structures, of course, but they are little used. Travel up and down is effected by means of elevators, which, for sake of speed and convenience, are arranged after the manner of railroad trains. There are some "accommodation" cars, stopping at every floor; some "local expresses," only stopping at floors above the seventh; and some "lightning expresses," that shoot up to the twelfth or fifteenth floor without a stop. In a

single average building, a dual count shows the elevators to be used by 20,000 persons daily!

The intellectual life of this driving, utilitarian city is not neglected. There are published 24 daily newspapers, 260 weeklies, 36 bi-weeklies, 192 monthlies, five bi-monthlies, and 14 quarterlies, comparing favorably in appearance and quality of contents with the periodical press of other great cities. The quantity of periodicals mailed at the Chicago Post Office, in the year ending June 30th, 1889, amounted to more than 20,000,000 pounds, equaling that mailed at Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cincinnati, and New Orleans, all combined. In the publication of books, too, the city has no mean rank. Each year it produces about 8,000,000 bound volumes, and perhaps 3,000,000 more in paper covers; and in the publication of maps, atlases, etc., it stands second to no city. The public library, in the City Hall building, contains more than 156,000 volumes. Its annual circulation is 1,225,000 volumes, of which 850,000 are taken for reading at home. The reading-room is patronized by 440,000 persons yearly, and the other reference departments of the library by 115,000 more. Steps have already been taken to house this great institution more commodiously in a special building of its own, that shall rival, in size and perfection of appointments, any library building in the world.

HORTICULTURAL HALL.

Chicago has a fine public system of education, including primary, grammar, and high schools, and a host of admirable church and private schools and academies of all grades. There are normal schools, law schools, medical colleges, theological seminaries, etc., in great number. Two great colleges, situated in the suburbs, have long been identified with the city, Lake Forest University, one of the chief educational institutions of the Presbyterian Church, and Northwestern University, at Evanston, the great school of the Methodist Episcopal Church. A third, the Chicago University, a Baptist institution, was founded by Stephen A. Douglas, and had a checkered career. It has lately been reorganized and richly endowed, and bids fair, in a few years, to rank among the foremost seats of learning in America.

And last, though first, the people of Chicago. They numbered, in 1890, according to the Federal census, 1,208,669. A cosmopolitan lot, too, gathered from almost every tribe and nation on the globe. Those of foreign origin tremendously outnumbered the so-called Americans. Of the latter there were only 292,463, while of Germans there were 384,958. After these, in order, came 215,534 Irish, 54,209 Bohemians, 52,756 Poles, 45,877 Swedes, 44,615 Norwegians, 33,785 English, 12,963 French, 11,927 Scotch, 9977 Russians, 9921 Italians, 9891 Danes, 6989 Canadians, 4912 Dutch, 4827 Huns, 4350 Roumanians, 2966 Welsh, 2735 Swiss, 1217 Chinese, 698 Greeks, 682 Belgians, 297 Spaniards, 37 West Indians, 34 Portuguese, 31 Sandwich Islanders, and 28 East Indians. Truly, a motley company! Some of these, especially the Huns, Poles, Bohemians, Scandinavians, and Russians, dwell by themselves in distinct sections of the city, where scarcely any one of any other nationality lives, and where the English language is almost never heard. Each colony forms, practically, a foreign city, with its own language, dress, manners and customs, and characteristic amusements, all included within this one great American city.

In length of life the people of Chicago seem to be particularly favored. Engineering has made the site a healthful one, and careful municipal administration maintains good sanitary conditions. The annual mortality is only 17½ to the thousand, a lower rate than that of almost any other large city in the world. In business energy they brook no rivals. It is their proud claim that theirs is the greatest manufacturing city in America, that it contains the largest single business house in America, and that it is the greatest railroad centre, and the greatest lumber market, grain market, and meat market, in the world. They embody and exemplify, pre-eminently, the restless, venturesome, progressive, generous spirit that is typical of the American nation, and that has achieved on this continent a material, social and intellectual development that is the wonder and the glory of the world. They and their city—which may well become, ere long, the largest on the continent—may be regarded, therefore, as most truly representative of America and Americans, and as most fittingly the hosts of that immeasurable ingathering of the peoples of the world, with all their arts and industries, which is to commemorate the opening, to those peoples and to their ancestors four centuries ago, of this western world and all its transcendent potentialities of resource for the physical, intellectual and spiritual welfare of mankind.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE GREAT NORTHWEST.

BY ALBERT SHAW, PH.D.,
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"Northwest" is a shifting, uncertain designation. The term has been used to cover the whole stretch of country from Pittsburg to Puget Sound, north of the Ohio River and the thirty-seventh parallel of latitude. Popularly it signified the old Northwestern Territory—including Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin—until about the time of the Civil War. In the decade following the war, Illinois and Iowa were largely in the minds of men who spoke of the Northwest. From 1870 to 1880, Iowa, Kansas, Northern Missouri, and Nebraska constituted the most stirring and favored region—the Northwest *par excellence*. But the past decade has witnessed a remarkable development in the Dakotas; and Minnesota, North and South Dakota, and Montana, with Iowa and Nebraska, are perhaps the States most familiarly comprised in the idea of the Northwest. These States are really in the heart of the continent—midway between oceans; and perhaps by common consent the term Northwest will, a decade hence, have moved on and taken firm possession of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Wyoming, while ultimately Alaska may succeed to the designation.

ALBERT SHAW, PH.D.

But for the present the Northwest is the great arable wedge lying between the Mississippi and the Missouri Rivers, and between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains. It is a region that is pretty clearly defined upon a map

showing physical characteristics. For the most part, it is a region of great natural fertility, of regular north-temperate climate, of moderate but sufficient rainfall, of scant forests and great prairie expanses, and of high average altitude without mountains. In a word, it is a region that was adapted by nature to the cultivation of the cereals and leading crops of the temperate zone without arduous and time-consuming processes for subduing the wilderness and redeeming the soil.

This "New Northwest," in civilization and in all its significant characteristics, is the creature of the vast impulse that the successful termination of the war gave the nation. No other extensive area was ever settled under similar conditions. The homestead laws, the new American system of railroad building, and the unprecedented demand for staple food products in the industrial centres at home and abroad, peopled the prairies as if by magic. Until 1870, fixing the date very roughly, transportation facilities followed colonization. The railroads were built to serve and stimulate a traffic that already existed. The pioneers had done a generation's work before the iron road overtook them. In the past two decades all has been changed. The railroads have been the pioneers and colonizers. They have invaded the solitary wilderness, and the population has followed. Much of the land has belonged to the roads, through subsidy grants, but the greater part of the mileage has been laid without the encouragement of land subsidies or other bonuses, by railway corporations that were willing to look to the future for their reward.

It would be almost impossible to overestimate the significance of this method of colonization. Within a few years it has transformed the buffalo ranges into the world's most extensive fields of wheat and corn. A region comprising northern and western Minnesota, and the two Dakotas, which contributed practically nothing to the country's wheat supply twelve or fifteen years ago, has, by this system of railroad colonization, reached an annual production of 100,000,000 bushels of wheat alone—about one-fourth of the crop of the entire country. In like manner, parts of western Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas, that produced no corn before 1875 or 1880, are now the centre of corn-raising, and yield many hundreds of millions of bushels annually. These regions enter as totally new factors into the world's supply of foods and raw materials. A great area of this new territory might be defined that was inhabited in 1870 by less than a million people, in 1880 by more than three millions, and in 1890 by from six to seven millions.

Let us imagine a man from the East who has visited the Northwestern states and territories at some time between the years 1870 and 1875, and who retains a strong impression of what he saw, but who has not been west of Chicago since that time, until, in the World's Fair year he determines upon a new exploration of Iowa, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Minnesota and Wisconsin.

However well informed he had tried to keep himself through written descriptions and statistical records of Western progress, he would see what nothing but the evidence of his own eyes could have made him believe to be possible. Iowa in 1870 was already producing a large crop of cereals, and was inhabited by a thriving, though very new, farming population. But the aspect of the country was bare and uninviting, except in the vicinity of the older communities on the Mississippi River. As one advanced across the State the farm-houses were very small, and looked like isolated dry-goods boxes; there were few well-built barns or farm buildings; and the struggling young cottonwood and soft-maple saplings planted in close groves about the tiny houses were so slight an obstruction to the sweep of vision across the open prairie that they only seemed to emphasize the monotonous stretches of fertile, but uninteresting, plain. Now the landscape is wholly transformed. A railroad ride in June through the best parts of Iowa reminds one of a ride through some of the pleasantest farming districts of England. The primitive "claim shanties" of thirty years ago have given place to commodious farm-houses flanked by great barns and hay-ricks, and the well-appointed structures of a prosperous agriculture. In the rich, deep meadows herds of fine-blooded cattle are grazing. What was once a blank, dreary landscape is now garden-like and inviting. The poor little saplings of the earlier days, which seemed to be apologizing to the robust corn-stalks in the neighboring fields, have grown on that deep soil into great, spreading trees. One can easily imagine, as he looks off in every direction and notes a wooded horizon, that he is—as in Ohio, Indiana, or Kentucky—in a farming region which has been cleared out of primeval forests. There are many towns I might mention which twenty-five years ago, with their new, wooden shanties scattered over the bare face of the prairie, seemed the hottest place on earth as the summer sun beat upon their unshaded streets and roofs, and seemed the coldest places on earth when the fierce blizzards of winter swept unchecked across the prairie expanses. To-day the density of shade in those towns is deemed of positive detriment to health, and for several years past there has been a systematic thinning out and trimming up of the great, clustering elms. Trees of from six to ten feet in girth are found everywhere by the hundreds of thousands. Each farm-house is sheltered from winter winds by its own dense groves. Many of the farmers are able from the surplus growth of wood upon their estates to provide themselves with a large and regular supply of fuel. If I have dwelt at some length upon this picture of the transformation of the bleak, grain-producing Iowa prairies of thirty years ago into the dairy and live-stock farms of to-day, with their fragrant meadows and ample groves, it is because the picture is one which reveals so much as to the nature and meaning of Northwestern progress.

Not a little has been written regarding the rapid destruction of the vast

white-pine forests with which Nature has covered large districts of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. It is true that this denudation has progressed at a rate with which nothing of a like character in the history of the world is comparable. It is also true, doubtless, that the clearing away of dense forest areas has been attended with some inconvenient climatic results, and particularly with some objectionable effects upon the even distribution of rainfall and the regularity of the flow of rivers. But most persons who have been alarmed at the rapidity of forest destruction in the white-pine belt have wholly overlooked the great compensating facts. It happens that the white-pine region is not especially fertile, and that for some time to come it is not likely to acquire a prosperous agriculture. But adjacent to it and beyond it there was a vast region of country which, though utterly treeless, was endowed with a marvelous richness of soil and with a climate fitted for all the staple productions of the temperate zone. This region embraced parts of Illinois, almost the whole of Iowa, Southern Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, and parts of Montana,—a region of imperial extent. Now, it happens that for every acre of pine land that has been denuded in Michigan, Northern Wisconsin, and Northern Minnesota there are somewhere in the great treeless region further south and west two or three new farm-houses. The railroads, pushing ahead of settlement out into the open prairie, have carried the white-pine lumber from the gigantic sawmills of the Upper Mississippi and its tributaries ; and thus millions of acres of land have been brought under cultivation by farmers who could not have been housed in comfort but for the proximity of the pine forests. The rapid clearing away of timber areas in Wisconsin has simply meant the rapid settlement of North and South Dakota, Western Iowa, and Nebraska. And the settlement of these treeless regions means the successful growth on every farm of at least several hundred trees. Without attempting to be statistical or exact, we might say that an acre of Northern Minnesota pine trees makes it possible for a farmer in Dakota or Nebraska to have a house, farm buildings, and fences, with a holding of at least one hundred and sixty acres upon which he will successfully cultivate several acres of forest trees of different kinds. Even if the denuded pine lands of the region south and west of Lake Superior would not readily produce a second growth of dense forest,—which, it should be said in passing, they certainly will,—their loss would be far more than made good by the universal cultivation of forest trees in the prairie States. It is at least comforting to reflect, when the friends of scientific forestry warn us against the ruthless destruction of standing timber, that thus far at least in our Western history we have simply been cutting down trees in order to put a roof over the head of the man who was invading treeless regions for the purpose of planting and nurturing a hundred times as many trees as had been destroyed for his benefit ! There is something almost inspiring in the contemplation of

THE ROYAL GORGE, COLORADO.

millions of families, all the way from Minnesota to Colorado and Texas, living in the shelter of these new pine houses and transforming the plains into a shaded and fruitful empire.

The enormous expansion of our railway systems will soon have made it quite impossible for any of the younger generation to realize what hardships were attendant upon such limited colonization of treeless prairie regions as preceded the iron rails. In 1876 I spent the summer in a part of Dakota to which a considerable number of hardy but poor farmers had found their way and taken up claims. They could not easily procure wood for houses, no other ordinary building material was accessible, and they were living in half-underground "dug-outs," so-called. There was much more pleasure and romance in the pioneer experiences of my own ancestors a hundred years ago, who were living in comfortable log houses with huge fireplaces, and shooting abundant supplies of deer and wild turkey in the deep woods of Southern Ohio. The pluck and industry of these Dakota pioneers, most of whom were Irishmen and Norwegians, won my heartiest sympathy and respect. Poor as they were, they maintained one public institution in common—namely, a school, with its place of public assemblage. The building had no floor but the beaten earth, and its thick walls were blocks of matted prairie turf, its roof also being of sods supported upon some poles brought from the scanty timber-growth along the margin of a prairie river. To-day these poor pioneers are enjoying their reward. Their valley is traversed by several railroads; prosperous villages have sprung up; their lands are of considerable value; they all live in well-built farmhouses; their shade trees have grown to a height of fifty or sixty feet; a bustling and ambitious city, with fine churches, opera houses, electric illumination, and the most advanced public educational system, is only a few miles away from them. Such transformations have occurred, not alone in a few spots in Iowa and South Dakota, but are common throughout a region that extends from the British dominions to the Indian Territory, and from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains,—a region comprising more than a half million square miles.

Naturally the industrial life of these Northwestern communities is based solidly upon agriculture. There is, perhaps, hardly any other agricultural region of equal extent upon the face of the earth that is so fertile and so well adapted for the production of the most necessary articles of human food. During the past decade the world's markets have been notably disturbed and affected, and profound social changes and political agitations have occurred in various remote parts of the earth. It is within bounds to assert that the most potent and far-reaching factor in the altered conditions of the industrial world during these recent years, has been the sudden invasion and utilization of this great new farming region. Most parts of the world which are fairly prosperous do not produce staple food supplies in appreciable surplus quantities. Several

regions which are not highly prosperous sell surplus food products out of their poverty rather than out of their abundance. That is to say, the people of India and the people of Russia have often been obliged, in order to obtain money to pay their taxes and other necessary expenses, to sell and send away to prosperous England the wheat which they have needed for hungry mouths at home. They have managed to subsist upon coarser and cheaper food. But in our Northwestern States the application of ingenious machinery to the cultivation of fertile and virgin soils has within the past twenty-five years precipitated upon the world a stupendous new supply of cereals and of meats, produced in quantities enormously greater than the people of the Northwestern States could consume. These foodstuffs have powerfully affected agriculture in Ireland, England, France, and Germany, and in fact in every other part of the accessible and cultivated globe.

So much has been written of late about the condition of the farmer in these regions that it is pertinent to inquire who the Western farmer is. In the old States the representative farmer is a man of long training in the difficult and honorable art of diversified agriculture. He knows much of soils, of crops and their wise rotation, of domestic animals and their breeding, and of a hundred distinct phases of the production, the life, and the household economics that belong to the traditions and methods of Anglo-Saxon farming. If he is a wise man, owning his land and avoiding extravagance, he can defy any condition of the markets, and can survive any known succession of adverse seasons. There are also many such farmers in the West. But there are thousands of wheat-raisers or corn-growers who have followed in the wake of the railway and taken up Government or railroad land, and who are not yet farmers in the truest and best sense of the word. They are unskilled laborers who have become speculators. They obtain their land for nothing, or for a price ranging from one dollar and fifty cents to five dollars per acre. They borrow on mortgage the money to build a small house and to procure horses and implements and seed grain. Then they proceed to put as large an acreage as they can manage into a single crop—wheat in the Dakotas, wheat or corn in Nebraska and Kansas. They speculate upon the chances of a favorable season and a good crop safely harvested; and they speculate upon the chances of a profitable market. They hope that the first two crops may render them the possessor of an unincumbered estate, supplied with modest buildings, and with a reasonable quantity of machinery and live stock. Sometimes they succeed beyond their anticipations. In many instances the chances go against them. They live on land, and the title is invested in them; but they are using borrowed capital, use it unskillfully, meet an adverse season or two, lose through foreclosure that which has cost them nothing except a year or two of energy spent in what is more nearly akin to gambling than to farming, and finally help to swell the great

chorus that calls the world to witness the distress of Western agriculture. It cannot be said too emphatically that real agriculture in the West is safe and prosperous, and that the unfortunates are the inexperienced persons, usually without capital, who attempt to raise a single crop on new land. For many of them it would be about as wise to take borrowed money and speculate in wheat in the Chicago bucket-shops.

The great majority, however, of these inexperienced and capital-less wheat and corn producers gradually become farmers. It is inevitable, at first, that a country opened by the railroads for the express purpose of obtaining the largest possible freightage of cereals should for a few seasons be a "single-crop country." Often the seed-grain is supplied on loan by the roads themselves. They charge "what the traffic will bear." The grain is all, or nearly all, marketed through long series of elevators following the tracks, at intervals of a few miles, and owned by some central company that bears a close relation to the railroad. Thus the corporations which control the transportation and handling of the grain in effect maintain for their own advantage an exploitation of the entire regions that they traverse, through the first years of settlement. Year by year the margin of cultivation extends further West, and the single-crop sort of farming tends to recede. The wheat growers produce more barley and oats and flax, try corn successfully, introduce live stock and dairying, and thus begin to emerge as real farmers.

Unless this method of Western settlement is comprehended, it is not possible to understand the old Granger movement and the more recent legislative conflicts between the farmers of Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Minnesota, and the Dakotas, on the one hand, and the great transportation and grain-handling corporations on the other. It was fundamentally a question of the division of profits. The railroads had "made" the country: were they entitled to allow the farmers simply a return about equal to the cost of production, keeping for themselves the difference between the cost and the price in the central markets, or were they to base their charges upon the cost of their service, and leave the farmers to enjoy whatever profits might arise from the production of wheat or corn? Out of that protracted contest has been developed the principle of the public regulation of rates. The position of these communities of farmers with interests so similar, forming commonwealths so singularly homogeneous, has led to a reliance upon State aid that is altogether unprecedented in new and sparsely settled regions, where individualism has usually been dominant, and governmental activity relatively inferior.

But agriculture, while the basis of Northwestern wealth, is not the sole pursuit. Transportation has become in these regions a powerful interest, because of the vast surplus agricultural product to be carried away, and of the great quantities of lumber, coal, salt, and staple supplies in general, to be dis-

INSIDE VIEW OF INDIAN LIFE IN ALASKA—THE DOCTOR AND THE SICK.

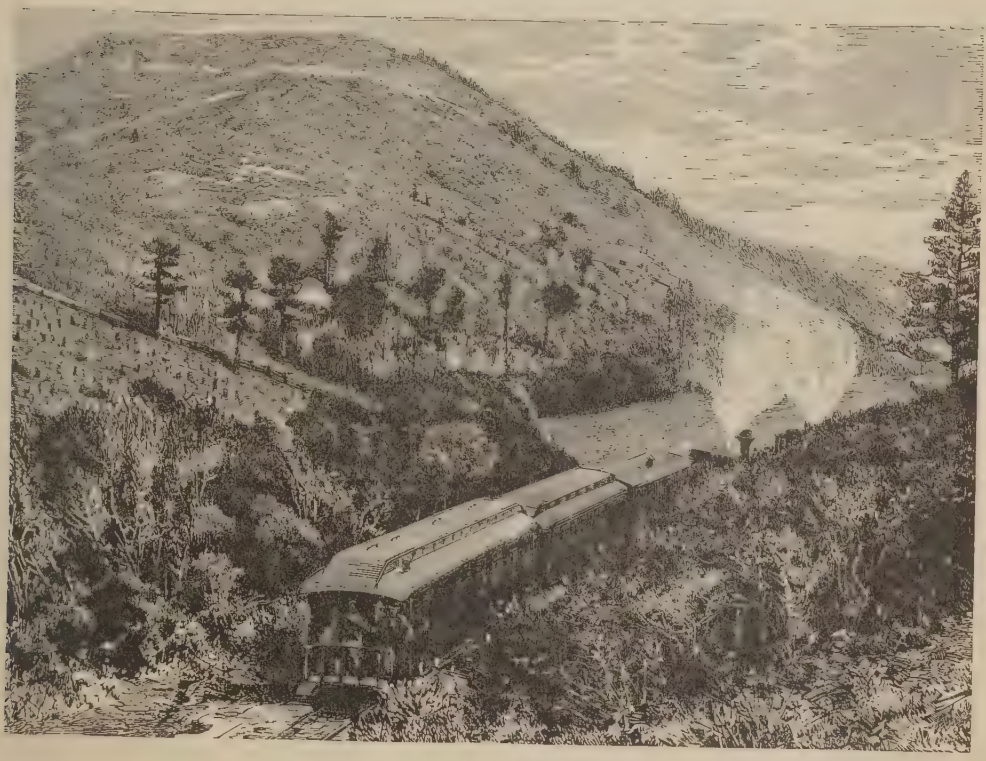
tributed throughout the new prairie communities. The transformation of the pine forests into the homes of several million people has, of course, developed marvelous sawmill and building industries; and the furnishing of millions of new homes has called into being great factories for the making of wooden furniture, iron stoves, and all kinds of household supplies. In response to the demand for agricultural implements and machinery with which to cultivate five hundred million acres of newly utilized wild land, there have come into existence numerous great establishments for the making of machines that have been especially invented to meet the peculiarities and exigencies of Western farm life.

Through Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas, Indian corn has become a greater product in quantity and value than wheat; while in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and North and South Dakota the wheat is decidedly the preponderant crop. Although in addition to oats and barley, which flourish in all the Western States, it has been found possible to increase the acreage of maize in the northern tier, it is now believed that the most profitable alternate crop in the latitude of Minneapolis and St. Paul is to be flax. Already a region including parts of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, and the Dakotas has become the most extensive area of flax culture in the whole world. The crop has been produced simply for the seed, which has supplied large linseed oil factories in Minneapolis, Chicago, and various Western places. But now it has been discovered that the flax straw, which has heretofore been allowed to rot in the fields as a valueless product, can be utilized for a fibre which will make a satisfactory quality of coarse linen fabrics. Linen mills have been established in Minneapolis, and it is somewhat confidently predicted that in course of time the linen industry of that ambitious city will reach proportions even greater than its wonderful flour industry, which for a number of years has been without a rival anywhere in the world.

The railroad system of the Northwest has been developed in such a way that no one centre may be fairly regarded as the commercial capital of the region. Chicago, with its marvelous foresight, has thrown out lines of travel that draw to itself much of the traffic which would seem normally to belong to Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth on the north, or to St. Louis and Kansas City on the south. But in the region now under discussion, the famous "twin cities," Minneapolis and St. Paul, constitute unquestionably the greatest and most distinctive centre, both of business and of civilization. They are beautifully situated, and they add to a long list of natural advantages very many equally desirable attractions growing out of the enterprising and ambitious forethought of the inhabitants. They are cities of beautiful homes, pleasant parks, enterprising municipal improvements, advanced educational establishments, and varied industrial interests. Each is a distinct urban community, although they

lie so near together that they constitute one general centre of commerce and transportation when viewed from a distance. Their stimulating rivalry has had the effect to keep each city alert and to prevent a listless, degenerate local administration. About the Falls of St. Anthony, at Minneapolis, great manufacturing establishments are grouping themselves, and each year adds to the certainty that these two picturesque and charming cities have before them a most brilliant civic future.

The tendency to rely upon united public action is illustrated in the growth



PASS IN THE MOUNTAINS.

of Northwestern educational systems. The universities of these commonwealths are State universities. Professional education is under the State auspices and control. The normal schools and the agricultural schools belong to the State. The public high school provides intermediate instruction. The common district school, supported jointly by local taxation and State subvention, gives elementary education to the children of all classes. As the towns grow the tendency to graft manual and technical courses upon the ordinary public school curriculum is unmistakably strong. The Northwest, more than

any other part of the country, is disposed to make every kind of education a public function.

Radicalism has flourished in the homogeneous agricultural society of the Northwest. In the anti-monopoly conflict there seemed to have survived some of the intensity of feeling that characterized the anti-slavery movement; and a tinge of this fanatical quality has always been apparent in the Western and Northwestern monetary heresies. But it is in the temperance movement that this sweep of radical impulse has been most irresistible. It was natural that the movement should become political and take the form of an agitation for prohibition. The history of prohibition in Iowa, Kansas, and the Dakotas, and of temperance legislation in Minnesota and Nebraska, reveals—even better perhaps than the history of the anti-monopoly movement—the radicalism, homogeneity, and powerful socializing tendencies of the Northwestern people. Between these different agitations there has been in reality no slight degree of relationship; at least their origin is to be traced to the same general conditions of society.

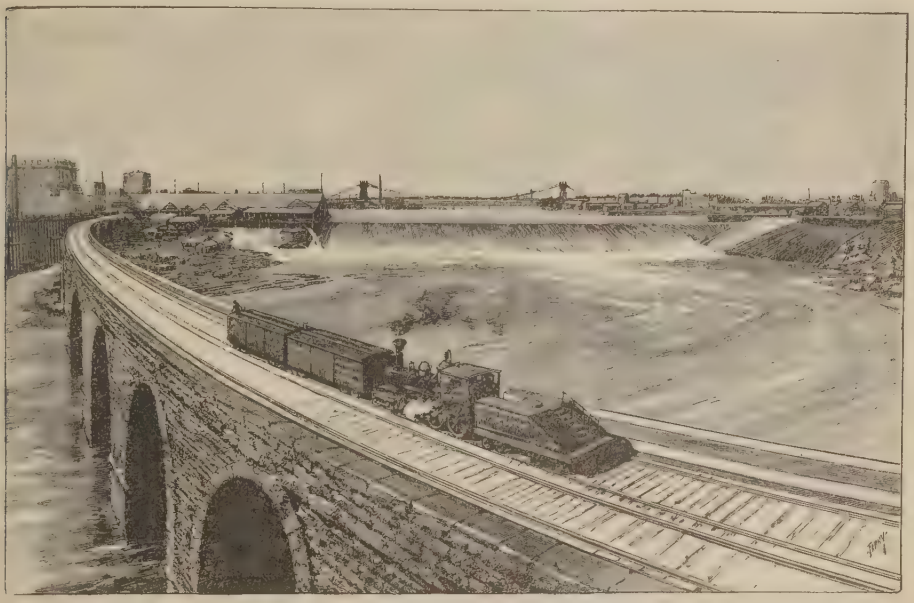
The extent to which a modern community resorts to state action depends in no small measure upon the accumulation of private resources. Public or organized initiative will be relatively strongest where the impulse to progress is positive but the ability of individuals is small. There are few rich men in the Northwest. Iowa, great as is the Hawkeye State, has no large city and no large fortunes. Of Kansas the same thing may be said. The Dakotas have no rich men and no cities. Minnesota has Minneapolis and St. Paul, and Nebraska has Omaha; but otherwise these two States are farming communities, without large cities or concentrated private capital. Accordingly the recourse to public action is comparatively easy. South Dakota farmers desire to guard against drought by opening artesian wells for irrigation. They resort to State legislation and the sale of county bonds. North Dakota wheat growers are unfortunate in the failure of crops. They secure seed-wheat through State action and their county governments. A similarity of condition fosters associated action, and facilitates the progress of popular movements.

In such a society the spirit of action is intense. If there are few philosophers, there is remarkable diffusion of popular knowledge and elementary education. The dry atmosphere and the cold winters are nerve-stimulants, and life seems to have a higher tension and velocity than in other parts of the country.

The Northwest presents a series of very interesting race problems. The first one, chronologically at least, is the problem that the American Indian presents. It is not so long ago since the Indian was in possession of a very large portion of the region we are now considering. A number of tribes were gradually removed further West, or were assigned to districts in the Indian Territory.

But most of them were concentrated in large reservations in Minnesota, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Montana, and Wyoming. The past few years have witnessed the rapid reduction of these reservations, and the adoption of a policy which, if carried to its logical conclusion with energy and good faith, will at an early date result in the universal education of the children, in the abolition of the system of reservations, and in the settlement of the Indian families upon farms of their own, as fully enfranchised American citizens.

The most potent single element of population in the Northwest is of New England origin, although more than half of it has found its way into Iowa, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Nebraska, and Kansas, by filtration through the inter-



THE FALLS OF ST. ANTHONY, 1885.

mediate States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois. But there has also been a vast direct immigration from abroad; and this element has come more largely, by far, from the northern than from the central and southern races of Europe. The Scandinavian peninsula and the countries about the Baltic and North Seas have supplied the Northwest with a population that already numbers millions. From Chicago to Montana there is now a population of full Scandinavian origin, which, perhaps, may be regarded as about equal in numbers to the population that remains in Sweden and Norway. In Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota, as well as in Northern Iowa and in some parts of Nebraska, there are whole counties where the population is almost entirely Scandinavian. Upon all this portion of

the country for centuries to come the Scandinavian patronymics will be as firmly fixed as they have been upon the Scotch and English coasts, where the Northmen entrenched themselves so numerously and firmly about nine hundred or a thousand years ago. The Scandinavians in the Northwest become Americans with a rapidity unequaled by any other non-English-speaking element. Their political ambition is as insatiate as that of the Irish, and they already secure offices in numbers far beyond the proportion to which their qualifications would entitle them; for the great majority now come from the lowest classes of unskilled labor in Sweden and Norway, rather than from the ranks of the professional classes, the substantial farmers, and the skilled mechanics. But their devotion to the American school system, their political aptitude and ambition, and their enthusiastic pride in American citizenship are thoroughly hopeful traits, and it is generally believed that they will contribute much of strength and sturdiness to the splendid race of Northwestern Americans that is to be developed in the Upper Mississippi and Missouri Valleys. The Northwestern Germans evince a tendency to mass in towns, as in Milwaukee, and to preserve intact their language and national traits.

The large towns of the Northwest are notable for the great numbers of the brightest and most energetic of the young business and professional men of the East that they contain. While they lack the leisure class and the traditions of culture that belong to older communities, they may justly claim a far higher percentage of college-bred men and of families of cultivated tastes than belong to Eastern towns of like population. The intense pressure of business and absorption of private pursuits are, for the present, seeming obstacles to the progress of Western communities in the highest things; but already the zeal for public improvements and for social progress in all that pertains to true culture is very great. Two decades hence no man will question the quality of Northwestern civilization. If the East is losing something of its distinctive Americanism through the influx of foreign elements and the decay of its old-time farming communities, the growth of the Northwest, largely upon the basis of New England blood and New England ideas, will make full compensation.

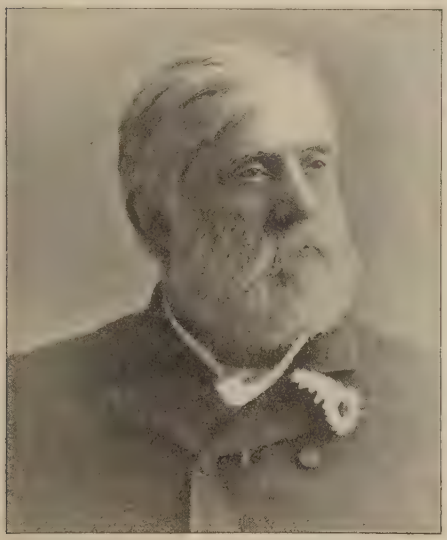
Every nation of the world confronts its own racial or climatic or industrial problems, and nowhere is there to be found an ideal state of happiness or virtue or prosperity; but all things considered it may well be doubted whether there exists any other extensive portion, either of America or of the world, in which there is so little of pauperism, of crime, of social inequality, of ignorance, and of chafing discontent, as in the agricultural Northwest that lies between Chicago and the Rocky Mountains. Schools and churches are almost everywhere flourishing in this region, and the necessities of life are not beyond the reach of any element or class. There is a pleasantness, a hospitality, and a friendliness in the social life of the Western communities that is certainly not surpassed.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE OLD SOUTH AND THE NEW SOUTH.

BY HON. WM. C. P. BRECKINRIDGE,
Member of Congress from Kentucky.

It is nearly impossible to give an accurate idea of the settlement, development, civilizations, and customs of the several States which compose the section generally known as "the South" within the limits of a single chapter, and to do it satisfactorily at all. The institution of slavery so compacted those States as to, not unnaturally, make them, in the mind of the ordinary observer, be considered as if they were homogeneous, with the same civilization and customs. The late war intensified this general belief, so that to-day the general description, "the South," is more a word of institutional definition than of either a geographical or industrial section.



HON. WM. C. P. BRECKINRIDGE.

Few greater men have spoken the English language than Sir Walter Raleigh, and his conception of the mode and results of the colonization of America was more nearly like unto what has actually come to pass than that of any other Englishman. It was through him and his efforts that the settlement at Jamestown was made, after the unsuccessful efforts at colonization lower down on the Southern coast.

The discovery of tobacco and of its use, and the climate of Virginia and the territory south of it, made the importation of the nineteen slaves in the Dutch slave trader in 1619 acceptable; and, as at that period slavery was universal, there was no moral scruple in the preservation and growth of African slavery. The profitable growth of rice and indigo in the low coast lands of Georgia increased the demand for African slaves, who

could, with safety, labor in that climate. The subsequent invention of the cotton gin added many-fold to the value of slave labor, and spread the institution rapidly over the entire section of the South in which the climate permitted cotton to be profitably grown. So that the growth and development of the colonies which settled in Virginia, Maryland, South Carolina, and Georgia were accompanied with the increase both of the number and value of slaves.

A precisely opposite development was going on in that section of the country where agriculture was purely the husbandry of farm products and the growth of live stock. In such labors the slave was not of any advantage. He was never equal as a laborer to his white competitor, nor did he stand the climate of those States so well; but where the necessity was to have disciplined labor in gangs, under a hot sun, and when to that was added the danger of malarial fevers from swamp lands, his labor became much more valuable. These differences in climate and product, and this marked diversity of labor, naturally produced entirely different industries and caused many dissimilarities in the development of the social civilization and of the customs of the people. It is quite difficult for one who was not either raised, or did not for a long period live, in one of the Southern States to appreciate how the institution of slavery was interwoven with all its civilization, its customs, its labors, its profits, and its difficulties. All social problems, as well as all social customs, became modified by this institution and by the products to which its use required the people to devote their entire attention and capital.

Only a superficial observer would not notice the very great difference between the institution of slavery in the farming States and in the planting States of the South. In Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, the mountainous and grass sections of Tennessee, the mountainous and grass section of North Carolina, Georgia, and in the State of Missouri, slavery was only a domestic institution. Comparatively few slaves were owned by the richest men. They lived in daily association with the families of their owners. The white children of the master and the colored children of the slave played together upon terms of semi-equality until the school age was reached, and the kindliness thus produced, and the association incidental to such a life, continued through the lives of both.

In the planting States large gangs of negroes lived in what were called "quarters" under the control and supervision of an overseer, and without scarcely any association with the families of the masters at the main house, with the exception, however, of the domestic slaves, who performed the ordinary services of the household, between whom and the field hands was a gap almost as great as between the families of the master and the domestic slave. This difference had results which were far reaching and not always clearly understood.

There were also ethnological differences between the slaves of the border

slave States and the majority of the slaves of the cotton and sugar States. Very few, if any, slaves were in those border States who were imported to America after the Revolutionary War; while the great bulk of the cotton States slaves were imported after the treaty of peace in which was recognized the independence of the United Colonies; these were ethnologically of a different type from those which had been brought over and sold through Virginia and Maryland and had been sent from Virginia and Maryland to the interior States; and this ethnological difference is easily observable to-day.

While the early settlements on the southern coast were made early in the seventeenth century, yet they grew quite slowly, and when the Revolutionary War came it was only the thin fringe along the Atlantic Coast and east of the Blue Ridge which was populated, with the exception of some of the valleys which ran in between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghenies. Beyond the Alleghenies there were no settlements at all. The climate and the soil tempted the people to agricultural pursuits; and the institution of slavery is necessarily agricultural. The unoccupied lands were so large in extent, and so fertile in quality that there was no temptation to put labor or capital into any other pursuit; and the profits of farming and planting with slave labor were so great that the returns induced every one to take every possible risk in making new investments.

The acquisition of Louisiana under the administration of Mr. Jefferson, giving the free navigation of the Mississippi River and good titles and perfect security to those who chose to settle in the Mississippi Valley, caused the development of the inexhaustible soil of that great valley; and until the late war there was no temptation for a Southern capitalist, or an earnest and active young Southerner looking toward a fortune in his old age, to embark in any other pursuit than the planting of cotton or the raising of sugar, and such commercial vocations as these great industries might require. But the profits in the farming portion of the Southern States were sufficiently great, and unoccupied lands sufficiently large to give ample opportunity for all the capital and energy at the disposal of the citizens of those States; while those who desired to migrate from them found abundant promise of wealth in the cheap and rich lands of the prairie States of Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and further to the Northwest. This climate, these pursuits and this institution, necessarily modified the development of social life and of social civilization.

The life of a Virginia planter, or a Kentucky or Tennessee farmer, was, while in many respects a pleasant and easy life, one of labor. It was free from the ordinary risks of the manufacturer and merchant. Bankruptcy was very rare; great wealth equally rare; but moderate, comfortable, and abundant livelihood was common. This produced a corresponding life, which was simple in its manners, unostentatious in its customs, not very careful in its economies; frank,

virtuous, and honest in its relations to neighbors and other persons, and full of a generosity founded rather on free living than systematic charity. The life was almost entirely a family life as contradistinguished from a community life. Families resided on their own farms, and, to a certain degree, isolated from their neighbors, and from this grew a certain intensity of family affection and of family pride which gave to the members of the family the aid and defence of all the clan, which resembled the Scotch clannishness. Large enterprises requiring co-operative effort were nearly impossible. Whatever one man or family could do was always excellently well done; but those efforts which required coöperative action were apt to fall through. Such a life is apt to pro-

CORN SCHUCKING IN GEORGIA.

duce marked individuality—each person has been developed so as to intensify his individual qualities; and yet, like all communities, the influences upon each being somewhat similar, the peculiarities of all its members resembled those of all the other members.

An old-fashioned Southern farm and farmers presented a type of domesticity which will pass entirely away with this generation, and which was one of the sweetest, purest, and most productive types of social life ever known. The master and owner was head of the family in a sense which has never been known in modern society, and which bore a resemblance to the head of a tribe in the nomadic life, typified by the life of Abraham. The power which he had

over his slaves, and the isolation which his family suffered from the very institution itself, gave to him an influence over his wife and children which, in fact, as well as in name, constituted him the head of the family; and yet there has never been a home in which the wife was so important and so dominant, for there cannot be a home in which the domestic part was so important. Upon her fell the duty of supervising the household, its occupants, and its affairs, of superintending the conduct and care of the negro women and children. She was mistress in the true sense of that word, for in her domain her word was the law of the house and of the "quarters." This produced a simple order of thought which was curiously characteristic of those people.

In these households the Bible was the ordinary text-book. Family worship was conducted regularly, and without regard to the personal piety of the head of the family. It was one of the inherited customs to be kept up and made a part of the daily life of the house. The children had no menial duties to perform; but were raised with a certain dislike and contempt for menial labor, because it was performed by slaves and performed for them. This freedom from this form of duty was not, however, followed by freedom from labor or occupation. In every such household the children were kept occupied constantly, and were trained from their earliest childhood in such labors and accomplishments as were common to the country, and were supposed to be needed in those who were to be the masters and mistresses of such establishments. The boys became superb horsemen, excellent shots, skillful sportsmen, and admirable farmers from their boyhood. They were trained in the open air, so as to bear fatigue, to be capable of great endurance, and to be fit to become the masters and owners of large farms. While they might or might not work with their hands in the actual labor of the farm, they were taught how it ought to be done, so as to take, at a very early age, the care of a farm.

The same training was given to the girls for the same purpose. They early became notable housewives; they were personally made expert with the needle; they became splendid horsewomen; and, if a habit of command soon appeared, it was sweetened and softened by the constant supervision of the sick and care for the aged.

In a society where slavery is confined to those of a different race from that of the master, race, not condition, becomes the condition of society. All who are white are equals in such a community in a sense which is never true elsewhere; for every white man is free and may become the owner of slaves, and whatever ranks may exist they are purely temporary and based largely on merit. In that community no white person is barred from ready entrance into any rank, even the highest, when he demonstrates his right based upon his merits. No part of the country has had so many eminent citizens springing from the humblest walks of life, and no demonstrations of confidence and affec-

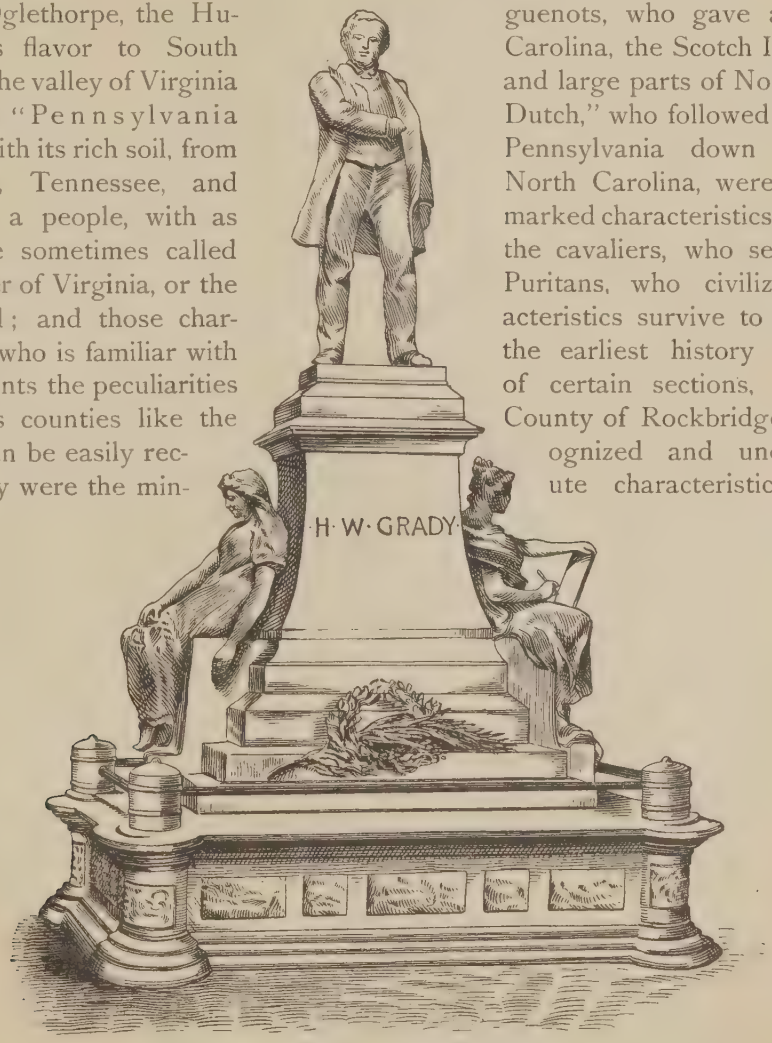
tion have been greater or more touching than those shown by those people to men of humblest birth. This is not generally believed or understood ; but it is true, and to an extent that aids us to understand how the slaveholding white population always had as their friends and allies the non-slaveholding white population of those States, and it is true to-day as it was before the war, and will continue to be true in those sections of the South where the colored people are at all equal in number to the white population.

The profits in such farming as was common in the border States was not large in ready money, after the abundant and somewhat wasteful support of the family and farm had been taken out of the year's products. The money residuum was not large, and so accumulated capital was never great. This prevented any great public works of any kind, either in the shape of great public buildings, universities, railroads, or other enterprises. It also prevented marked inequalities in the pecuniary conditions of men. There were none very rich, few very poor, the vast mass being in comfortable circumstances. This also opened but few avenues for profit and distinction to the young men, the learned professions and such business as was necessary in such a simple community were the only vocations to those who desired to leave the farm. The best talent, therefore, went into the learned professions or remained in the pursuit of agriculture. Skillful lawyers and doctors, eloquent preachers, and trained statesmen were naturally produced in a community where these were the most profitable and influential vocations. The leisurely life in such a community gave opportunity for culture, for wide reading, and, perhaps, for the development of the subtleties of politics and philosophy, rather than for the practical pursuits of life ; and so this section produced statesmen of unsurpassed attainments in the science of politics and in the realm of constitutional and international history.

As cities are the growth of commerce and manufactures, there could not be great cities in this section ; but as wealth and leisure was considerable, and as the cotton, sugar, rice, and tobacco crops had to be exported and sold where they were not raised, commercial cities of a fair size would necessarily grow up. These cities, however, would have no other business than that incident to these general products, and would necessarily reveal, in the mode of business and in the type of life, the peculiarities which such pursuits would produce. Quiet, easy, leisurely, comfortable, intelligent, honest, agreeable, beautiful—such would be the words that would *a priori* be apt to describe cities in such a climate and produced by such causes, and Charleston, Savannah, Wilmington, Richmond, Nashville, Louisville come within the descriptions in which such terms can be fairly used. The smoke of industries, the bustle and confusion of a very active commerce, the rush and hurry of excited men, the cruel panics of sudden fluctuations in markets, the appearance of the new rich, and the disappearance of well-known houses going down in a storm, would not mark the life of such

cities. New York and Charleston are pictures as well as products, and in their features testify to the conditions which produce them.

The settlements of the South were from different nationalities and of different creeds. The Germans, who came to Georgia under Oglethorpe, the Huguenots, who gave a certain delicious flavor to South Carolina, the Scotch Irish, who settled the valley of Virginia and large parts of North Carolina, the "Pennsylvania Dutch," who followed the limestone, with its rich soil, from Pennsylvania down through Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina, were each as marked a people, with as marked characteristics, as those who are sometimes called the cavaliers, who settled the tidewater of Virginia, or the Puritans, who civilized New England; and those characteristics survive to this day. To one who is familiar with the earliest history of these settlements the peculiarities of certain sections, often as small as counties like the County of Rockbridge, in Virginia, can be easily recognized and understood. Yet they were the minute characteristics which



THE MONUMENT OF HENRY W. GRADY.

distinguished cousins german of the same people; for the people of the South grew more and more alike as time went on; and it is not too much to say were the most homogeneous of any part of the country.

The political development from the Revolutionary war to 1860 can only be

explained under a full understanding of the influence of slavery. From 1783 to 1801 the free navigation of the Mississippi River was the necessity of all the Southwest, of all that population who resided upon the waters which ran to the South and West. From the discovery of the cotton-gin, which made slave labor so valuable, to 1860, it became necessary to put every possible barrier to protect the institution of slavery from destruction. Its labor being worthless in the Northern States, it was easily perceived that the conflict would arise and that antagonistic legislation could be prevented only by such defensive measures as would give to the Southern States power in the National Congress sufficient to prevent unfriendly legislation. This accounts for the intense desire of the South to secure the annexation of contiguous territory and its desire to annex territory anywhere; for so long as there were large areas of unoccupied lands, the restless of the North could find wealth in those countries, and so long as any of these territories were contiguous to the Southern States, they might hope that, as a non-slaveholding State was admitted into the Federal Union, a slaveholding State might also be admitted, and thus preserve the equilibrium of power. This long contest solidified the South, gave it a succession of trained leaders, made it intense, caused it to study deeply and closely constitutional, political, and economical questions, and from it grew that compactness which gradually formed it into one body and caused it to be named "the South." This was of slow growth. In the early days of the Republic it was not particularly inquired whether Washington, and Adams, and Jefferson, and Madison, and the younger Adams lived on this or the other side of the sectional line; and when Clay and Jackson competed, no one thought it was of special importance that they lived in adjoining States, each a slaveholding State. In the great presidential race between Clay and Polk, the fact that each was a Southern man added little or nothing to their vote, and subtracted but little from their power.

But while this is true, there were three distinct Souths contained within the boundary of those States, and this is now being rapidly developed since the institution of slavery was destroyed. The farming South, the planting South, the mountainous South, constitute three separate sections, not clearly separated by marked boundaries, not so divided that one can say with certainty exactly where the lines should run, but yet so distinct as to be substantially capable of identification. The destruction of slavery put an end to the investment of the profit of Southern labor in the slaves. Some other vocation than agriculture had to be found for the active, vigorous, and energetic. Twenty years or more was needed to place the States of the South in a condition somewhat like that in which they were when the war broke out. The ravages, injuries, and destruction caused by the war, and the years which followed, were so enormous that they have not yet been entirely repaired. Mississippi

in 1860 was the third wealthiest State in the Union, per capita; it will be many years before she will be enabled to resume that place. This changed condition has produced its natural results. The great Appalachian range, with the bosom of the mountains covered with timber, and inexhaustible minerals buried in the soil, with quite a number of large streams, and an equable and pleasant climate, has been the fruitful field of new development. That intelligence, energy, and

EARTHQUAKE AT CHARLESTON, S. C.
(*Scene on Court Street Looking West. Police Headquarters on the Left.*)

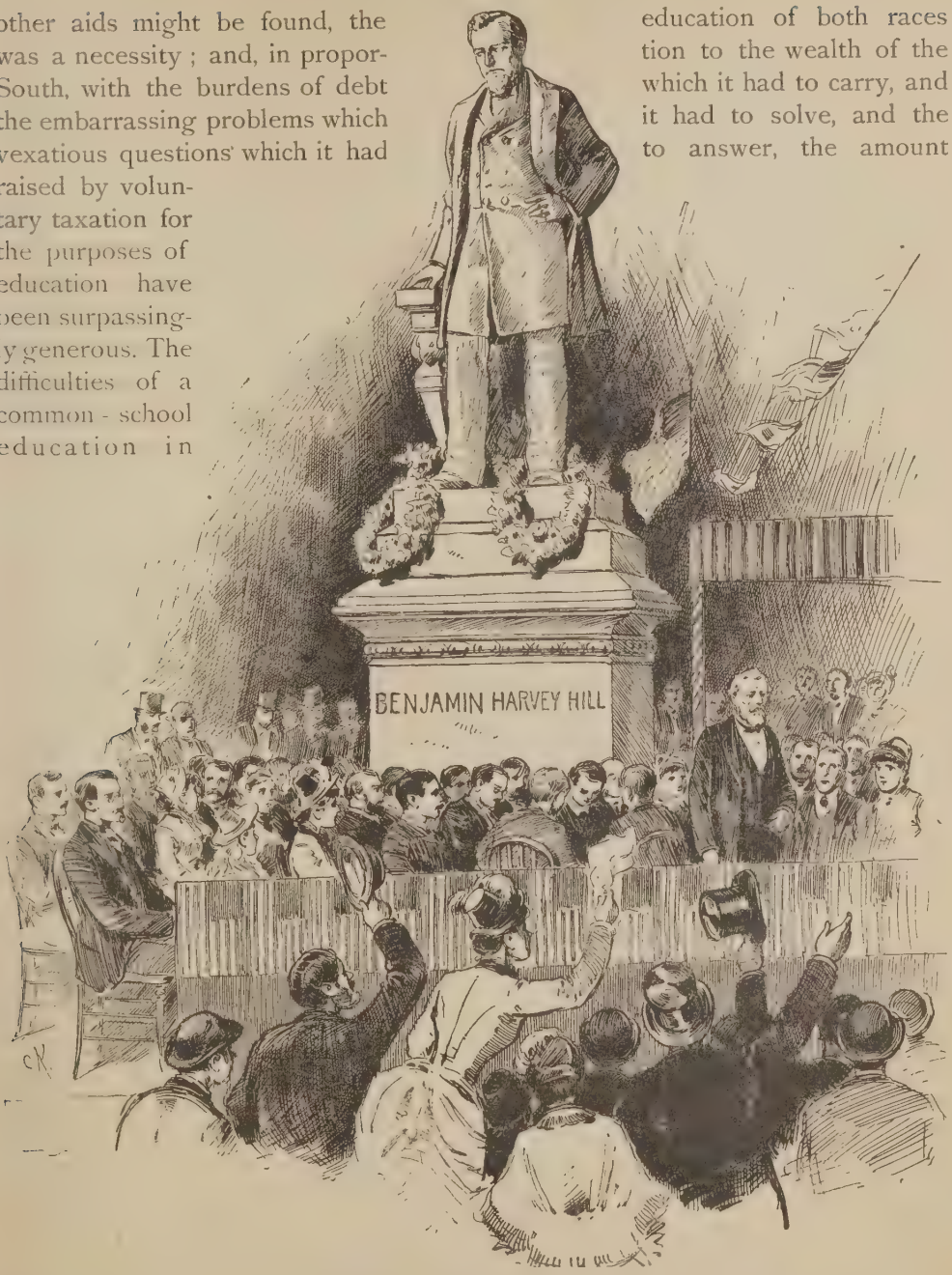
capital which formerly opened new plantations in the Mississippi Valley, or in Texas, have latterly been, in the main, devoted to opening new mines, erecting new furnaces, building factories, either within this range or close to its foothills. A large amount of capital has been invested in these enterprises, which was not the product of the South; but has been sent there or carried there by men from the North or from abroad. This development has gone on and is going on to an extent which is scarcely realized; yet it does not cripple but aids in the development of the agricultural resources of the South. In 1878, the entire

assessable value of the property of the South had fallen to almost two billions of dollars. Since then there has been added to that taxable value over two thousand billions of dollars; that is, in thirteen years the actual assessable value of the Southern States has been doubled; and this is the natural result of the changed condition of affairs. It is a study which would be of interest, to see how this development has revealed the climatic and industrial resources of that country, and how it is gradually changing the character of its cities. Chattanooga, Birmingham, and Roanoke are only possible in communities where capital, energy, and brains are devoted to the development of its mineral resources. They would have been impossible in an era when the cultivation of the soil was the sole or even the main industry. They mark the changed relations and altered conditions which the destruction of slavery necessarily produced. The late census reveals in another form that this subtle but powerful influence is at work in the drift of people from the country to the towns and cities, in the difference between the profit of agricultural and industrial pursuits, and in the growth of population in those portions of the States where mineral and other factories are possible.

But this does not state the whole case. The emancipation of the negro did neither deport nor change him. He, as negro, still remains in the South. The problem of his relation is as unsolved to-day as it was thirty years ago. The shadow of that problem is over large portions of that country. Seven millions of them are scattered through those States in various proportions to the white population, in some sections as one is to seven, in others as two is to three, in others as four is to three, and the proportion of blacks to whites is greater where the blacks are the least intelligent; and the problem, therefore, becomes more serious. In Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, and Tennessee, where the whites greatly outnumber the blacks, the blacks are the most intelligent of their race. In South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas, where there is almost an equality of numbers between the races, the blacks are largely the most inferior and unintelligent of their race. And, in the main, it may be said that the greatest development has been where the blacks are least numerous and their labor least important. This may not be the case as to the growth of the cotton crop, but certainly it is as to every other form of industrial growth; and the census demonstrates that the drift of the colored people is to those sections where they are the most numerous and least intelligent.

After the inauguration of Mr. Hayes, and the withdrawal of troops from the South, and the restoration of the autonomy of the State governments became complete, it was universally recognized that no community could permanently remain ignorant without becoming impoverished; that whatever

other aids might be found, the education of both races was a necessity; and, in proportion to the wealth of the South, with the burdens of debt which it had to carry, and the embarrassing problems which it had to solve, and the vexatious questions to answer, the amount raised by voluntary taxation for the purposes of education have been surpassingly generous. The difficulties of a common-school education in



STATUE OF BENJAMIN HARVEY HILL.

those States are very great and exceedingly hard to overcome. The develop-

ment of such a system must be very slow ; but it has been, in the main, satisfactory, and is to-day in every part of the South in a condition of hopeful growth ; and as the people grow richer, the system will be more generously supported, higher education will receive its proper encouragement, and whatever can be accomplished through this will be done.

It will readily be observed that as time goes on and these various industrial developments continue, one of the results will be the dissolution of the South as a compact body. When the danger from the problem of the diverse races, from Federal legislation or other exterior causes, has passed away, when a new generation to whom the acts and events of the past thirty years are history, in which events they did not act, and which has for them only the same general interest that the deeds of our fathers in the Revolution have for us, when the waterways leading to the Gulf, and the harbors of the Southern coast are so improved and deepened as to furnish the easy means of transportation of the products of the country which they water, and as new and larger enterprises are developed on the eastern coast as well as on the borders of the Southwestern States, it will be found that the solidarity of the South will pass away. There is no more reason why Louisville should stand in any different relation to Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans, than that Cincinnati, St. Louis, or Chicago should ; no cause why Maryland, Delaware, and West Virginia should vote with Louisiana and Mississippi, than that they should vote with other States.

The causes now at work, and which will work with accelerated speed and force, may put Virginia, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri into relations which they do not now occupy, and such other States which now seem to be adverse, as Kansas and Arkansas, into the most intimate and close relations.

These causes will also destroy that peculiar social life which was characteristic of many portions of the South before the War. The old Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, home farm-life will be a thing of the past ; the domestic plantation life of the further South will become only a memory. But the Old South will be the New South, simply devoting itself, under changed conditions, to new vocations ; and will, in those new vocations, find occupation for the same qualities which made the former pursuits profitable. The same qualities will be necessary in these new pursuits. He who formerly was the leading lawyer of a Southern community by virtue of his courage, industry, skill, and intelligence, will be, by virtue of the same qualities, the head of the largest industrial enterprises ; while he who was the chief on the floor of a deliberative body will, by virtue of masterhood, be the great banker of his community. The modes of life will be altered ; but the substance and character will remain the same.

The waterway system of the South, if it can once be put into proper condition, would work a change that cannot be well estimated. The Mississippi River and its tributaries furnish the cheapest transportation for the largest number of miles through the richest country at present known ; but the incapacity to control it stands in the way of that stable and certain domination which is a prime necessity of prosperous commerce. If the problem of its control is once fully solved and it kept within its bounds, and its navigation and that of its tributaries made certain and profitable, there would be the commencement of a revolution in the transportation of the products of the Mississippi Valley, the effect of which on the cities on the lakes and the eastern seaboard no one can foretell. During the last twenty years, the railroads have been built, controlled, and managed by those whose interest it was to transport these products to the East. The freights, insurance, and commissions for handling them, have built up eastern cities. The natural outlet for these products is the Gulf of Mexico. Similar observations somewhat less important and less wide in their scope, can be made concerning the result of securing proper depth of water in the harbors of Mobile, Savannah, Charleston, and Galveston. These results would change the typical southern city ; the quiet and pleasant life in a beautiful southern city like Savannah, with its live oak trees, its wide streets, and its elegant hospitality, the results of its beautiful climate and of its being in an eddy in the current of the world's commerce, would pass away, and a new rush and bustle would supplant its present ease. What effect all this would have in the gradual transformation of a solely agricultural people to a community where agriculture is equaled by commerce and manufactures no one can foresee. But there would still remain the ineradicable prepotency of heredity. Those cities would retain so much of their present individuality as to remain unique. And in this sense "the South" will retain those peculiarities which will always characterize and distinguish it. As the years go by the American people will become more and more homogeneous ; that is, less and less like their European progenitors and brothers. They will become more and more Americans ; but each particular section will still retain its peculiarities ; and it is one of the interesting studies of the development of free institutions to see how these peculiarities are preserved, and how they assist in the development of the common country. We will grow to love and trust each other the more as we appreciate and better understand the substantial unity of the American character, and the minute but marked peculiarities produced by climatic and other causes.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

WOMAN IN AMERICA.

BY FRANCES E. WILLARD.
President of the World's W. C. T. U.

Any book on American history would be incomplete without a chapter on the part women have taken in the upbuilding of the country, and the place they have occupied in our American life and institutions. I have therefore accepted the invitation of Mr. Mabie to write this chapter for the memorial story of America.

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

There were two distinct early types of women, the Northern and the Southern. Both were patrician in their purity of ethical quality, but the latter more technically so in its environment. Individuality developed earlier in the North, because personal initiative was necessary, owing to financial needs. The Southern woman had a downier nest, and found it so soft and warm that she rested more than she worked. Her features were less distinctive than those of her Northern sister, but more soft; her tones were deeper and more mellow, but had less of the clarion timbre of conscious power. The line of grace was more pronounced in the figure and movement of the Southerner—the line of power was apparent in the expression and bearing of the woman of the North. Each was a noble type, the one more lovely, the other more achieving.

As a matter of history, public schools, which were established in New England within 25 years after the landing of the Pilgrims, had no room for girls, and Harvard College, founded twenty years after the Massachusetts landing,

was for young men, not for their sisters. Half a century passed before public schools were granted to the people. It was prophetic that Hartford, Connecticut, should witness the first of these—that beautiful city in which Emma Willard reached her early fame. The date in Hartford was 1771, only five years before the Revolution. In the South, the better class of girls never dreamed of going to the public school; like the aristocracy of Great Britain, they were taught by the governess, a shadowy figure who had small Latin and less Greek—indeed, small everything, except a smattering of English, much manner, and unbounded deference. This describes the situation in early days; but when Emma Willard sent out from her training school in Troy young and forceful women, combining Northern strength with Southern grace, they wrought marvels in the thought and development of the Southern woman in those semi-baronial homes which slave labor rendered possible, even on a new continent.

The Dame-School was the source from which Northern girls imbibed the little that they knew up to the present century. Our highest authority on this subject is Miss Mary F. Eastman, who says that these schools were of an inferior order, in which women, often those who themselves could hardly more than read, would gather a few girls about them, teach them to "make their manners," according to the ancient phrase, drill the alphabet into their brains, and enough beyond that to enable them to spell out the Catechism, which every well-regulated girl was obliged to learn by heart. Charles Francis Adams says that during the first 150 years of our colonial history "the cultivation of the female mind was regarded with utter indifference," and Abigail Adams in one of her famous letters declares that "it was fashionable to ridicule female learning." These were the days when women given to scolding were condemned to sit in public with their tongues held in cleft sticks, or were thrice dipped from a ducking stool. Miss Eastman says, referring to this barbarism, "It would be better that their tongues had been tamed by instruction to becoming speech, or that they had been permitted to drink at the fountain of learning." It is significant that in Northampton, Massachusetts, as late as the year 1788, and in an intelligent community, where Smith's College is now located, the village fathers voted "not to be at the expense for schooling girls." In 1792 the Selectmen of Newburyport decided that "during the summer months, when the boys have diminished, the Master shall receive girls for instruction in grammar and reading, after the dismission of the boys in the afternoon, for an hour and a half." The visitor to this beautiful and historic seaport is shown with pride the site on which stood the school-house to which it is believed women were first admitted on this continent to an education at public expense. That was just one hundred years ago. The same progressive town voted in 1803 to establish four girls' schools, the first on record, which were to be kept six months in the year, from six to eight o'clock in the morning and on Thursday afternoon,—for the

boys had the pick of the time as well as the training. We next find it recorded that in 1789, when the Revolutionary War had been over for six years, the city of Boston, rising to the occasion, established three reading and writing schools, which were open all the year round to boys, and to girls from April to October. There were no free schools in that city for "that boy's sister" until this date. In Rhode Island girls were not admitted to the public schools till 1828. But little by little the different gates were opened, until in about the first quarter of our century girls were permitted to attend the whole year through, the same as boys; but it must be remembered that this was in New England, which has always led in everything pertaining to intellectual development. The more remote States followed at a greater distance. Now came the battle for the higher education—which was much more difficult. The whole woman question was here passed in review, and the conservative cast of mind, as was inevitable from its native limitation, declared that the family relation would be subverted and the new continent depopulated if women were permitted to follow their own sweet will in the development of the intellects with which, by some strange inconsistency of fate, they were endowed. Much as it is the fashion to decry the Church as the great conservative force, let it be gratefully remembered by women everywhere, that the first schools of higher education were denominational institutions, and resulted from the enlightened love of generous fathers, who, having girls of promise in their families, felt that they had no right to leave their mental cultivation unprovided for. Happily, competition among the different Churches developed along the line of multiplying these seminaries of higher education for girls, for no Church wished its daughters to attend a school founded by some other! Perhaps this education of the future mothers of our nation is the best result to which we can refer in the everlasting battle among the broken fragments of the body of Christ. High schools for girls did not exist until about the middle of the present century. As in the lower grades, the girls came only at early hours, because it was a settled principle that they must not be in the same school with boys, and they must in nowise inconvenience these latent lords of creation. From the first, however, the girls have proved to be so eager for instruction that their fathers, pleased, perhaps, to see repetitions of themselves in the vigorous intellects of these little ones, have responded to their importunities by establishing separate high schools for their daughters. The first to do this was Newburyport again, in 1842, and Salem, Mass. (where once they hanged the witches), in 1845, but progressive Boston did not found a high school for girls until 1852—almost two hundred years after she had established a Latin school for boys, and more than two hundred after the founding of Harvard College for young men.

The practical outcome of high-school education in these latter years has been the State university, and women owe more to this last-named institution

than to any other single force, for their education, up to this time. By the inevitable processes of thought, the men who had admitted girls to every department of public school instruction could not close to them the doors of that highest school—the university. By parity of reasoning, when the university added professional schools, it would have been most illogical to deny to the young women, entrance to these; hence the higher classes of occupation, all of which are taught in various State institutions, and later on professional schools for doctors, lawyers, civil engineers, etc., have been freely opened to young women at State expense. Collegiate training for women was more difficult to gain. The pioneer was Oberlin, founded in Ohio, in 1833; woman was welcomed here from the beginning. Mount Holyoke Seminary, in Massachusetts, was established in 1836, by the immortal Mary Lyon—that daughter of the people—who, by her unique method of domestic services performed wholly by the students, enabled the farmer's daughter to win as good an intellectual training as Madam Emma Willard provided in Troy for the daughters of the rich. In 1852 Antioch College was founded in Ohio, and women were admitted to all of its advantages. In 1862 Cornell University was established on the same basis, until now there is not a college west of the Alleghanies the advantages of which are not equally offered to the sons and daughters of our people, while the Leland Sandford University, recently opened on the Pacific Coast, near San Francisco, and having an endowment of $20,000,000, is in all its departments free to women. The same is true of the great new Chicago University, founded by John D. Rockafeller; the great Northwestern University, of the Methodist Church, at Evanston, in the suburbs of the city; while the Annex of Harvard; Barnard College, in connection with Columbia College, of New York city; the newly acquired rights of women at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, and Middlebury College—that ancient and honorable institution in Vermont,—with the American University of the Methodists, founded by Bishop Hurst, in Washington, D. C., and Evelyn College, which is the Annex of Princeton, in New York—mark the latest openings for women in the fields of higher education—collegiate and professional. Vanderbilt, in the South, cannot long resist the oncoming tide, that each day cries more insistently, "Place aux dames!" and "The tools to those that can use them."

In 1865 Matthew Vassar founded, in Poughkeepsie, New York, a college for women. This was a real college, and, with Smith, Wellesley, and Bryn Mawr, shows the high-water mark of woman's separate education in this country. Nobody questions that before another generation the colleges that have the annex will be themselves annexed, and co-education will universally prevail.

There is another phase of the higher education of women which has exerted a vast influence on the public sentiment of the Republic. Nothing

shows the advance made in a single century from a more salient point of view, than the fact that from having been grudgingly admitted to the lowest grade of the public school, and obliged to attend at the unseemly hour of six o'clock in the morning, woman, when she had the opportunity, proved herself so worthy of it that to-day *eighty-two per cent. of all the teachers in the public schools in the United States are women.* The normal schools of the forty-four States, with their admirable methods of the latest and most helpful kinds for the acquirement of thorough training as teachers, swarm with the girl of the period. Recently, when I addressed the Normal School near Chicago, under the care of that famous educator, Colonel Francis W. Parker, seventy-five fair damsels, in graceful reform dress, walked up the aisle to the platform, accompanied by a single specimen of the genus homo attired in black, and I laughingly said to myself, "Is he in mourning by reason of lonesomeness and lost opportunity, or does he serve as an exclamation point to mark the new order of things?"

Southern women have wakened to a new life since the war. Higher education and self-support are now accepted as a matter of course by all save the most prejudiced minds, while the whole cause of woman, in the large sense herein defined, is supported by the ablest brains among Southern men and women. The White Ribbon movement has been the largest influence thus far introduced into that sunny land, to reveal to the home-folk their privileges and powers in this Christian civilization.

Women have been appointed as directors, jointly with men, in the Columbian Exposition of 1893, and those mighty "auxiliary" departments, which mean the convening of philanthropic, educational, religious, and other specialties from every quarter of Christendom for great conventions throughout the World's Fair, means more than we thought possible at first, and especially to the bright women of the South.

As a natural outcome of the mental development of women throughout the Republic, they have now the range of almost all forms of industry, and are practically debarred from none they care to follow. The recent census enumerates over four thousand different branches of employment in which women are now engaged, and the consensus of opinion is, that as a class they do admirably well. It is no longer considered a token of refinement to live upon the toil of others, but women who support themselves have the hearty respect and good will of all sensible women and of all members of the other sex whose good will and respect are worth desiring. As brain-power is the basis of success in every undertaking, whether it be baking potatoes or writing sonnets, the immense amplitude given to the activities of woman-kind is the greatest fact of the century. To translate this mass of brain from the dormant to the active stage means, not only to the individuals now living, but through the mighty forces of heredity to coming generations, more than the greatest mind can

possibly perceive. The expansion thus given to the total of brain momentum throughout the nation may be trusted to conduct us to such discoveries, inventions, philosophies, applications of religion, as the most adventurous have not yet dreamed, and will, we believe, be for the universal uplifting of the race in power, in purity, and peace.

It is to be remembered that all these mighty opportunities have come to women largely by the permission of men. They might have formed industrial and other guilds and rigidly excluded women from membership. If men, as a class, had been imbued with the spirit manifested by that brilliant writer, Mr. Grant Allen (who deliberately declares that there is nothing that woman has ever done as well as man can do it, except to extend the census list), where would women have been in respect to the development of brain and hand? Mr. Grant Allen remands them to that one occupation in which they have distinguished themselves, and says they were "told off" like so many soldiers from an army selected to conduct some difficult enterprise, and that, having been thus separated to a special work, they have not in the nature of the case a right to scatter elsewhere. But as he is the only man who has ever said this in public and in so many words, and as our brothers of the journalistic pen have impaled him without mercy on the point of that swift weapon, we may conclude that the common sense of universal manhood has reached the conclusion: Let any woman do whatever thing she can do well. Upon this basis all business colleges and schools for typewriting and shorthand are now open to women; manual training and industrial schools admit them freely; colleges and universities, professional schools and art classes, accord them every advantage; the whole field of journalism is open to them, and but two citadels yet remain to be captured,—those of ecclesiastical and civil power. Sapping and mining are going on vigorously around these citadels, and many of their outposts have been already taken. Twenty-three States have already granted school suffrage; Kansas has municipal, and Wyoming complete suffrage for women. In the younger denominations women stand equal with men in the pulpit as well as out of it, and the question of inducting them into every position in the great denominations is being actively discussed and often favorably commented upon by the great constituency of ministers, editors, and publicists.

The place of woman in literature is striking. Here she has won the largest standing room. No publisher asks the question, "Did a woman furnish that manuscript?" but he pays according to its merit. The same is true in journalism. Clubs for women are springing up everywhere, philanthropic guilds are numerous, there are religious societies practically without number, and reform movements are more vigorously directed by women than by the most notable or most distinguished experts among men.

Perhaps no feature of this splendid evolution is more remarkable than the last, namely, the intellectual development of woman as a home-maker. The bright, well-disciplined intellects among society women have now found their exact niche. They are somewhat too conservative to take up the temperance reform or the suffrage movement, although we believe that almost without exception these great enterprises have their hearty sympathy, but in the department of woman as a housekeeper and home-maker they find a congenial field. They would help lift this profession from the plane of drudgery. They would so train the household workers, once called servants, that theirs shall be a veritable vocation. All that science and art can do to elevate the culinary department of the home, to improve its sanitary conditions, and to embellish its surroundings, these women are determined to see done. The number of new industries and the subdivisions or new avocations that will grow out of this movement are incalculable. We rejoice in it, for while we firmly believe in the old French motto, "Place aux dames!" and "The tools to those that can use them," we always think that the mother is the central figure of our civilization, and to be treated accordingly; that the home-maker is the genius of what is most holy and happy in our lives. We believe that invention, science, education, and religion should converge in systematic fashion upon the evolution of the home, which evolution is bound to come, and is rapidly keeping pace with developments in all other lines of human uplift.

While it pains a progressive woman to hear any man speak as if the home bounded the sphere of her sex, and while we believe the highest duty of all women is to help make the whole world home-like; while we believe that woman will bless and brighten every place she enters, and that she will enter every place, we would sympathize with the possibilities of honorable employment and of high development to those who bring just as much talent, discipline, and devotion to the building up of home as others do to the larger world outside. In making the transition from woman as a cipher outside of home, to the splendid civilization that welcomes her to every one of its activities, it was necessary for the "present distress" to emphasize out of their due proportion the importance of education, industrial avocations, philanthropic vocations, science, and art for women. But when the pendulum swings to its extreme limit, and Church and State are freely opened to her, we feel sure it will swing to the harmony of a real circuit described by the interests of home, and our brightest brains, most skillful hands, and deepest hearts shall give themselves to the beautiful amenities and sacred ministries of that institution which has been called, and not too often, "Our Heaven below."

A book is now being written entitled "A Woman of the Nineteenth Century," and is to include one thousand names of American women. It is found entirely practicable to gather up so large a number of notable names

illustrative of the different forms of activity in which women are now engaged. This being true, it is a hopeless endeavor to characterize even the most representative women in an article like the present. To do so would but invite the criticism of making invidious distinctions.

The political activities of women have been perhaps more criticised than any others. Naturally enough, perhaps, as politics is to-day the arena where men fight with ballots rather than with bayonets or bullets. But in England the Primrose Dames and the Women of the Liberal League are a mighty factor in working out the rights of the people on the one hand, and the preservation of aristocratic prerogative on the other. This country has yet had no political uprising of women to match that of the motherland, but the Prohibition party has for years had women as its truest allies, and in the People's party they take equal rank with men, while both declare for the ballot in the hand of woman as her rightful weapon. Conventions, committee meetings, newspaper organs, and the public platform all bear the impress to-day of the growing intelligence and disciplined zeal of women as partisans. This is but the beginning of a new movement, the consequences of which promise to be more vast than any we have yet attained in the mighty development of the multitudinous woman question.

There was in the Declaration of Independence the percussive force of giant powder when we deliberately said, "All men are born free and equal, and have certain inalienable rights, and among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." We then and there invoked that trinity of issues which are to-day involved in the mighty "Human Question," namely, the labor question, temperance question, and the woman question. Not until all these have been wrought out into statutes and constitutions will there be rest for the land. It is a blessed fact that woman cannot rise alone. From the first she has been at the bottom of the human pyramid; she has the mother heart, and the stream cannot rise higher than its fountain. Whatever lifts and puts better conditions about her in all stages of her earthly life, does the same for every son she gives to the nation by daring to walk the Via Doloroso of Danger when she passes the sacred but terrible ordeal of motherhood.

Well has the poet sung that "Men and women rise and fall together, dwarfed or god-like, bond or free." No woman worthy of the name forgets that she had a father and brother in her early home, and for their sake, as much as for mother's and sister's sake, all true women seek to help both men and women in the solution of the great problems of modern civilization. To be strong-minded was once thought a crime in woman, but upon strength of mind there is a premium now. The bread-winning weapon, eagerly sought and firmly held in the delicate but untrembling hand of woman, is the only sword she needs. We would make her thoroughly independent of marriage, that she

still might choose its old and sacred path from motives more complimentary to the man of her choice than that "He will be a good provider." We would educate her thoroughly, that she might be the comrade of her husband and her sons, for while religion and affection form two of the strands in the cable that binds human hearts together in the home, we believe that intellectual sympathy is that third bright strand which this glad age is weaving, and that no charm more holy or enduring survived the curse in Eden. We would endow her with power in Church and State, that these two hierarchies might belong to the many and not the few, to the people, and not to priest and politician. We would make woman partner in the great world's activities, that she might more greatly endow the children whose gifts depend so largely on her goodness, greatness, and grace.

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

SALT LAKE CITY.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE AMERICAN CHURCH.

BY BISHOP J. H. VINCENT,
Chancellor of Chautauqua University.

As the century draws toward its end, and men make careful survey of the work it has wrought in the many and varied fields of human activity, it is natural that each observer should take a special interest in the department which constitutes his specialty. The statesman studies the social and political phenomena and forces of the age. The scientist, the educator, the manufacturer, the financier, the merchant, find in their respective spheres problems to be taken in hand and carefully investigated, that the experience of the past may become wisdom for the future. While this division of labor may tend to develop one-sidedness in the individual, it provides ample material for the true student of history, who, by collecting the data furnished by these various investigators, may make wide and wise generalizations, and thus contribute to a more complete study of human nature and human history. The increase of general interest among special observers and students will ensure in due time coöperation, increased intelligence, and enthusiasm in the promotion of the highest civilization.

BISHOP J. H. VINCENT.

As the procession of the years which form the most wonderful century of human history closes its solemn march, those who look on time as deriving its chief worth from its relations to eternity, and who estimate civilization as it bears upon the immortal character of man, will of necessity judge a century by its religious quality and results, asking: What place has religion held, what work has it wrought, what errors have weakened it, what

are the tendencies which now dominate it, what are the opportunities which open before it?

In pursuance of this line of inquiry, I purpose in the present chapter, which I have consented to contribute to this "Memorial Story of America," to consider the place of the American Church in the nineteenth century, the ruling thought and force determining its policy and influence, and the work it is expected to attempt just beyond the open portals of the twentieth century.

The religious thought of the United States is chiefly Christian, for this is a Christian nation, and the Church of the American people is the American Church; not Greek, not Roman, not English, but American; expressing its power and putting forth its endeavors under the control of Christian and American ideas. For these ideas which we call American are essentially Christian; products of the Christian revelation, embodied in a form of civilization which is as real an outcome of the direct divine providence as was the civilization of Moses or the religious institutions growing out of the ministry of Jesus.

The American type of Christianity is in advance of all other Christian types, since it grows among and permeates political and social ideas and institutions which give it larger and fuller opportunities than it has ever before known, opportunities to develop humanity on all sides and in all relations. The American Church is made up of all individuals, classes, societies, and agencies which bear the Christian name or hold the Christian thought. It is not a "State Church." It is not a "union Church"—constituted by the formal unification of diverse sects or denominations. It embraces all believers (and in a sense all citizens) without visible consolidation; it favors all without legislative interference; it gives freedom to all without partiality or discrimination.

The distinguishing feature of American life, which makes what we call "freedom" mean more and promise more than does the civil, political, and religious freedom of any other land, and which therefore gives a distinctive character to the American Church, is that the liberty of the individual has large and unhampered opportunity for growth and action. Individual liberty here is actual liberty; unhindered by governmental provisions for privileged classes—sovereigns, princes, nobles—who, by the accident of birth, leap into place and prerogative without merit of their own, and whose unearned advantage is detrimental to the well-being of the multitude. It is liberty which carries with it opportunity,—the liberty of the lowest in the nation to reach the rank of the highest; of the poorest to become the richest; of the most ignorant to become the most learned; of the most despised to become the most honored; the liberty of every man to know all that he can know, to be all that he can be, and do all that he pleases to do, so long as he does not interfere with the right of any other man to know all that he can know, to be all that he can be, and to do all that he pleases to do. It is the liberty among brothers, who, with all the prerogatives

of individuality, need not forget the brotherhood of man; and who have every inducement not merely to guarantee to each other this regal right of full personal development, but who easily learn how to render mutual aid—every man helping every other man to know all that he can know, be all that he can be, and to do all that he pleases to do.

This, then, is the ideal of American civilization: A nation of equals, who are brothers. This is the doctrine of the closing American century; the root of the goodly tree that covers such ample area with its fruitful and bending branches; the vine which the right hand of the Lord our God hath planted; this the lesson running along the bars and shining out of the stars of our national flag.

It is necessary that the race experiment with this great idea of freedom and fraternity. It is an idea that sounds well in rhyme and song, but it must stand the test of practice as well; and is it capable of this? May this large Gospel of the Christ be realized by a nation, and this nation become in spirit and fact a church? This is the glorious thought running through the civilization of our century, and this we believe to be the purpose of the God of nations. During the past century the Republic has made a series of experiments on the various classes and races which have been shipped to our shores from foreign ports. We are, in fact, in the very midst of this experimental process and period. We glorify the Declaration of Independence. We are yet to prove that its doctrines are practicable. We insist that the race can easily dispense with kings, nobles, hierarchies, and all other aristocracies; that the nation entrusted with this great gift of human freedom can endure the severe tests to which she is subjected by the immigration and emancipation of uneducated and degraded masses of humanity.

It is comparatively easy to be fair, friendly, and even fraternal with people of our own kind, who share our Saxon blood, speak our language, hold our political and religious ideas, and live after our fashion; but the American idea —the fruit of the earliest Christian idea—requires fairness and fraternity with all—with people of alien blood and of alien faith. Can we welcome and assimilate this inrushing tide of Irish Romanism, with centuries of tumult and truculence in their veins; of Poles, Hungarians, Italians, and Russians, who have never yet learned to spell the first syllable of the word "Freedom," and yet who are scarcely on our shores before they are clothed with the rights of citizenship, about the responsibilities of which they know nothing? Can the seasoned and cultured Puritan of the North and the refined cavalier of the South clasp hands with the representatives of this surging mass of humanity, and say, "Welcome, man! Welcome, brother!"? And what of the Negro, and of the Chinaman? Is the Republic equal in force of sympathy to the breadth, warmth, and splendor of her own theory of individual freedom and universal brotherhood?

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The distinctive feature of the nineteenth century in America is the struggle for the recognition of these two noble ideas: The freedom of the individual and the brotherhood of the race. And this thought is thoroughly religious. It is preëminently Christian. It was taught, enforced, and illustrated by the Nazarene. It is asserting itself in our civilization. The work is now going on. It has not gone far, but it is bound to go on to the blessed end. The leaven is working every day. We are in the midst of the great experiment.

There is, however, more in religion than the recognition of human rights and the cultivation of good will. To serve humanity is only one side of human duty. Man must worship. He is "a religious animal." Comte and his school may be contented to bow at the shrine of Humanity, but the common sense and inborn reverence of the race demand a personal Deity, to whom the individual can come with his sin, and grief, and longing of soul. Everywhere and in all ages we find this religious instinct, deep-seated, and usually passionate and intense. It builds temples, kindles altar-fires, sets up shrines and symbols, inspires prayer and song, and expresses itself among all peoples in fastings and thanksgivings, in surrenders and self-sacrifices. The more highly cultivated a nation, the more truly reverent it is. Where the schools are, there are the churches. The Church, in this land and age of freedom and progress, is the most popular and the most effective of our institutions. Men may neglect its services temporarily, and in times of excessive activity, but in days of worry, bereavement, and peril, and under normal conditions of thoughtfulness and high and noble aspiration, they turn to the Bible, the ministry, the restful charms of religious literature, and the stimulating power of pulpit ministries.

In America these statements find ample illustration. A free people, we are a reverent and church-loving people. Standing for the rights of humanity, we stand by the religious creeds and customs of our fathers. The advanced and independent thought of our age modifies but does not destroy these religious faiths and ordinances. There is much doubt afloat; the perversions of truth have wrought their evil work; audacious infidels fulminate against Church and Bible; some scientific men, unduly devoted to the physical, have become dull and unsusceptible on the side of the spiritual; but on the whole, there is more Bible study, more gospel preaching, more church-going, more reverence of speech and life, than ever. And it is almost amusing here in free America, where no State Church or civil restrictions have imposed any belief upon the people, after a century of thorough religious independence and of boastful and arrogant skepticism, to find "infidel" real estate agents building churches, or donating lots to denominations who pledge themselves to build, in the new towns and villages which these skeptical speculators are "booming." All of which goes to prove that the root of our civilization is religious, and that the institution which fosters religion is a necessity. We heed more

than ever the second part of the divine law, "Love thy neighbor;" but more than ever we bow in reverence to obey the first: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God * * * Him only shalt thou serve."

The American Church is not a State Church. It is supported not by law, but by love. No large subsidies corrupt it. No political complications weaken it. Church and State serve each other best when the only bond between them is one of individual conviction and mutual confidence. The beginnings of the Republic were made by religious men, who organized religious communities. They sought our shores to secure religious liberty. Some of them may have been narrow, but they were true and brave. Some of the fetters that bound them had been severed, but some still remained. They had not yet conceived the idea of an emancipated and responsible individuality. Protestants fled from Roman rule, and Roman-Romanists fled from the oppressions of Roman-Protestants. And it took a long time for Protestants to become free. Romanists are not yet free. They were not from Rome who banished Roger Williams, and who lighted the witch-fires of Salem; and they are not Protestants who still fasten their faith to an infallible Pope, implicitly obey a priesthood professing to be divinely endowed and empowered, telling secrets, which God alone should know, to self-constituted father-confessors, who have no right, human or divine, thus to tamper with and torture the individual conscience. But the founders and fathers of the Republic were religious and God-fearing men. They were simply pupils ("primary pupils" at that) in the school of human rights and human brotherhood. The lessons were long and hard. It has taken more than a century to get half through the "first reader," and there is ample work for the century ahead, but as a people we are coming to see the life of the Church in the aims and order of the State, and to learn that God is in all history, that His claims upon men extend to all social relations, sanctifying all secular and political life, and embracing charity, sympathy, and justice in the minutest details of life, as well as awe, reverence, and worship.

Two important religious movements greatly aided, during the formative years of the Republic, in developing a true religious life, in promoting a more thorough knowledge of God's Word, and in giving a just conception of the worth and responsibilities of the individual. The one was the spread among all the Churches, and among the out-of-Church multitudes, of the spirit and doctrines of Methodism, which the distinguished Presbyterian divine of Scotland called "Christianity in earnest." I do not now refer to the separate ecclesiastical system known as Methodism, but to the general revival in the last century of New Testament doctrines, spirit, effort; the doctrines of personal freedom and responsibility, of universal redemption and privilege, which lie at the very basis of republican life; the spirit of love and equality which fill the heart of men with good will, and the effort, personal and persistent, which sent

men after men with divine intent, into highways and hedges, into cottages and palaces, a spirit of zeal, love, and importunity. This movement in America, under the leadership of far-seeing and devout men, touched every part of the continent, north, south, east, and west. It set other pulpits on fire. It modified rigid theological creeds. It breathed warmth and power into church forms. It disintegrated the masses. It put into the degraded poor and the frivolous rich the sense of personal responsibility to God and to the neighbor. It awakened conscience and hope. Thus, Methodism created Christian citizens, without which there can be no republic. All branches of the Christian Church have testified to the stimulating power of the Methodist awakening at the organizing of the nation.

Simultaneously with the rise of the Republic began the great Sunday-school system, which went everywhere with the open Bible and the living teacher, with inspiring Christian songs, attractive books for week-day reading, juvenile pictorial papers, social gatherings, and the stimulating power of friendly fellowship in religious life. It brought the people together, old and young, learned and unlearned, rich and poor. It did more to "level up" society than any other agency in the Republic. It made the adult who taught susceptible and affectionate childhood a better citizen. It prepared the children to be wiser, more conscientious, and more loyal citizens in the next generation. In the widely extended Methodist revival, and in the all-embracing Sunday-school movement, we see the hand of God fashioning the Nation and the Church, that they might be one in aim and spirit, and that through them might be promoted liberty, equality, and fraternity.

The various branches or denominations of the American Church are influenced by these ruling ideas of the century: the freedom and unrestricted opportunity of the individual and the spirit of generous fraternity. The old warfare between the Protestant denominations has virtually ceased. Coöperation in religious and reformatory effort—the Young Men's Christian Association, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, the International Lesson system, the State and International Sunday-school Conventions, the Evangelical Alliance, the Chautauqua Assemblies, the exchange of pulpits, the frequent union revival meetings held by representative evangelists, the ease with which ministers pass from one denomination to another, the warm, personal friendships between representative leaders of the several Churches, the growth and enrichment of non-denominational periodical literature—these are some of the signs of the larger thought now controlling our people. Organic and external union is unnecessary. It would be a burden and a bondage. The emphasis which its advocates put upon it is and must be unfavorable to freedom and individuality. It is a significant fact that the five or six sects of Christendom which make the most of external

unity are more widely separated in organization, sympathy, and Christian endeavor than are those branches of the Church which lay stress on doctrine, spirit, and conduct, and leave outward unity to be the spontaneous outgrowth of truth and love. In increasing numbers, the lay members of those Churches whose ministry (usually regarded as a "priesthood") makes so much of outward uniformity are entering emphatic protest against this narrow and unscriptural view of Christian and Church unity.

One problem remains to be solved in order to the promotion of true catholicity: How shall the feeble denominations on the frontier more effectually coöperate? The denominational life has its advantages. The only serious objection to it, as at present organized in America, is the rivalry in sparsely settled communities, where there is at present room for but one society. Each Church, from its metropolitan centre, to increase its strength and promote its growth, is constantly pushing out into new fields, building new churches, organizing new congregations. In the normal growth of every such community there soon comes to be a demand for all denominations, but for a few years the coöperation of these feeble fragments of the several regiments in the army of the Lord is most desirable, and it is possible to effect such temporary combination and yet retain the denominational distinctions for a later development. Here, for example, is a Kansas town where there are twenty-five Congregationalists, twenty Baptists, twenty Methodists, thirty Presbyterians, ten Protestant Episcopalians, and thirty more believers of other communions. Must we have five or six separate churches in this frontier town? Some day we must. If the town should grow, we may, within ten years, need ten different churches, and it will be just as well for the cause of humanity to have the ten represent ten different denominations as to be all of "one faith and order." The "first," "second," and "third" churches of a single "sect" are less likely to be on good living and working terms with each other than three churches of three different kinds. The social lines are less likely to be drawn in the church. The questions of doctrine are more likely to be discussed. Varieties of conviction and taste are more likely to be satisfied. A larger number of representative leaders, men of power, are more likely to visit the place during the year and give it the benefit of their genius and experience. But in the meantime, in the early time of that community, why divide and struggle? why appear for so slight a reason to be in rivalry? Why not organize one church, with its several sections or classes—regular churches in the germ—bound to help on the common cause while all are weak; bound, later on, as each develops in strength and numbers, to become self-supporting churches in different portions of the new city? Why may not these thirty Presbyterians, in the beginning, rally around the common centre; support the present minister; work in the Sunday-school; show zeal, magnanimity, and love; and at the very time

THE MOUNTAIN OF THE HOLY CROSS, COLORADO.
(From a Painting by Thomas Moran.)

they are thus building up the cause of Christ in a coöperative church, hold an occasional meeting of the Presbyterian "class;" subscribe for the Presbyterian papers; contribute to the Presbyterian benevolences; train their children at home in the Presbyterian catechism; and make sure of a lot in some part of the town for a future Presbyterian church? In this way the denominational spirit—the regimental spirit—may be maintained and the spirit of large catholicity promoted. The plan is practicable. The coming century will witness more than one successful experiment in this scheme of denominational and catholic coöperation.

The American idea of personal freedom and true fraternity has met its most serious opposition from that singular ecclesiastical and political organization known as the Roman Catholic Church. But on the members of that great foreign secret society America is gradually exerting an emancipating influence. The diligence, vigilance, and persistency of the priesthood is marvelous, but every year the power of free thought and general good will so characteristic of our civilization is disintegrating the great mass of Roman subserviency and superstition which Europe has shipped to our shores. The laymen are beginning to apply to their Church relations the doctrines of the Republic, and to demand from their leaders freedom of thought and speech. The Roman Church has been compelled to allow what it never before encouraged—the holding of laymen's congresses,—and it will not much longer dare to prevent free discussion. The national flag floats over many of the parochial schools. The old policy of the Jesuits, to divide the school fund between public and sectarian schools, is yielding to their new policy, which aims to control the public school by bringing its interests into the political arena, and securing Roman school-teachers of our American and Protestant children through the old political processes by which they now secure the control of the police force and other partisan advantages in many of our American cities; and this new scheme of the old foe to freedom is awakening the American Republic, and will receive the rebuke it deserves. Our people are fair and generous, but generosity may go too far. The Church of Rome is a political power, and as such it must be treated. Its members are American citizens, and must be recognized as such; but all interference with the true doctrines of American freedom, and with the rights of the individual, must be as sharply rebuked when it assumes an ecclesiastical form—Roman or Mormon—as when it becomes a kingdom or a confederacy within the Republic. The public school must be maintained. The cry against it as "godless" is absurd. It is not and must not be a sectarian nor in any formal sense a religious institution. The closing of the school-house on the Sabbath is a sufficient tribute to the religious idea. The school of the Nation, by closing its doors on the one day of the week which is accounted by most of our citizens a holy day, offers to the home and to the Church opportunity for

religious instruction. Let the public school be a school of American ideas, of the doctrines contained in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution of the United States. Let it teach the true history of the Republic. Hoist the national flag above it. Train the children to sing our national songs and observe the national holidays. Bring the children of all classes and of all faiths into friendly fellowship on the playground and into helpful rivalry in the recitation room. Keep out of the public school all sectarianism and partisan politics. Make no compromise with the priesthood; refuse to divide the public school funds; tear off all ecclesiastical badge and garb from the public school teacher; train every child to be a free American, to honor all men, and to observe the Golden Rule. This policy will irritate still more the promoters of foreign societies in the Republic, but it will create a public sentiment which servile tools of a foreign ecclesiastical system on our shores cannot longer resist.

The American Church, which imposes no creed but the creed of the Republic, which knows no lines of division—sectarian, political, or territorial—but which seeks the well-being of the individual and the fellowship of all true citizens, will soon wield an immense influence in matters political. It will discuss great ethical questions; it will carry conscientiousness and independence into political action; it will dissipate the weak heresy that Christians are not to take part in national affairs. In the days of Christ and the Apostles, the governing powers, the rulers of this world, were beyond the touch and control of the people. It was for them humbly to serve and uncomplainingly to suffer. But now all this has been changed. The people to-day stand where Cæsar used to stand; and to be a thoughtful, conscientious, active, consistent politician, is to be doing God's service. The church member who neglects political duty is guilty of sin against both God and the neighbor. The power of the people will be felt for good when the people begin to know and to defend the true and the good. They have during the century expressed the purpose of the American Church on the subject of slavery. At its declaration the shackles have fallen. They have recently pronounced on the subject of the Louisiana Lottery. Through the press, the ballot, and the authority of law, the moral force of the nation nation expresses itself and the base conspirators surrender. So must it be with the saloon, and with all political evil. If politicians carry moral questions into the political arena, the pulpit and all other agencies of the church must go with the questions to which every consideration—moral, political, and religious—they are pledged to stand.

One of the most significant movements of modern times, a product of this century, and a guarantee of strength and light for the century to come, is that known as Chautauqua, which through more than sixty summer centres, and through correspondence and home-reading methods, which are accepted by tens

of thousands of adult students in all parts of the nation, is awakening the older part of our population to the value of the higher culture. Chautauqua aims to place before full-grown men and women, especially those who were not favored with early educational advantages, the possibility of intellectual growth even in the years of maturity. It insists that men in middle life may acquire knowledge, literary taste, and habits of close and careful thought; that lowly homes, full of hard work, may be made interesting; that parents, hitherto indifferent to the education of their children, may become both helpers and inspirers; that by this awakened parental interest more students may be sent to the colleges and universities; business men and mechanics may be brought to take an interest in something besides trade; Christian people may have more light, breadth, and power put into their lives; the various elements of the community be lifted to a higher plane of thought, and thus the more certainly and effectively combined to improve the manners, the morals, the laws, the tone of society and of the State.

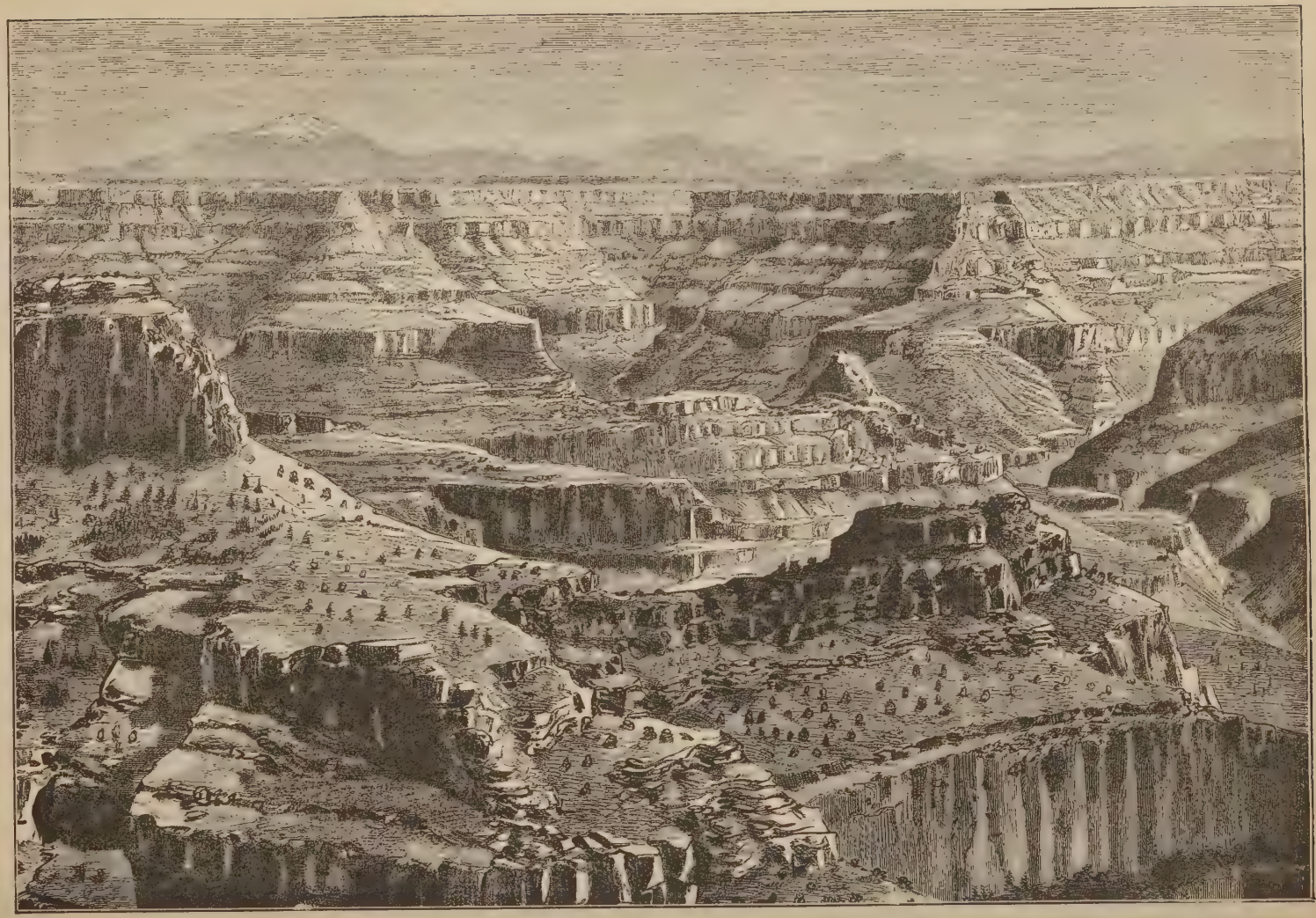
Chautauqua believes in the sacredness of life and responsibility. All relations and activities hitherto called secular are charged with religious significance. Religion touches and blesses every hour of every day—the years and the decades through. It transforms into religion, service in kitchen, field, and shop, fellowships in parlor and sanctuary, education, travel, and commerce—everything pertaining to life. Wholesome and holy motives should control us in all things, always, everywhere.

The American Church, founded on the large ideas of individual freedom, responsibility, and brotherhood, finds its almost perfect realization in this beautiful product of the century—the Chautauqua Movement. "It is folly," said a distinguished Irish scholar and churchman, when informed that at Chautauqua representatives of fifteen different religious bodies meet in harmony, discussing their points of difference with utmost frankness and liberality, and then unite in public religious worship, "It is folly to think of such a thing; it cannot be," he said. After spending ten days in the groves of Chautauqua, critically examining the theory and methods of the system, he said, "It is really so. It is really so. You have the perfection of Christian unity here." And concerning the Sunday morning service in the great amphitheatre, with organs, chorus-choir, five thousand worshipers, engaging in a service both liturgical and extemporaneous, earnest preaching on great doctrinal, historical, and ethical principles, the same foreign churchman said, "It was the most impressive religious service I ever attended in my life."

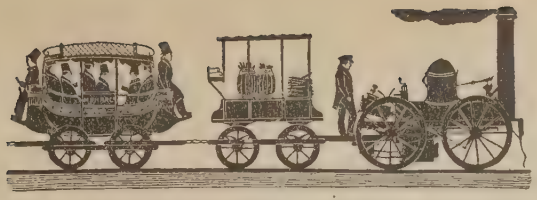
Thus Chautauqua concentrates and embodies in its great social, educational, and religious work, for all classes, all people, of all creeds, of all sorts and conditions, the fundamental ideas of the century which lie at the basis of

the American Church, and which are wrought into our very Constitution. God over all and in all; God our Father; Man His creature and His child; man free, responsible, independent; man the brother of every other man, entitled to reverence, good-will, fairness, and love; Jesus the elder Brother, the Saviour of humanity; our civilization in its material, educational, moral and religious conditions and relations, the sphere and opportunity for the working out of the divine and gracious purpose by which the kingdom of God is to come, and the will of God is to "be done in earth as it is in Heaven."

J. H. VINCENT.



VIEW OF THE GREAT CAÑONS, ARIZONA.
(*By Albert Tissandier.*)



FIRST TRAIN OF CARS IN AMERICA.

CHAPTER L.

THE OUTLOOK.

IT has been said that the childhood of most men and women who become distinguished predicts the achievements of the future, and is a kind of prelude to the later story of work and success. Whether or not this be true of individuals, it is certainly true that in many respects the earliest history of this country predicted its later and greater history. Whoever reads the opening chapters of this volume cannot fail to be impressed by the cosmopolitan character of the earliest contacts of the Old World with the New. There is very little doubt that the first discoverers of this continent were the Norsemen; but it was from the extreme south of Europe that the historic discoverer came, and this Genoese sailor had his aid and support from Spain. So the Scandinavian and the men of Latin race shared in the first perils and the first honors.

They were quickly followed by Englishmen, Frenchmen, and men from the low countries. Spain, France, and England were eager and pertinacious competitors for the control of the new empire in the West, and the final supremacy of English rule was established only after long and arduous struggles, supplemented later by purchase and peaceful annexation. When the colonists ceased to be colonists and established their own government nearly every leading race in Europe was largely represented in the new Republic; in many sections, as in New England, New York, parts of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Georgia, the stamp of different races was as distinct as in the countries beyond the sea. On the island of New York eighteen languages were spoken before the Revolution. Thus early was the cosmopolitan character of the population indicated; thus early was the mingling of races in the New World foreshadowed and predicted.

The question of emigration is, therefore, no new question in America; for this is the country of emigrants and their descendants. English blood holds

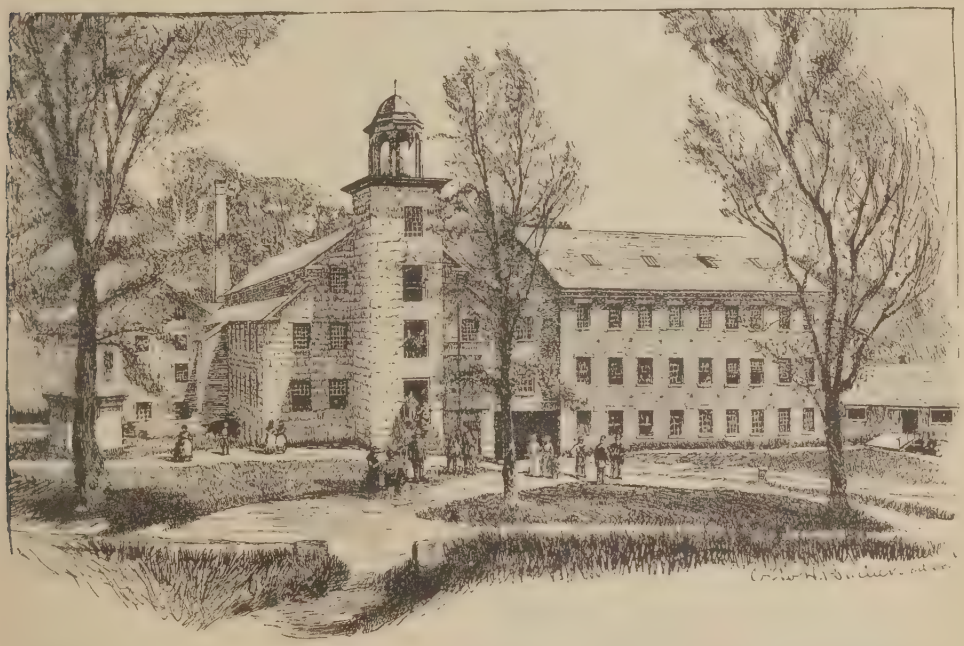
the primacy among us, and remote emigration is regarded as conferring more distinction than recent emigration; Richard Grant White defined an American as one whose ancestors had come into the country before the Revolution. It is, after all, a question of time; for, earlier or later, we have all been emigrants. Professor Freeman was fond of saying that we are Englishmen who have made a second migration. This reminds us that the race at home were emigrants also; but we differ from them in the more recent date of our migration and in the fact that we have drawn upon many races instead of upon one or two. So far the men of English descent have had the leadership, and have stamped their political education, traditions, and character upon our social and political organization. That foundation is not likely to be disturbed. The genius or spirit of our national life is essentially English, and English it is likely to remain; but other races have already modified and will still more distinctly modify our habits, tastes, and standards in the future. We are not a homogeneous but a cosmopolitan country, and in this fact lies our greatest departure from the ideals and expectations of our earlier statesmen and patriots, and here is the source of our greatest dangers. Here, also, it must be immediately added, lies the greatness of our opportunity.

It is one of the impressive facts in history that national destiny, like the destiny of individuals, shows a constant tendency to escape from the orderly and comparatively safe lines marked out for it by political leaders, into larger and more perilous ways. The voyage which was planned to follow the coast lines is suddenly converted into an ocean voyage, and the ship, instead of anchoring in some quiet harbor, is storm-tossed on the great seas. Ships were made for voyaging rather than for anchorage, however, and nations were framed for great and fruitful achievements rather than for that quiet and sluggish prosperity which men often crave as the easiest and safest lot in life. A compact, homogeneous people, of quiet, conservative temper, without strong passions or deep convictions, would probably be easily governed; it is certain that such a people would be devoid of interest and influence, and that it would make no history worth the reading or the writing. Individuals who have had the opportunity of vegetating have found it eminently unsatisfactory and have eagerly exchanged ease and repose for action and danger. Life, to individuals and to nations, is more than food and raiment.

In any event, the comparatively simple questions which the men of the Colonial and Revolutionary times met and answered with comparative success have been succeeded by problems vastly more complex and difficult, which they did not foresee and from which many of them would undoubtedly have drawn back with a feeling of dismay. The homogeneous population has become heterogeneous; the man of English descent is almost outvoted by men of other and, to him, of alien blood. In many localities what is called the foreign vote

is the controlling vote. Jew and Greek, Scandinavian and Latin, the Oriental and the African are domiciled here; not in insignificant numbers and few localities, but in almost all parts of the country and in great and influential numbers. If the doors were to be closed against further immigration to-day the problems of the country would be largely imposed upon it by the mingling of races which has already gone on here, and its place and work in the historical development of the race would be largely determined by the same factor.

For this mingling of races, on so great a scale and upon terms of political equality, is new in history. It was predicted by our earliest history, and now



A VERY OLD WOOLEN MILL IN NEW HAMPSHIRE, AND A MILL OF THE SECOND PERIOD ATTACHED THERETO, SHOWING THE BARN-ROOF, SO CALLED—THE GERM OF A LARGE ESTABLISHMENT.

that it has become a controlling fact in the situation it predicts in turn what is likely to be the peculiar and specific work of the country in its general relations to civilization. Give a nation time enough and it will reveal a genius which is peculiar to itself, and the broad lines of a national achievement in some special direction. Now, it cannot escape any thoughtful reader of this Story of America that here, for the first time, are furnished all the conditions for the working out of the human problem, so far as the relations of man to man are concerned. Matthew Arnold, who was never misled by popular sympathies, has left on record his opinion that while we have solved the political problem we have not solved the human problem. We have not solved this final and greatest

of all the problems, because no one nation can solve it; its solution will be the consummation of civilization, and must be contributed to by every race. For the human problem involves not only the adjustment of man to man in all relations, but the adjustment of man to the entire environment of his life; involves, therefore, religion, science, art, literature, and philosophy as well as political, social, and industrial relations. To the solution of this greater problem many contributions have been made, and each race in succession has added to the common fund, the accumulation of which ought to secure the ultimate freedom and harmony of humanity to discern and use the best that life offers.

Our contribution to this general result promises to be the working out of the problems which grow out of the political and economic relations of man to man. The colonists who made the successful struggle for political independence, fought for and secured certain definite and invaluable political rights and ends; they thought mainly of the value of free government for themselves. They did not and could not foresee the greater part which the new people was to play in the affairs of the world; they did not and could not foresee the place and function of the new country in the development of the greater community of humanity. Demosthenes, with true and fiery patriotism, endeavored to avert what seemed to him the destructive calamity of conquest by the Macedonians; he did not and could not foresee that the success of Philip was not only inevitable, but that it meant the diffusion of the spirit which had its home in the city he loved, throughout the entire eastern world. In her decline as a separate political community, Athens became the teacher and intellectual leader of the civilized world.

We are able to deal with this problem of fitting man to man harmoniously in all relations for three reasons: We have an immense territory, discovered and opened at a comparatively late period in the history of the world; we have an unprecedented and, so far, practically unrestrained mingling of races; and we have political equality. A broad field, a free field, and the presence of the races which have hitherto lived apart—these are all the elements for the working out of the problem. Every successive age has had its problem. There have been problems of practical living, involving methods of work, tools and manual training; there have been political problems, involving education in self-restraint, recognition of orderly procedure, the slow working out of the principles of representation, the federal idea and the idea of democratic rule; there have been religious problems, involving the discernment of moral standards and laws, the clarification of the idea of deity; there have been intellectual problems, involving the patient study of the phenomena of mind, the slow discernment of the laws of mental action. These problems, and many others akin to them, have been slowly and painfully worked out by successive ages and different races. The latest of all these problems to receive full and adequate attention

VIEWS IN THE YOSEMITE VALLEY, CALIFORNIA.

is that which involves the adjustment of the relations of man to man. This is naturally the last in the order of time, because it is the last in the order of development. Men must first learn how to support life, to live peacefully together in communities, to know the workings of their minds, to recognize a higher power and a moral order, before they arrive at the stage in which each man is, in the true sense, a law unto himself, and in which, by reason of knowledge of the intricate relationships of each man and woman with all other men and women, and by reason of a recognition of the sanctity and inviolability of the individual soul and life, a real and permanent community of all human beings is possible.

In the fullness of time, and at the ripe historic moment, this problem has come into our hands for solution, and we are to determine whether, on a free and open field, and under the most flexible political institutions, white and black, Englishman, German, Frenchman, Scandinavian, Oriental, and Occidental, Catholic, Protestant, and Agnostic, can live together harmoniously, successfully, and permanently. More than this, having gotten these races together and made harmony between them, we are to determine what are to be the industrial and social relations between man and man. On this continent, for the first time in the history of the world, there is secured a perfectly free field for social and industrial evolution. The political equality and freedom from class restrictions of every kind, for which the colonists successfully contended, seemed to them ultimate and final achievements; these rights secured, permanent peace and prosperity were inevitable. So it seemed to them, and they were not entirely mistaken; that which they achieved was a lasting contribution to the progress and prosperity of the race; but it did not mark the final attainment of society; it was but another step in the evolution which is being accomplished in history.

We, of a later generation, have learned that there are no finalities of human achievement; no sooner do we climb one peak than another rises before us. No sooner was political liberty secured than Americans began to discover that other and more difficult problems awaited solution. Political liberty was a preliminary step toward social and industrial liberty; we have secured the right conditions; the question which now confronts us is whether we can solve the human problem? On this open field can we adjust the relations of man to man and secure sound, flexible, just, and permanent relations between men throughout the entire social organism?

This is a deeper and a more complex problem than that of governmental form; for, after all, governments are means to ends and not ends in themselves. It is the belief that free government means more general happiness and a wider diffusion of independent and self-sustaining character than either monarchy or aristocracy, that has given it such a hold on the modern imagination. It is

clear, now, that the questions before us are even more difficult and perplexing than were the questions which our ancestors of Colonial and Revolutionary times were compelled to answer. The political problem is much simpler than the industrial problem; indeed, it simply prepares the way for dealing with the industrial problem. There is more, however, in our political problem than appears on the surface; more than most of our earlier political thinkers discerned. The majority of the men who established the government believed in the rule of the select classes, and looked forward to the supreme influence of the educated, cultivated, and socially well-to-do people in the State. The New England town-meeting was democratic, but it was a democracy which followed the lead of the intellectual and social leaders of the community; the old system of parish government made the influence of a few families supreme. There was no radical democracy in this country until long after the Revolution, and had most of the statesmen of that day discerned the deeper drift of the currents they would have shrunk back in dismay from the working out of the democratic idea. They looked for the rule of the best intellectually and socially; they anticipated that the management of affairs would remain in the hands of men of training in public life, and that in this country, as in England, the government would be a government of those favorably placed men who are, in the old sense of the word, gentlemen. Jefferson and a few other men of strong popular instinct and insight saw more truly and more widely, but even they did not and could not foresee how radical was to be the democratic experiment in this country, and to how tremendous a strain the institutions established by their wisdom were to be subjected.

For the government of the country has passed from the hands of the fortunately placed few into the hands of the multitude, who are bearing the heat and burden of the hard and heavy work of life. There was a shudder in polite circles when Jackson's accession to the Presidency brought to Washington, and, in many cases, into important positions, a class of people who had hitherto kept mainly in the background. The end of all political systems ought to be to bring the best men to the front, but the ideal of the best man has suffered great change and modification. The best man in a democratic community may be a very different man from the best man in an aristocratic community, and yet be a better man. Mr. Lincoln, the child of democratic conditions, fills a larger place in modern history, and is altogether a nobler figure from every point of view, than Lord Salisbury, who is an admirable product of aristocratic conditions. But even in democratic communities the democratic idea is very slowly apprehended, and we are just beginning to understand how radical a departure we are making from the old standards and ideas, and how great an experiment our ancestors inaugurated on this continent when they threw all the gates open and made every man a voter. The force of habit and the power of tradition made it easy, for a time, for the trained men to lead; but the unthinking classes

VIEW OF THE GOLDEN GATE, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA.

became more and more the thinking classes, and the great multitude who had been content to delegate their power, slowly awoke to a consciousness of the possession of that power and to a determination to exercise it directly. As a result we are coming to have a genuine rule of the people for the people. The trained man has not disappeared from public life, but he is no longer in control of it; the ignorant voter counts for as much as the intelligent voter, and the penniless voter for as much as the rich voter. In a society in which the men specially trained for public affairs must always constitute a very small minority, we have committed unrestricted power to an immense constituency of untrained men, who naturally choose their representatives from among their own number; and in a community in which the few are rich and the many comparatively poor we have placed the guardianship of property and the legal control of every sort of financial organization in the hands of the comparatively poor many. Never was there a bolder or more radical experiment. All the old safeguards of wealth and privilege have been removed; these things are now committed entirely to the integrity and self-rule of the community.

So far no country has been safer for property interests. Important modifications have been made in the management of great properties and in the conditions under which wealth is accumulated, and greater modifications are certain to be made. We are passing through an industrial revolution, but, owing to the very conditions which seem so perilous, that revolution promises to be one of peace. The farmer, dependent upon the railroad for access to his market, is a voter as well as a farmer, and as a voter he compels a certain consideration of his needs at the hands of the railroads. The miners, mill-operators, railroad employees, and working-men of every class are voters and constitute an immense political force in society; as voters they demand and secure the most favorable conditions for their work. There has been injustice done to capitalists and corporations in many cases, but such injustice is always incident to radical modifications of industrial conditions; on the whole, the results have been beneficial to all classes. An industrial aristocracy cannot be permanently maintained under a political democracy; sooner or later a political democracy will compel harmonious industrial adjustment. This does not mean that socialism is to be the fruit of our democratic system; it does mean that, industrially, as well as politically, we are to have a free, open field, with as near an approach to equal chances for all men at the start as can be secured. To this approximate equalization of industrial conditions, without sacrificing that pronounced individuality and deep-seated personal independence which are characteristic of the genuine American everywhere, our ancestors committed us when they lodged political power in the hands of all men simply as men, without reference to training, condition, or character. They not only prepared the field for dealing with the industrial problem, but they made it inevitable.

Human nature is on trial on this continent as it has never been on trial elsewhere, and if it breaks down here there will be small hope for it elsewhere. If, under the conditions which have been secured here, men cannot be self-restrained, orderly, industrious, and progressive, they may wisely put themselves under such masters as they can find and become servants again, and remain servants until the end of time. Our system makes a bold break from all past systems based on the idea that men need to be coerced into doing right, and plants itself fully and unreservedly on the belief that men, under conditions which develop manhood, will be both self-respecting and self-governing. A thoughtful and inspiring teacher of this generation has put the American political idea effectively and simply :—

What shall be the policy of a great nation in its dealing with the question of taxation? Ought we to throw our ports open to all the imports of the world? Ought we to close them, and by our system of taxation protect and foster our own manufactures and our own industries? The educated men, professors in our universities, men who have given their life to the study of economic problems, differ in their judgment on this subject; but it is not left to experts, to learned men, to Senators or Representatives to decide. It is to be determined at the polls by the common people, by men who can read and men who cannot read, by men who are intelligent and men who are not intelligent, by men who are virtuous and men who are not virtuous, by men who are patriotic and men who are not patriotic; the whole great mass of American people are to determine this question. Is this, as Carlyle and Ruskin aver, absurd? It can be defended only on the broad ground that men are the children of God, and that by their own blunders they are climbing their way up the hill of wisdom.

In this sublime idea, this spirit of faith in man and in God, consists the true greatness of this country; and in this is the secret of its history. What is the object of government? Is it to give the worthy and the well-to-do a comfortable and easy time? Then we may well question whether democratic government is the best. Or is it to develop manhood? Is it to make men and women? Then unroll the hundred pages we have written through pain and travail, and tell what other hundred years in the history of the world disclose such an educational influence wrought in any nation. Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Clay, Webster, Sumner, Seward, Chase, Lincoln, Grant—what other hundred years of Italy, of Germany, of France, or of England shines with such a constellation? Or turn to great movements not inaugurated by men of genius, but born of the impulses of the common people. The movement that issued in the American Revolution and in the Declaration of Independence was a great popular movement; men that seemed to lead were pushed on from behind. The great Anti-Slavery movement was a great popular movement, not wanting, it is true, in leaders, nevertheless a great movement of common people pushing on the leaders. It was the conscience of the common people, rising in its wrath, that thrust Tweed out of power, and will thrust his successors in city, State, and Nation. The Nation has been great in the individual men it has developed; it has been even greater in the popular movements which have marked its history. If we count nations as schools, we belong to a school that has learned more in a century than has ever been taught in any school in the history of the world, and America is greatest among God's schools.

The story of America as recorded in this volume is the story of this experiment, the history of this great school. Mistakes and sins are not absent from that story; jobbery, corruption, demagogism and materialism are not absent to-

day. Our safety lies not in the care with which evils are guarded against by our system, but in the very audacity of our experiment. We are constantly compelled to recognize and discuss our dangers and our blunders, and this frankness and courage are great elements of safety. We have finished nothing as yet; we have finally solved no problems; we are a great school; we are learning, testing, experimenting. Human nature is on trial here, and because it is on trial it is showing all its various sides; its ignoble, sordid, mean, quite as distinctly as its great and aspiring qualities. In a school no one looks for perfection; one looks only for progress and promise. To one who looks patiently and dispassionately both these qualities are found on this continent as they are found nowhere else. We have not achieved the highest things as yet, but we are on the way to achieve them. "Here let there be what the earth waits for—exalted manhood. What this country longs for is personalities, grand persons, to counteract its materialities. For it is the rule of the universe that corn shall serve man, and not man corn."

HAMILTON W. MABIE.

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